STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT LABOR DINNER OF NAACP FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION, SHERATON HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, PA., JULY 14, 1961

With irresistible and accelerating force, the struggle for human rights advances throughout the world by destroying institutions and attitudes of racial, ethnic, national and religious bigotry. After centuries of exploitation and domination the heretofore oppressed peoples of the world are demanding and are achieving their inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We stand at the threshold of this great, historic human rights revolution which is destined to liberate millions of peoples from bondage and economic exploitation.

The forces of reaction, however, are far from dead. It is precisely because reactionary institutions and attitudes stubbornly attempt to hold back human progress, and conservative forces are unable to assess realistically the urgent significance of the human rights revolution, that the peoples of every continent become involved in a world crisis.

A major and integral part of this great human rights revolution is the struggle of the black African and black American laboring masses for complete and immediate emancipation. In Africa, we witness the ending of colonial imperialism with the emergence of independent national states with black Africans assuming direct responsibility for their own destinies. In the United States, we witness the onrush of a great civil rights revolution that has as its historic mission the attainment of full equality for all Americans, black and white.

In Africa and the United States, the critical and deciding question is the resolution of the color bar, an insidious institution that pervades African and American culture, in favor of equality, justice and fraternity.

The Negro American Labor Council is primarily concerned with labor's rights which are a part of civil rights, civil rights being a part of the great human rights revolution sweeping the world. By pressing for the immediate and complete eradication of racial discrimination and segregation in the labor movement, the Negro American Labor Council becomes a part of a nation-wide and world-wide movement for human dignity. Through effecting a militant organization of Negro trade unionists to fight for the achievement of democratic trade unionism, the NALC strives for the liberation of black and, therefore, white labor, for the white working class can never be free unless the black working class is free. The Negro American Labor Council has as its ultimate objective black and white working class solidarity, without which all workers will suffer economic exploitation and insecurity.

Thus, the only hope and salvation of the workers, black and white, is unity, as represented by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. But unity without equality is an illusion. It is a facade with merely the draperies of democratic trade unionism.

Now, what of the status of black labor in white unions and industry? The answer must relate itself to six problems:

1. Rate of unemployment
2. Exclusion from membership in trade unions.
3. Exclusion from apprenticeship training programs
4. Racially segregated unions.
5. Exclusion from equal participation in union democracy.
6. Racially segregated seniority rosters and lines of job progression.

Any discussion concerning labor in the country must begin with the understanding that the Negro community is in trouble. It is in economic trouble. It is in economic trouble because its money income is short. It is short because the Negro worker, the economic foundation of the Negro community, faces a major crisis of unemployment. This is due to the fact that the tide of wages, the lifeblood of the community, has ebbed. Purchasing power has dropped. Standard of living has fallen. Every institution in the community is affected. The home, church, business, press, fraternal and civic movements are weak or strong, according as Negro workers are unemployed or employed. This is so because the chief income of the Negro community is in the form of wages, not interest, rent, or profits.

It is a veritable commonplace that in practically every big city in the nation Negroes, as the relief rolls will show, make up a disproportionately large segment of the population who live in poverty - a poverty that is frequently and properly related to discriminatory racial practices that force Negroes into a marginal position in the economy even though employment opportunities may increase for other groups within the community.

- TROUBLES OF THE NEGRO WORKER -

UNEMPLOYMENT

Since 1958 Negro unemployment has been almost consistently two and one half times greater than the white unemployment rate. Though Negroes represent one tenth of the work force, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor, they constitute twenty per cent of the unemployed.

It is also important to note that there is a difference between an unemployed Negro worker and an unemployed white worker. When an unemployed white worker finds a job he can perform, he can take it, but a Negro unemployed worker who finds a job he can perform may not get it because of race. Moreover, because of the concept of the hereditary inferiority of Negroes, competition of white workers with Negro workers for jobs invariably results in preference for white workers except when the employer may secure an economic advantage by a sub-differential racial wage.

EXCLUSION FROM UNION MEMBERSHIP

Although a federal Union Shop law requires union membership, after a brief period of employment, as a condition to continued employment, Negro workers are still excluded from membership in some unions, if not by the color bar,(which has been eliminated from the constitutions of all unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO except one), then by tacit consent.

A flagrant instance of how exclusion from union membership may affect the job opportunity of Negro workers is the refusal of Local 26 of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Washington, D. C. to accept a Negro electrical worker into the union, thereby preventing a Negro from getting a job on a government building. After two years of fruitless efforts to break down the racial barriers, AFL-CIO President George Meany succeeded in getting one Negro electrical worker on the job but, according to my information, he has not yet been accepted into the union.

RACIALLY SEGREGATED UNIONS

White workers not only enjoy a tremendous advantage over black workers because of the color caste culture of the United States but they subject Negro workers to humiliation and economic disadvantage by the jim-crow union. And although there is the contention that some jim-crow local unions desire to remain so segregated, which may be true, this is pure evasion, excuse, and rationalization for the existence of a racially segregated union system which is morally wrong.

What would happen if officials and members of a communist-dominated local union demanded the right to continue with their ideology? The answer is unmistakable. They would be promptly kicked out. The same summary treatment is visited upon unions under corrupt influences. But racially segregated unions are different. Despite the fact that they are in violation of the constitution of the AFL-CIO there is resistance to the expulsion of jim-crow unions, on the dubious grounds that more can be done to clean up unions practicing race bias if kept within the House of Labor than if expelled.

EXCLUSION FROM EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN UNION DEMOCRACY

Union democracy, as related to the Negro, is almost as benighted and undemocratic as the government and democracy are related to the Negro in the South.

While Negroes have been placed as heads of departments in the Federal Government and several state governments, not a single Negro has ever been made head of a department of the AFL-CIO. Top flight Negro professional staff workers in the national headquarters, as well as in national and international unions, are prominent by their absence. Despite the million and a half Negro workers in the AFL-CIO, even in the year 1959 Negro delegates to the AFL-CIO convention were less than the fingers on one's hands, although there are national and international unions with from a thousand to hundreds of thousands of Negro members.

NEGRO WORKERS ON POLICY-MAKING BODIES

Although there are massive numbers of Negro workers in the AFL-CIO they exercise little, if any, basic influence on policy-making bodies. Out of more than one hundred national and international unions, less than a half dozen have placed Negroes on their executive boards, and few of these unions have even a token interracial office force. This trade union racial mores is of such long standing that there is no apparent will or conscious concern to change it.

SEGREGATED ROSTERS

Jim-crow unions are not only an affront to Negro workers but resort is also made to racially segregated seniority rosters that result in separate lines of job progression that wind up in unskilled or semi-skilled job classifications. Thus, upgrading and job promotion of Negro workers in industry encounter opposition, if not indifference, from both management and union labor.

NEGRO UNEMPLOYMENT

Note this picture of the unemployment crisis among Negro workers. (From a 1961 survey by the National Urban League.)

PER CENT OF NEGRO WORKFORCE UNEMPLOYED IN TEN LARGER CITIES SURVEYED

	Negro unemployment	National unemployment
Boston	5	4.5
Chicago	17.3	5.7
Cleveland	20	6.3
Detroit	39	13
Los Angeles	8	6
New York	10	6.4
Philadelphia	28	7
Pittsburgh	24	11.6
St. Louis	20	8.4
Washington, D.C	8	3.8

Race bias in industry, trade unions and government is creating a virtual ethnic-economic-structured, chronically unemployed group of the work-force for which Big Business, Big Labor and Big Government are responsible.

NEGRO HARD CORE JOBLESS

Because, during periods of unemployment crises, Negroes are the first fired and last hired, both because of race and since they are chiefly concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories, they represent a disproportionately large segment of the hard core of the jobless, probably much more than twenty per cent. This problem of hard core joblessness among Negroes is becoming increasingly grave because, since 1947, the recovery of our economy never fully recovers.

Verily, even when a recession recedes into recovery Negro workers are plagued with the trials of a depression , with a rate of unemployment as high or higher than the unemployment rate of the nation during the recession. And even though there is an estimated increase in the annual purchasing power of the Negro population, to approximately $20 billion, the median wage of the Negro worker is just merely a little more than half the median wage of white workers.

HOW WILL AN INCREASE IN THE WORKFORCE AFFECT NEGRO WORKERS?

With the labor force growing immensely faster, involving 1,350,000 new workers entering the labor market annually during the decade of the Sixties, as against 800,000 in the Fifties, the competition between Negro and white workers for jobs will be greatly sharpened and can erupt into violent job-race riots unless the leverage of pressure of the Negro in the unions, the courts, factories, mills and mines, on the picket lines, in the press and on the platform, at the ballot box, in government and management, is made to realize that ethnic, industrial, and political democracy must go hand-in-hand.

And, of course, it must not be forgotten that there is a problem of not only finding jobs for Negroes, but a serious problem of developing full employment for American workers. It is estimated, for instance, that 25 thousand new jobs a week will have to be found in the decade of the Sixties for the young people who will enter the labor market annually.

AUTOMATION, APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING AND NEGRO GROWTH

In twentieth century America, poverty is most often a function of low worker productivity and frequently non-white workers are denied the opportunity to develop industrial and technical skills as a result of discriminatory racial practices.

In practically all of the big cities and industrial centers throughout the country, the matter of apprenticeship and other forms of technical training is increasingly the decisive factor in determining the status of non-white workers in the industrial economy.

For instance, in New York City, a relatively liberal community, as a result of a survey made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with the exclusion of building service and maintenance, not only were less than one per cent of those employed on the seven major newspapers Negroes, but the NAACP was unable to find a single instance in which a Negro had been recently admitted to apprenticeship training programs for printing pressmen, compositors, photo-engravers, stereotypers, paper handlers and delivery drivers. What is true in this field in New York City is also practically true of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis, and other areas of the nation.

And it is a matter of common knowledge that in the building trade unions, that remain today, as in the past, the very citadel of anti-Negro discrimination in organized labor, less than one per cent of apprentices are Negroes. The basic fact of craft unions in the building trades industry is that they control access to employment by virtue of their rigid control of the hiring process and the designation of apprentices to become journeymen. The refusal to admit Negroes into full and equal membership clearly denies Negro workers opportunity to secure employment in major private and public construction projects, and opportunity to young Negro workers to acquire skills through apprenticeship training.

In the past decade very little progress has been made in eliminating the traditional pattern of Negro exclusion and discrimination in the Plumbers and Pipe Fitters Union, the Iron and Structural Workers, Plasterers, Sheetmetal Workers, Boilermakers, Carpenters, the Bricklayers, and others.

It is important to note that in the ten-year period from 1950 to 1960, in New York State the increase of Negro participation in building trades apprenticeship training programs rose only from one and one-half per cent to two per cent. The lack of apprentice-trained Negro craftsmen directly affects the economic standing of Negroes as a whole. Documented data indicate that craftsmen command substantially higher incomes than unskilled workers. If, then, Negroes are not employed in such occupations in large numbers, a potential source of high income is removed from this group. When this is coupled with other income limitations it becomes apparent why Negroes constitute a permanently depressed segment of American society.

CHANGING WORKFORCE

As a result of the advance of technology, or the automation revolution, both the workforce and the tools of modern industry are basically changing, in that the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled workers is decreasing while the demand for skilled, technical, and white collar workers is increasing. Thus, unless Negro workers can break through the racial barriers into apprenticeship training programs, the outlook for these workers, who are largely concentrated in an industrial trap, or blind alley of unskilled areas of employment, is not the most reassuring.

RAILROADS

The future of the Negro worker, without complete equality in industry, trade unions and government, is grave, since the industries in which Negro workers have worked are either reducing the workforce on account of automation or are in decline, if not vanishing, or have just dropped Negro workers for racial or economic reasons.

I refer to railroads, coal mines, hotels, agriculture, domestic service, etcetera.

During, and following, the first World War, when the work was hard and the wages low, there were approximately a quarter of a million Negroes employed on railroads. On several southern railroads, the Florida East Coast being one, a hundred per cent of the firemen were black. On most of these roads Negro firemen represented over fifty, or more, per cent. Negro brakemen, flagmen and switchmen were employed in large numbers. But today, less than ten per cent of the locomotive firemen in the South are black. Negro brakemen, flagmen and switchmen have virtually disappeared from the roads, and they are only given token consideration in the North.

Railroad workers have been drastically reduced from as high as two million, more or less, in the 1920's to less than 900 thousand today, and it would be difficult to find 50 thousand Negro workers on the rails today. In the operating department of the railroads Negro workers have been victimized by the big railroad unions such as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Railroad Trainmen and, at one time, the Switchmen's Union.

BIG FOUR ENEMY OF NEGRO

Yes, the Big Four railroad unions can enjoy the guilt and dubious honor of having served as High Executioner of the Negro workers in the operating department of the railroads in the South. And Nemesis, the goddess of retributive justice, plagues white locomotive firemen with complete elimination from the engine cab under management's rationalization of the fraudulent fantasy of featherbedding.

It is a notorious fact that the National Mediation Board, a government agency, over a score of years ago was a party to an agreement, involving the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen, which included what is known as a "non-promotability" clause, providing for the employment as locomotive firemen only those workers who are eligible to become engineers. The "sleeper" in this apparently innocent statement is that only white men are eligible to become engineers since, traditionally, an engineer is a "white man's job."

However, this racially discriminatory non-promotability agreement was finally knocked out by the U. S. Supreme Court, through the Tunstall, Steele, and Leroy Graham cases that Charles Houston of the NAACP and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters processed.

There are documents extant of officials of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen that openly threaten railway carriers with strikes to prevent them from employing Negro firemen. Negro firemen were shot out of the engine cabs in the lower Mississippi Valley in order to drive them off the rails. But, be it said to the nobility of the manhood and courage of Negro railroad firemen, as fast as one Negro locomotive fireman was shot or even killed, and several were killed, another Negro defied this terror and crawled up into the engine cab and took his seat opposite a white engineer whom he knew to be his enemy.

COAL MINING

The coal mining industry is also in decline as a result of mechanization and competing sources of industrial power such as oil, electric, and the diesel engine. At the peak of productivity in the industry some 600 thousand workers were employed, of which Negroes constituted a large segment. But,today, the manpower in this industry has dropped to less than 300 thousand.

HOTELS

While the hotel industry is on the upgrade, Negroes have no status in occupations as waiters, bartenders or bellhops and, hence, no job mobility. In other words, a Negro waiter in a hotel in Philadelphia, unlike a white waiter, cannot transfer to a hotel in Miami Beach or Atlantic City even when jobs are available because Negroes are not being employed by the big first-class hotels in these hotel centers or, for that matter, anywhere else. And although Negroes are members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, in New York, Philadelphia, and all of the big cities, Negro waiters and bellboys are more noted by their absence than presence in the first-class hotels and restaurants except, perhaps, in a token form at some banquets. And one would need a microscope to discover a Negro bartender in the downtown area of any city. They are invariably confined to the Negro community.

It is a notorious fact that Negroes have no status in any occupation in the country and, hence, Negro workers do not possess full job mobility in any craft. This is the result of the fact that Negro workers are second-class members in practically every union in the nation, as well as in the AFL-CIO proper.

FARMS

Because of the introduction of motor power machinery on the farms, Negro and white farm hands are being driven into the cities where they compete for unskilled jobs. This process will no doubt continue since the mechanization of the farms produces more products with less labor. Therefore, the problem of the unskilled Negro worker bids fair to become increasingly more acute, if not desperate.

STEEL AND AUTO

Mass production industries have always provided employment in a big way to Negro workers, not because they have possessed any more liberal racial policies but because there was need for large numbers of unskilled workers which Negroes represent probably more than any other ethnic group.

This is true of steel and auto. But with the acceleration of the pace of technological change, these industries are producing more and more products with less and less physical labor. This fact poses, perhaps, the most crucial problem Negroes face in the nation today.

What is going to happen to a group, largely unskilled and barred from learning new skills by discriminatory racial practices, when the demand by American industry for unskilled labor bids fair to grow less and less? This question we cannot afford not to find an answer to.

For instance, it is estimated that if the new rules governing working conditions, proposed by management of Big Steel to the United Steelworkers Union, are adopted, they will result in the reduction in the workforce by approximately a quarter of a million men, the big bulk of whom will be unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

In the automobile industry, as a result of automation, some 200 thousand have been displaced, a sizeable segment of whom are Negroes and who will probably never work in the industry again.

In brief and sketchy outline, such is the hapless story of the Negro worker in the United States today. While something is being done, the time is short and the problem is too big and baffling to be met by the ordinary methods. Some crash program must be devised by government, industry, unions, and the Negro - and soon, for by the most optimistic appraisal of the industrial situation it appears almost impossible for Negro workers to catch up with the onward moving van of white organized labor in order to be able to play a basic role in the new industry of automation.

PERILS OF NEGRO YOUTH AND PREPARATION FOR NEW AGE OF AUTOMATION

Although the apprenticeship age group of 18 to 24 is increasing among the Negro population more rapidly, percentagewise, than among the whites, Negroes are largely unprepared for participation in apprenticeship training if opportunities are offered them. This tragic lack of educational preparation on the part of Negro youth is due to the problem of "drop outs", the boys who leave high school before graduation. This is the result of the lack of the incentive for Negro youth to remain in school.

In the July issue of FORTUNE in an article on this subject entitled The Hard Realities of Retraining, the following statement appears:

> "With many of the young unemployed, the problem is not merely lack of skill, but lack of basic education. The so-called "drop out", the boy who leaves high school before graduation, is often doomed to menial work or the dole, and he may not even be able to get anything out of training.
>
> "In Cleveland, Thompson Ramo Woodridge, Inc. recently undertook, as a public service, to give twenty of the long-term unemployed a training course to turn them into semi-skilled machine operators. The men, mostly Negroes, turned out to lack rudimentary understanding of fractions or decimal points, so they could not learn simple blueprint reading. Then the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company stepped in and offered to finance a short course in simple mathematics. With fractions and decimals in hand, twelve of the twenty original trainees were able to go back to Thompson Ramo Woodridge to continue the course."

Now, of course, Negro youth are not the only "drop outs." According to Labor Department estimates, during the decade of the Sixties 7,500,000 boys and girls will leave high school before they get their diplomas. If the ratio of drop outs of Negro to white students is comparable to the population ratio, then 750 thousand Negro youth will drop out during the next ten years.

But we know that the rate of Negro drop outs will be even higher than the population ratio. This observation is borne out by a report of the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission of which Elmo Roper, noted public relations analyst, is chairman. The report, which was made in the spring of 1961, states:

> "In the study conducted by the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission it was found that over 14 per cent of Negro students surveyed dropped out of high school in any given year which would mean 56 per cent over a four-year period, as compared with less than 9 per cent of white students. In other words, the drop out rate for Negroes was 60 per cent higher than for whites. Moreover, it was found that 62 per cent of the Negro boys interviewed were working as unskilled laborers; only 37 per cent of the white boys had comparable jobs."

One of the causes for this alarming condition is that in practically all of the junior high schools, as well as the high schools, the educational counsellors and vocational guidance leaders steer Negro youth away from the highly wage-rated, highly skilled crafts, with the rationalization that it is a waste of the taxpayers' money to train a student in a skilled trade for jobs he cannot get. Thus, it is alleged that the aptitude tests of Negroes indicate their suitability for the vocations of upholsterers, shoe repairing, cooking and beauty culture.

FIGHT OF NAACP AGAINST RACE BIAS IN UNIONS AND INDUSTRY

Now, let me, on behalf of the officers and members of the Negro American Labor Council, a movement derided, decried, berated and denounced by some of our liberal and labor friends, congratulate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its distinguished Executive Secretary, Roy Wilkins, its able counsel, Thurgood Marshall, and its competent personnel upon the consistent and uncompromising fight you have made, and are still making, against race bias in trade unions, industry and government, as well as in all other areas of American life. In very truth, the NAACP is the leader of the civil rights liberation revolution which was brilliantly touched by the memorable Supreme Court decision striking down jim-crow in public schools.

Let me commend that indefatigable, militant and resourceful worker, NAACP Labor Secretary Herbert Hill, for the effective job he is doing in exposing the dark alleys of racial discrimination in labor and management to the pitiless white light of public opinion. He gave liberally of his time and talent in the planning and execution of the historic Workshop and Institute on Race Bias in Trade Unions, Industry and Government held in Washington, February 17 and 18, by the Negro American Labor Council, and he has indicated his availability for cooperation with the NALC whenever needed.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

1. Build the Negro American Labor Council to make it more effective in the fight against race bias in the House of Labor, industry and government.
2. Fight for Federal fair employment practice legislation.
3. Wage an intensive campaign to desegregate the southern AFL-CIO state bodies and city central councils.
4. Help to mobilize the total resources of the Negro communities back of a national campaign to keep Negro boys and girls in high schools until graduation, to make them available for apprenticeship training assignments, as well as to move into the rapidly expanding area of technical and professional workers that are between the engineer above and the skilled worker below, and whose chief role is to transfer, with the cooperation of the engineer and skilled worker, blueprints from the drafting boards into finished manufactured products.

This fight against racial discrimination against Negro workers cannot be won on a fragmentary, nondescript basis of tokenism or gradualism. It requires a broad, massive, relentless, uncompromising attack from within and without the House of Labor.

If we lose the war for the complete emancipation of black labor, the exploitation of whom in the plantation slave economy was the basic cause of the Civil War Revolution, we will become unworthy of the Civil Rights Liberation Revolution and it will turn upon its children and devour them.

But we shall not lose the war!

I want to commend Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Chairman of the powerful House Committee on Education and Labor, for his vision, understanding and devotion to the cause of black labor in instituting hearings in New York City on racial discrimination and segregation in trade unions and industry. This project has far-reaching and fundamental significance since it will alert Negro workers concerning their rights, and alert the public concerning the abuse of Negro workers' rights. I hope he will keep these hearings going in various areas of the country.

Let me hail the sound, progressive and constructive leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I applaud its noble and steadfast leaders, such as The Honorable Arthur Spingarn, whose long service in this cause gives his family the right to be remembered as the Civil Rights family of the country.

I hail the new leader of the Board of Directors, The Right Honorable Bishop Spotswood; and a veritable Rock of Gibraltar for the great cause of human dignity, Alfred Baker Lewis; the aggressive and relentless Sister Jackson of Baltimore, and a host of other dedicated leaders and members.

We shall not fail because the struggle of the NAACP for first-class citizenship is being given strength and force by that great leader of the philosophy of non-violence, Dr. Martin Luther King, the architect of the memorable boycott of jim-crow buses in Montgomery, and head of the militant Southern Christian Leadership Council.

We shall not fail because James Farmer, intrepid and dedicated leader of the Congress of Racial Equality, and his co-workers have thrown down the gauntlet of challenge and defiance to the color-caste culture of the South in the young and bold, black and white, Freedom Riders, bent upon wiping out every vestige of race bias and throw into the ashcan of history the anachronistic doctrine that God made one race superior to another.

AN OPEN LETTER TO BROTHER DAVID ALSTON
URGING HIM TO RESIGN FROM JIM-CROW HOUSING
COMMITTEE AND CANCEL JIM-CROW DANCE

August 10, 1961

Mr. David D. Alston
Vice President, International Longshoremen's Association
Executive Board Member, Virginia State AFL-CIO
725 East Princess Anne Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Brother Alston:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my pleasure upon seeing you at the conference with H. B. Boyd, President, and Julian F. Carper, Vice President, of the Virginia State AFL-CIO and B. F. McLaurin of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in President Meany's office in Washington D.C., July 25, 1961, for the purpose of discussing the Call of the Virginia State AFL-CIO, and the provisions of the Call relating to segregated housing, entertainment and dining.

I think the conference was helpful but not wholly satisfactory. I was greatly disturbed by the fact that the officials of the Virginia State AFL-CIO expressed determination to go ahead with plans to hold a dance for white delegates, and a dance for black delegates.

At a time when Negroes are in the courts of Virginia to disestablish the segregated private school system of Prince Edward County, Virginia, which was set up for the specific purpose of evading compliance with the desegregation of public schools in accordance with the United States Supreme Court's decision of 1954, and at a time when practically hundreds of young Negroes are being thrown into jail in South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Kentucky, Alabama, Arkansas and Louisiana only because they are courageously and resolutely fighting for equality, freedom and human dignity, it is incredible and distressing that the Virginia State AFL-CIO officials consider it necessary and proper to insult its Negro delegates by staging a dance for black delegates and one for white delegates.

Now, of course, I know that you are committed to the program for the elimination of segregation and discrimination in public schools, transportation, employment and trade unions. So is George Meany. I know you do not want to do anything that will tend to create a sense of defeatism, pessimism and hopelessness on the part of our young, gallant, militant Negro students, who are fearlessly facing police brutality and the trials and tribulations of southern jails in their struggle for first-class citizenship, by giving sanction, support and approval of this flagrant and inexcusable exhibition of race bias in the Virginia labor movement, by going through with this "Black dance" of segregated entertainment.

In my opinon, you have a great opportunity and responsibility, not only to give encouragement to the will to win the battle for interracial brotherhood and democracy to both black and white students and workers, but also to help improve the image of America and the labor movement throughout the world by resigning as Chairman of the Jim Crow Housing Committee, and also by calling off the dance for black delegates scheduled to take place in the Longshorement's Hall.

May I assure you, Brother Alston, that such forthright, uncompromising, resolute action will have a tremendous educational value for both white and black delegates of the Virginia State AFL-CIO. It will awaken and challenge the conscience of other southern states' AFL-CIO bodies to realization of the fact that segregation and discrimination based upon race in the labor movement is in conflict with trade union morality and is wholly out of step with the march of the Human Rights Revolution of the twentieth century. This is a lesson in trade union democracy and Christian brotherhood which both our white and black brothers of Labor need to learn at this crucial hour of history.

I am sure you realize that to speak of the Virginia State AFL-CIO Convention as being integrated, in the light of the scheduled lily-white dance is, at best, illusory and, at worst, hypocritical!

Moreover, organized labor is not distinguished for its interest in giving dances. The Virginia State AFL-CIO will not help the cause of organized labor by giving a black dance and a white dance for delegates. In fact, it will set back the cause of organized labor, not only in America but all over the world, by action of this sort in this Century of the Common Man.

I, therefore, want to appeal to you to at least take action to eliminate the black dance and thereby remove the stigma of inferiorty and disgrace from the name of Negro labor.

Though clinging to racial segregation, through stubborn insistence upon the giving of a "lily-white" dance, refuge against the charge of racial discrimination is taken by the Virginia State AFL-CIO under the shaky shelter of gradualism - namely, labor-racial progress in the last ten years.

In other words, the present mentality of the officials of the Virginia State AFL-CIO seems to be that, since Negro delegates to the annual State labor conventions in the past were barred from entering the front doors of the hotels they ought to be proud they are allowed to live in the same hotel with white delegates today which, incidentally, is not due to any fight made by the Virginia AFL-CIO for equality of housing of Negro delegates. This is evident both from the Call, and the statement by the management of the Golden Triangle Hotel of Norfolk, Virginia with respect to the acceptance of Negro guests.

How can progress against racial segregation be justly claimed to have been made when segregation in social entertainment of the delegates still remains?

While I do not charge the officials of the Virginia State AFL-CIO as being anti-Negro, it is quite evident that they either have not yet comprehended the depth, dimension, challenge, scope and nature of the Civil Rights Liberation Revolution, or they lack the moral courage to stand up for their convictions on free, democratic trade union morality, or the equality of all workers without regard to race or color.

Obviously, for a labor organization to preach justice, equality and freedom for workers while denying same to its own members because of race or color, is not only indefensible but presents an exhibition of foregoing the substance and chasing the shadows of sound, principled trade union progress.

May I assure you, Brother Alston, that there are millions of your trade union brothers, black and white, who will applaud you if you refuse to bow to this false god of white supremacy and take your stand upon the principle that every worker, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, possesses the God-given right to equality and human dignity in his community, his trade union, his church, his government, his school and his country.

Remember that while some of your white brothers of the Virginia State AFL-CIO may, because of a lack of understanding today, deplore your stand they will ultimately come to respect it.

Subjected to a long, dark night of agony, humiliation and despair for a quarter of a thousand years under the monstrous institution of chattel slavery, black Americans, in rebellion against the whole system of southern racialism and stirred by the deepest spiritual hunger and longing for the immortality of human freedom, dignity and equality, cannot and will not retreat from our moral commitments to be fully free, now.

Thus, we must not shirk or abandon our responsibility to teach our white brothers of labor, by example, the lesson that the principle of the brotherhood of man is only as the principle of the brotherhood of man does, even at the price of unpopularity in our day-to-day life with our fellow man.

Our American labor movement must learn this lesson, which only the downtrodden, but fighting, black laboring masses can teach them; if it would be worthy of the leadership of the free labor movement of the world.

Verily, ours is a mighty and everlasting crusade for a new heaven and a new earth of consecration to righteousness and truth, and the intrinsic worth of every human being.

And you may be assured that the little black boys and girls of Little Rock, Nashville, Birmingham, Montgomery, and Tallahassee, and the Freedom Riders and sit-in students, who are bravely and gloriously fighting, suffering, sacrificing and struggling to annihilate the vicious color-caste culture of the South, will ever bless your memory.

I know you will not fail them.

Be not dismayed, and ever be mindful of the fact that if we work and not grow weary, fight on and faint not, we shall reap our reward in due season; and when we shall have come to the end of the road we can, like St. Paul, declare, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith."

Your faithful servant,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

ADDENDUM

If Angier Biddle Duke, State Department Chief of Protocol, can resign from the elite Metropolitan Club where congressmen, cabinet officers, and other high-ranking officials have rubbed shoulders since 1863, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy can threaten to resign unless it eliminates race bias; if Negro track stars can refuse to cross a picket line of Negroes before the Houston, Texas stadium which segregated Negro patrons during an international athletic meet; if the famous Metropolitan Grand Opera Company can refuse to play again to segregated audiences in the South; and the AFL-CIO can refuse to hold its conventions in any city where Negro delegates are not accorded equal hotel accommodations, then every self-respecting Negro leader has no alternative except to take a stand against segregation and discrimination because of race or color, in any form or fashion, anywhere, at any time.

STATEMENT OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS AND PRESIDENT OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AUGUST 23, 1961

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

My name is A. Philip Randolph. I am International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and President of the Negro American Labor Council of 217 West 125 Street, New York City.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate your Committee upon holding hearings on the subject of apprenticeship training and to express my approval and support of H.R.8219 which proposes to withdraw Federal support and approval from apprenticeship programs that are conducted upon a basis of race bias.

It is an understatement to observe that the elimination of racial discrimination from all apprenticeship training programs involves the economic life and death of the black laboring masses. This is so for the following reasons:

One, the relatively small number of skilled Negro workers in the nation.

Two, racial barriers to participation in apprenticeship programs.

Three, the concentration of disproportionately large numbers of Negro workers in the categories of unskilled workers.

Four, the phenomenal pace of the automation revolution which is changing the workforce and the work tools, the result of which is the decrease in demand for the unskilled worker.

Five, the slow, spotty and inadequate action on the part of organized labor effectively to grapple with this problem.

Now, relative to the first proposition, namely, the relatively small number of Negro artisans in American industry, may I say that it is a matter of common knowledge that there is a disproportionate and alarming decline in the number of Negroes in the skilled trades between 1920 and 1950, especially in the building trades where the Negro was once relatively fairly well represented in the South, and where the total number of mechanics has increased.

Census reports, especially for ten southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennesses and Virginia, the percentage of Negro carpenters enumerated in these states declined from 23.2 percent in 1920 to 10 percent in 1950. Painters declined from 25.3 percent in 1920 to 13.8 percent in 1950. Bricklayers decreased from 54.7 percent in 1920 to 37.5 percent in 1950. Plasterers, formerly heavily representative of the Negro, diminished from 66.5 percent in 1920 to 57.9 percent in 1950.

It is useless to extend the list. The above-indicated status of the black skilled artisans is a fair sample of the changing position of the Negro in the building trades in the South. In this instance, the decline represents a grave threat to their economic progress and to the economic progress of the country as a whole.

It is because of this serious situation that the subject of apprenticeship training takes on such timely significance.

Obviously, by the law of attrition, unless the decline of Negro skilled workers is not arrested and newly trained Negro artisans in relatively large numbers enter the workforce, it will be only a matter of a short time when the skilled Negro workers will disappear from the building construction occupations of the country.

What about our second issue, or racial barriers to Negro workers' participation in apprenticeship training programs?

While it is a grave indictment of the building trades' unions, yet no one denies that less than one percent of the apprentices of the building trades are Negroes. Even in New York State, perhaps the most liberal, racially, in the country, only two percent of the apprentices are Negroes.

The only local union which seems to be trying consistently to do something about this problem is Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, whose Business Manager is Harry Van Arsdale. Since he became the leader of the New York City Central Labor Council some definite action is being taken, with a view to breaking down the racial barriers in the craft unions' apprenticeship training programs. I know of no other City Central body which is doing a comparable job on this question. While no spectacular progress has been made in this field as of this date, yet the New York City Central Labor Council is displaying the proper attitude in, at least, working on the problem.

Third, how significant is the concentration of a disproportionately large number of Negro workers in the category of unskilled?

The answer is that one of the major reasons for the grim fact that the rate of unemployment of Negroes is twice, or more, the national rate of white workers is that unskilled workers are not only the first fired and the last hired, but also the first to be liquidated by radical technological advances.

Hence, the acquisition of skills by Negro workers in apprenticeship training programs is a sine qua non to their survival and progress in the new industrial world of automation.

Furthermore, because Negro workers are trapped in the "no man's land" of the unskilled, they constitute the hard core of the hard core of joblessness, which means that these workers remain unemployed during depressions, recessions, booms, inflation and deflation; during cyclical, seasonal, residual, technological, ethnical and economic maladjustments of the economy.

Verily, there is a large segment of black slum proletariat, untrained, largely the product of race bias, caught up among the structured unemployed and unemployable and, probably, untrainable.

It is important to note that the phenomenal pace of the Revolution of Automation is not only changing the workforce and the work tools that unskilled Negro workers cannot use, but it is also raising the productivity level and reducing the workforce, which is certain to precipitate sharp and bitter competition not only between black and white workers for a decreasing number of jobs, but also competition among white workers and competition among black workers, as well as competition between women and men workers for the same jobs. And, of course, the automation revolution will bring about a decreasing demand for the unskilled-blue-jean worker, which hits the black laboring masses.

Our fifth problem involves the slow, spotty, fragmentary and woefully inadequate action which has been taken by the trade unions effectively to grapple with the question of opening the doors of apprenticeship training to every worker, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

Legislation as suggested by your Committee is definitely essential, to enable Negro workers to break through these well-nigh institutionalized racial barriers in apprenticeship training courses.

A pressing and fundamental condition for the expansion of plans to embrace Negro workers in all forms of apprenticeship training programs is an inevitable movement toward a population explosion.

Projections of estimates by the United States Department of Labor and other economic, socio-political agencies indicate that by 1970 the population of the country will range around 208 million. This, of course, will require a vast increase in the consumption of goods and services, which will nedessitate a tremendous increase in the gross national product, the production of which can only be achieved by expanding the workforce of skilled artisans.

The New York State Department of Labor indicates, in a survey of jobs in 1960 and 1970, that 46,000 additional craftsmen will be needed annually if the State's needs for skilled workers in the 1960's are to be satisfied.

A comparable need of craftsmen exists in practically every state in the union, but Negro workers will be practically completely excluded from apprenticeship training programs in the states of the South. Thus, apprenticeship training is a definite source of economic security for the workers.

Now, job entry is a letter of introduction to a craft or trade. Where job entry is dependent upon apprenticeship, and the latter is artificially controlled to keep out or to limit the number admitted from certain ethnic groups, means a denial or restriction of the number who may expect to get on-the-job training. The latter is tantamount to denial of craftsman's status. The closure, or circumscription of craftsman's status, forces persons refused apprenticeship training to seek job entry in low occupational jobs. Ultimately, persons forced into jobs with low occupational and economic status are faced with little economic security. Vocational schooling, unless linked with on-the-job training, is time wasted in such trades as printing, building, cutters in the needle trades, etc.

One such group faced with this problem is the Negro, and that these problems are faced by the Negro in reality is succinctly delineated in the 1960 report of the U. S. Department of Labor entitled: "The Economic Situation of Negroes in the U.S." In his covering letter to President Eisenhower, Secretary Mitchell states: "Negro skill rates remain disproportionately low, and as a result Negro unemployment rates are disproportionately high. The 1959 averages reveal a level of 4.6 percent for whites, but 11.5 percent for non-whites. Negro participation in apprenticeship training is still far too low."

The general picture limned by Mr. Mitchell does not really go to the heart of the matter because in particular trades, as the building trades, not only has Negro participation in apprenticeship training programs been almost nil, but the Negro has been losing ground in many of these trades, which have traditionally been his, in the South. Thus, we are confronted with a dual problem. One, the Negro is losing ground in many trades where he has held high representation. Two, one avenue of replacement, the apprenticeship training program, is excluding him.

To deal with the question of apprenticeship we must deal first with the question - what is the employment outlook in the various trades?

The total volume of employment at any particular time is related to the volume of spending, both private and public. We know that, regardless of the level of employment, our population is increasing, which means that the demand for housing will increase. When we add to the private sector's needs, redevelopment programs, slum clearance, etc., the need for skilled mechanics will be great.

Of equal importance is that construction occurs everywhere. This means that employment opportunities will be present everywhere, varying from city to city and from trade to trade. The number of workers to be hired will necessarily be greatest where the greatest amount of construction is going on - the larger cities, and in those parts of the country in an active stage of industrial development and population growth. However, in the older sections of the country, where construction activity seems unlikely, new workers will be needed to replace those leaving the labor force. It should be noted that in the older sections of the country redevelopment programs have added a new spurt to construction activity.

In addition, prospects for workers of all ages are excellent in the building trades, unlike manufacturing where young workers are preferred for certain jobs, and older workers for others. The building trades may be called lifetime occupations, since a workman can keep his skill and continue to find employment at a greater age than in many other industries.

Various studies reveal that the trade is losing more workers than is being replaced. The most effective manner in which skilled manpower ~~may~~ be added is through the apprenticeship program. Thus, there should be thousands of opportunities for boys interested in the building trades - Negroes as well as whites. But we know that this is not so. Discrimination and race prejudice have prevented the entrance of Negroes into the building trades. In many instances it has been through exclusion from unions, either by a "white only" clause, tacit consent, or preference given to white journeymen. In other instances, the Negro has been excluded from the job by the employer.

On the whole, opportunities for Negroes have been best in plastering and bricklaying, and the poorest in the mechanical trades - electrical work, plumbing and pipefitting, operating cranes, and other related work. Even where the Negro has acquired the necessary skill in one of the crafts, union exclusion presents a major handicap since most of the new construction is done under union contract. It is particularly severe for the applicant interested in apprenticeship training, but in spite of this and other handicaps a limited number of Negroes desiring to enter the building trades have been able to do so through informal on-the-job training and training in non-union apprenticeships. Also, a few journeymen have "picked up" their trades by working as helpers for several years. This is the case in many southern areas where a Negro employed as a helper may do the full job under the supervision of a white journeyman who serves as a foreman. The accepted method of receiving training for all the building trades, however, is through registered apprenticeship.

Let us try to answer the question, "what is apprenticeship?" Apprenticeship is a means of job entry into a craft. It is a job at which a worker learns while producing and earns an established proportionate wage of the journeyman. This worker has the definite objective of becoming a craftsman in his chosen trade. He goes through a period of on-the-job training, usually 4,000 hours or more, in which he is made familiar with the materials, tools, skills and principles of the trade. At the end of his apprenticeship period this worker should be eligible for journeyman's status. The apprenticeship agreement includes all the terms both parties have to meet. The agreement is registered with the State Council on Apprenticeship. In many instances, advance apprenticeship standing is given for skill acquired in the armed forces or through vocational schools.

Since we have mentioned vocational training, it may be helpful to distinguish between vocational education and apprentice-training. One essential difference is that on-the-job training involves some forty hours per week in practical work. In the vocational course the student spends about fifty percent of his school time, or fifteen hours a week on practical shop work, which is less than half the amount of time an apprentice spends each week. The results are that while the vocational graduate may be granted advanced standing as an apprentice, he is by no means a fully qualified journeyman. Furthermore, it is the consensus of opinion that vocational training cannot and is not intended to produce full-fledged craftsmen. This can only be expected after on-the-job training has supplemented vocational training.

Another difference usually listed between vocational training and apprenticeship is the wage paid, which increases as the youth learns. The exact proportion between the apprentice's rate and that of the going rate for the journeyman is part of the indenture. Usually it averages fifty percent or more of the journeyman's rate over the period of apprenticeship.

Although we have established the fact that the outlook for the building trades is good and there is sufficient work for the available workforce, at least two other things should be mentioned. One is whether a sufficient number of replacements are being trained to replace both those dying and those retiring from the workforce. The second is whether or not there are Negroes available in the proper age groups with sufficient educational background to be qualified for apprenticeships.

With respect to question one, a Joint Congressional Committee on Housing in 1947 found in one city alone that for every new worker entering the trade, the trade was losing nine old workers. This situation was typical. While numbers varied from city to city, there is no doubt that losses from the ranks of skilled labor was greater than the current rate of replacement.

To answer the second question we need two sypes of statistics; one, availability of Negro youth for apprenticeship programs, and two, does this youth have the necessary educational background.

Availability can be noted in a negative manner since the male Negro youth in the 18-19 age group suffered 27.2 percent unemployment and the 20-24 age group had 16.3 percent unemployed, indicating the availability of potential apprentices. Now that we know there is available a group of Negro youth for apprenticeship programs we ask, do they have the educational qualifications? As an example, we will take the youth in school between the ages of 14-17 in 1956. These youths should be available for apprenticeship programs in 1959 since the 14-year group would be of age and the 17-year group would still be available because the apprenticeable ages are from 18-24. In 1956 those Negro youths in the 14-17 age group had some 81.2 percent in school, but still the number being accepted for apprenticeship programs was negligible as compared to white.

Proportionately, the Negro craftsman is declining in the building trades; this source is drying up and this closes the likelihood of Negro craftsmen serving as teachers to Negro apprentices. Also, the number of Negro apprentices accepted is so small, assuming that they complete the course, that the future outlook is negligible. In addition, there are certain crafts which have barred the Negro entirely from their apprenticeship programs which, in combination act to limit the Negro's economic security in the building trades.

There are several reasons why Negro youth don't clamor to get into the building trades:

(a) Limitations suffered by capable Negro mechanics in many communities, such as denial of union membership or protection, reprisal of employment at prevailing wages, marginal status of craftsmen, etc., often discourage Negro youth from choosing building trades as a vocation.

(b) The long-term effect of the above limitations in some communities has been to reduce the quality of Negro mechanics, the more promising and ambitious going into fields offering more attractive opportunities. Youth get the impression that all Negro mechanics are poorly trained and inefficient and hesitates to identify themselves with these trades.

(c) The apprentice training program operates principally through union channels and as Negroes are often out of touch with these channels not too much is known among them as to the provisions and availability of the program.

Since the organized labor movement is a basic factor in giving reality and integrity to any apprenticeship training program, I was pleased to note from the statement of George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, which was presented to your Committee, that he supported your bill.

Recommendations for achieving greater equality of employment opportunity and optimum utilization of minority manpower throughout the economy:

1. Federal Fair Employment Practice legislation such as H.R. 262.

2. Reduction of the indenturing term for the graduation of a journeyman craftsman. The present term of indenturing apprentices harks back to the old medieval Guilds that sharply restricted entry into the craft guilds. These restrictions are retained and maintained for job monopoly by the craft unions. This is not objectionable as long as the unions are open that, in turn, keep and maintain occupations and jobs open.

3. Abolish father and son system of designating candidates as apprentices for training programs.

CALL FOR NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL CONVENTION TO BE HELD IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, NOVEMBER 10, 11 AND 12, 1961

With irresistable and accelerating force, the struggle for human rights advances throughout the world by destroying institutions and attitudes of racial, ethnic, national and religious bigotry. After centuries of exploitation and domination, the heretofore oppressed peoples of the world are demanding and are achieving their inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We stand at the threshold of this great, historic human rights revolution which is destined to liberate millions of peoples from bondage and economic exploitation.

The forces of reaction, however, are far from dead. It is precisely because reactionary institutions and attitudes stubbornly attempt to hold back human progress, and conservative forces are unable to assess realistically the urgent significance of the human rights revolution that the peoples of every continent become involved in a world crisis.

A major and integral part of this great human rights revolution is the struggle of the black African and black American laboring masses for complete and immediate emancipation. In Africa, we witness the ending of colonial imperialism with the emergence of independent national states with black Africans assuming direct responsibility for their own destinies. In the United States, we witness the onrush of a great civil rights revolution that has as it historic mission the attainment of full equality for all Americans, black and white. In Africa and the United States, the critical and deciding question is the resolution of the color bar, an insidious institution that pervades African and American culture, in favor of

Text of Keynote Address by A. Philip Randolph
National President, Negro American Labor Council,
at NALC Second Annual Convention, Hamilton Hotel,
Chicago, Illinois, November 10-12, 1961

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE BLACK LABORING MASSES IN THIS AGE OF A REVOLUTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

In this mid-twentieth century black labor is one hundred years behind white labor. Black labor is behind white labor in the skilled crafts. They are behind in trade union organization. They are behind in workers' education. They are behind in employment opportunities.

Why? The answer is not because white labor is racially superior to black labor. Not because white labor is more productive than black labor.

In the race between black and white labor in American industry, black labor never had a chance. How could it be otherwise when Negro workers began as slaves while white workers began as free men, or virtually as free men.

In addition to a quarter of a thousand years of captivity in the labor system of chattel slavery, black labor, even after emancipation, has been a prisoner for a hundred years of a moneyless system of peonage, sharecropper-plantation-farm laborism, and a helpless and hopeless city-slum proletariat.

BACKGROUND

This tragic plight of the black laboring masses stems from the fact that the Proclamation of Emancipation by Abraham Lincoln never really emancipated the slaves, because the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed.

It is a notorious fact that the three War Amendments, 13th, 14th, and 15th, were promptly nullified by a counter Confederate Revolution mounted by the hungry and angry defeated old slave oligarchy, and the new coalition of city business, industrial and banking interests - the success and prosperity of which depended principally upon cheap labor.

This feudal plantation-capitalist economy, which provided the foundation of the post Civil War South, mobilized a gigantic propaganda machine in the triumvirate politician, press and pulpit, which brainwashed both the black and white working class with the dangerous doctrine of white supremacy.

This doctrine broke the southern working class in twain, with white on one side and black on the other. Instead of decent wages, white labor was sold, as a symbol of status, identification with the dominant plantation-capitalist class. Black labor was ruthlessly repressed and intimidated by rope and faggot, southern racial law, police and court.

White and black workers, under the lash and deception of the myth of white supremacy, in rags and shacks, poverty and pauperism, bayed and baited each other while their white financial and industrial southern masters coined their blood and sweat into profits and power.

INTRA-WORKING CLASS RACIAL WARFARE

No greater tragedy has befallen the working class anywhere in the modern world than that which plagues the working class in the South. Both white and black workers turned against their own class and gave aid to their enemy, the feudalistic-capitalist class, to subject them to sharper and sharper exploitation and oppression.

Verily, black and white workers did not fight each other because they hated each other, but they hated each other because they fought each other. They fought each other because they did not know each other. They did not know each other because they had no contact or communication with each other. They had no contact or communication with each other because they were afraid of each other. They were afraid of each other because each was propagandized into believing that each was seeking to take the jobs of the other.

By poisonous preachments by the press, pulpit and politician, the wages of both black and white workers were kept low and working conditions bad, since trade union organization was practically non-existent. And, even today, the South is virtually a "no man's land" for union labor.

There is no remedy for this plight of the South's labor forces except the unity of the black and white working class.

FAILURE OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION DRIVES

It is a matter of common knowledge that union organization campaigns, whether under the auspices of the old American Federation of Labor, or the younger Congress of Industrial Organizations, or the AFL-CIO, have wound up as miserable failures.

The reason is not only because the southern working class is divided upon a basis of race, but also because the AFL, the CIO, and the AFL-CIO never took cognizance of this fact. They never built their organization drives upon the principle of the solidarity of the working class. On the contrary, they accepted and proceeded to perpetuate this racial-labor mores, the purpose of which was, and is, the perpetuation of segregation - the antithesis of trade union organization.

Thus, they sowed the winds of the division of the workers upon the basis of race, and now they are reaping the whirlwinds.

The leadership of the organized labor movement has at no time ever seriously challenged Jim Crow unionism in the South. White leaders of labor organizations, like white leaders of the Church, business, government, schools, and the press, marched together, under the banner of white supremacy, in the Ku Klux Klan, to put down and keep down by law or lawlessness, the Negro.

BLACK LABOR
FOUNDATION OF NEW SOUTHERN ECONOMY

In fact, a reign of racial terror broke loose against the black freedmen following the unholy conspiracy of Republicans and Democrats, in the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876, to sell the former Negro slaves down the river.

The new plantation-capitalist masters of the South with their Negro-phobic politician henchmen, such as "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina, Vardaman of Mississippi, and Hoke Smith and Tom Watson of Georgia, inflamed the common white workmen to use violence, blood, and death to reduce their black brothers to utter subjection, if not a condition of semi-slavery.

Verily, the hot, wild winds of racial fury which blew through the South served as a socio-psychological precondition to the building of the new southern economic order of capitalist feudalism upon a black pillow of flesh.

RACE AGAINST CLASS

This is why a viable labor movement will not and can not be built in the South until these historic socio-economic, political, racial realities are understood, properly appraised, and action forthrightly and courageously taken, to organize black and white workers upon a basis of complete equality, free from all forms of segregation or discrimination.

It was during this era of the South that the pattern of the second-class status of citizenship of the Negro was fixed, primarily to provide a body of cheap black labor.

The racial citizenship pattern was subsequently transported to all areas of the United States and was accepted as the foundation of the color caste culture in the country. This pattern of second-class citizenship for persons of color was accepted to apply to workers of color in the House of Labor.

But, just as the southern white working class made a tragic blunder when they turned against their black working class brothers and went over into the camp of rulers of the business, banking, industrial and plantation forces, so organized labor made a well-nigh fatal mistake when it accepted the pattern of citizenship of black workers in the House of Labor which had been fashioned, framed and formed by the economic exploiters of both black and white labor. This is evident by the fact that neither white or black workers can build effective trade unions in the South, and also by the fact that the coalition of Dixiecrat congressmen and reactionary northern Republicans defeat or emasculate practically every legislative bill in behalf of the American workers, and civil rights, presented to the Congress.

REASON FOR SOUTHERN WHITE WORKERS' MISTAKE

Undoubtedly, two reasons exist for the split in the southern working class. One was the inner confusion of white workers with respect to the relative values of their class and race relationships, and the impact of racist propaganda of the profits-seeking ruling employers of the South who were primarily concerned with low labor costs.

Because of the low economic and social estate of the poor white workers in the post-Civil War South, they naturally secured solace and compensation in the privilege to look down upon, and lord it over, the black laboring masses. Their working-class consciousness had not reached the level of clarity to enable them to understand that their major interests did not lie with Senator Eastland of Mississippi, or Governor Patterson of Alabama, or the owners of the lumber mills, turpentine stills, cotton and tobacco plantations, bankers and industrialists, but with the black section of the southern working class in the cotton fields, sugar cane brakes, and railroad section gangs in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana.

The white workers did not then realize that their fate was tied up with the fate of their black brothers and that they would ultimately go up or down together in a continuous struggle for bread and freedom with southern capitalists.

They did not realize that, in the nature of the profit economy, the day would come when their color identification with the southern bankers and plantation owners could not be translated into food, clothing, shelter, recreation and education for themselves and families.

Unfortunately, the organized labor movement did little to wake them up to the realization of the fact that race and color, religion or national origin, is no barrier to exploitation and oppression, as shown by the low standards of living and high level of illiteracy of both white and black workers in the South.

NEGRO WORKERS' ATTITUDE TO WHITE WORKERS

While northern and southern capitalists warned Negro workers and their leaders against white trade unions, to avoid the unity and strength of black and white workers which could, and would, be used to fight for higher wages, shorter hours of work and better working conditions, Negro workers sought membership in labor unions wherever possible.

Clever capitalist agitators played upon the fears of both white and black workers by telling black workers that white workers consider them inferior, and telling white workers that black workers consider themselves as good as the white workers, and that each sought the jobs of the other.

A cursory survey of this period will leave little doubt in the mind of the most objective observer that no stone was left unturned by the southern alliance of the Bourbon agrarian-industrial forces to wrench the very heart of the free worker out of the black proletariat, in order that they may be converted into the least labor-cost factor in the post-Civil War southern economy.

They succeeded.

While, before Emancipation, the Negro only had job security as a slave because he toiled for nothing, so, following Black Reconstruction, black freedmen labored within the framework of a peonage-sharecrop, labor-barter commissary system for, perhaps, a little more than nothing.

And, despite the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, clear commitments to the protection of the freedmen, the Negro laboring masses have never fully broken through the barriers of the ethnic-labor mores of the South, which were hardened into a racially segregated order by the celebrated Plessy vs Ferguson decision of the U. S. Supreme Court of 1896. Moreover, like the proverbial locusts, the doctrine of least ethnic-labor costs, or a racial sub-wage differential, spread in every area of American industry.

Thus, Negro workers are not yet fully free in the South. By the same token, white workers in the South are not yet fully free, because no white worker can ever become fully free as long as a black worker is in southern Bourbon bondage. And as long as white and black workers in the South are not fully free, the entire working class, North, East, South and West, are not and will not become fully free. There is no principle more obvious and universal than the indivisibility of the freedom of the workers regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, being based, as it were, upon the principle of least labor costs in a free market economy.

This is why the racial policies of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations have so devastatingly weakened, morally, organizationally, and politically, the American labor movement before the Congress, the public, and the world.

FLIGHT OF INDUSTRIES SOUTH

One has only to note that while trade unions, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Ladies' Garment Workers, and United Textile Workers, are building up decent wage rates and sound rules governing working conditions in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Illinois, corporate capital, highly sensitive to the least threat to high rates of profits and interest upon investments, promptly takes flight into the land of non-union, low wage, low tax, race bias, mob law, and poor schools, namely, Dixie. Southern mayors, governors, and legislatures make special appeals in the northern press to industries to come South for non-union, cheap labor.

But this anti-trade union condition in the South is labor's fault. It is the direct result of the fact that neither the old AFL, or the CIO, or the AFL-CIO ever came to grips with the racial-labor problem in the South. Instead of meeting the racial-labor issue head on, organized labor has always adopted a policy of appeasement, compromise and defeatism. The evidence exists in the fact that it has recognized and accepted:

(a) The Jim Crow union

(b) The color bar in union constitutions, rituals, or exclusionary racial policies by tacit consent

(c) Racially segregated seniority rosters and lines of job progression

(d) Racial sub-wage differential

(e) Indifferent recognition, if not acceptance of the concept and practice of a "white man's job" and a "black man's job"

(f) Racial barriers against Negro participation in apprenticeship training programs

(g) Failure to demand Negro workers' participation in union democracy

(h) Racially segregated State conventions of the AFL-CIO in southern cities

(i) Racially segregated city central labor bodies of the AFL-CIO

Is there anyone so naive or cynical as to believe that these forms of race bias are not organizationally and economically disadvantageous to the black laboring masses? Not only has the long system of color caste condition in American industry thrust the Negro workers to the lowest rungs of the occupational hierarchy, but it tends to reinforce the accepted inferiority hereditary position of black labor, which drastically limits their economic mobility and viability.

AFL-CIO LEADERSHIP INDIFFERENT TO RACE BIAS IN UNIONS

Although not unaware of the fact that racial discrimination in trade unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO has existed for almost a century, no profound concern is now manifest by the leadership about this dreadful evil.

Instead of becoming aroused and disturbed about the existence of race bias in unions that affect employment opportunities and the economic status of the Negro worker, AFL-CIO leadership waves aside criticism of the movement's racial policies, as pure exaggeration unworthy of dispassionate examination.

Such was the reaction to a memorandum on race bias in trade unions, together with corrective proposals, I submitted to George Meany and the Executive Council at Unity House, Pennsylvania, June 1961.

Instead of giving the memorandum a painstaking, rational analysis to determine if it contained any meritorious suggestions, it became the occasion of voluminous rebuttal and attack upon, and censure of, myself.

The rebuttal was not only innocuous, barren and sterile of a single new, vital, creative and constructive idea with which to grapple with the menace of race segregation and discrimination, but was a distressingly vain effort to justify a "do little" civil rights record in the House of Labor.

But were the charges of race discrimination in unions and industry overdrawn?

I charged that there are Jim Crow unions in AFL-CIO affiliates and that nothing is being done systematically and consistently to correct this situation.

If this is not true, what, and where, is anything being done to desegregate these unions?

I charged that there are local unions of national and international affiliates that exclude Negro workers by tacit consent.

If this is not true, why did it take over two years for a Negro electrical worker to get a job in government buildings in Washington, D. C.?

The reason was that Local 26 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers refused to accept a Negro electrical worker as a member, and an electrical worker who was not given permission to work on a government building job just couldn't work. Now, the sole Negro electrical worker who was a member of the Electrical Workers' Union in Detroit has not yet been reported to have been accepted into membership of Local 26.

What about two Negro electrical workers who struggled over two years to become members of Local 38 of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Cleveland? President Meany was finally able to settle these two cases. But are Negro workers to be expected to exhibit patience to wait two or more years to get two or three Negro workers as members into an electrical workers' union?

I only mention these two instances of the operation of the color bar against Negro workers because they represent flagrant instances of race bias, but the fact is that Negro members in the craft unions are as scarce as the proverbial hen's teeth.

I charged that there were racial barriers to the designation of young Negroes to participate in apprenticeship training programs.

If this is not true, how do you account for the paucity of Negro craft union journeymen who have gone through the official trade union apprenticeship system?

I charged that there are racially segregated lines of job progression.

If this is not true, why are Negroes disproportionately concentrated into categories of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who, on account of the automation revolution, are in decreasing demand?

I charged that Negroes do not adequately share in the benefits of union democracy.

If this is not true, why are so few Negro trade unionists members of the policy-making bodies of their own union? And why are there only a handful of Negro delegates in attendance at AFL-CIO conventions? Negroes may be seen around the convention, but they are not delegates; they are mere observers without voice or vote. In fact, for years, delegates from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters were the only Negro delegates at the American Federation of Labor conventions. They constitute, as a rule, about half of the Negro delegates in attendance at the AFL-CIO conventions. International unions with thousands of Negro members never send a Negro delegate to a convention of the AFL-CIO.

I charged that State conventions of the AFL-CIO in the South are segregated, in violation of the constitution which bans discrimination based upon race or color.

If this is not true, I would welcome knowing of a southern State AFL-CIO convention which is free from segregation, except the Virginia State AFL-CIO convention which was desegregated last August 1961 by Negro delegates to the convention, under the educational leadership of the Negro American Labor Council.

I charged that President George Meany has failed to place the full moral weight of his office back of the civil rights movement in the House of Labor to the extent he placed the moral weight of his office behind the movement for the unity of the AFL and the CIO, and the fight against communism and corruption.

If this is not true, then how can you reconcile his passionate and ceaseless efforts to expel the Teamster's Union and its president, James Hoffa, for alleged corruption, with his personal and vigorous opposition to the expulsion of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen demanded by a resolution of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the 1959 San Francisco convention, even though the Firemen's Union had a color clause in its constitution in violation of the clear mandate of the constitution of the AFL-CIO?

I charged that even the office of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO was not properly integrated, there being only one Negro on the staff, an Assistant Director, with no worker of color in the office personnel.

The records will attest as to whether this charge is true or false.

I charged that the staffs and offices of most of the big unions were sparsely staffed and integrated with Negro personnel, while a large number of unions with large Negro membership have no integration at all.

Here again, the records will show if this charge is an exaggeration or not.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

President Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council Seek to Brainwash the Public into Acceptance of Whitewash of Do-Little Civil Rights Record

Employing the dubious moral diversionary tactics of pointing to the alleged sins of an accuser in order to direct attention from one's own sins, the Executive Council launched a blast against the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Negro American Labor Council and myself, with the obvious purpose of establishing that the Brotherhood, NALC, and myself are racists.

Like the man confronting a lapidary with a counterfeit diamond seeks to protect his phony stone by attempting to discredit the lapidary by crying faker, the AFL-CIO, being guilty of countenancing race bias itself, points an accusing finger at the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council. But there is no escaping the moral judgment of the public by the resort to the device of denying culpability for the sins, or false stone, for the truth, like murder, will out.

Now, I am charged with failure to negotiate a non-discrimination provision in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porter's contract with Pullman. Why should I, when there never has been a case, so far as I know, where a white worker seeking a job as a Pullman porter has been the victim of racial discrimination?

WHO IS DISCRIMINATING AGAINST WHITE WORKERS?

Since it is utterly fantastic to attempt to dream of cases of discriminatory practices in any industry in the United States against white workers seeking jobs held by Negroes, President Meany and the distinguished members of the Executive Council know full well that there just aren't any such breed of dogs.

Moreover, the Brotherhood has a non-discriminatory membership clause in its constitution. Its membership includes white men in Canada, Filipinos, Mexicans, and a number of other nationalities. Criticism of the Brotherhood, on the grounds that it lacks an integrated staff, is without point and is ill-timed. The fact is, officials of the Brotherhood's membership include white sleeping car porters in Canada and Filipinos and Mexicans on the local executive boards in the States. Brotherhood officials personally urged whites, Filipinos and Mexicans to take official posts in the local unions.

As to the question of the Brotherhood being without an integrated staff, the answer is that while the Brotherhood does not have an integrated staff it has Negro and white lawyers and Negro and white accountants, as well as a white economist.

But President Meany and the Executive Council know full well that the affirmation that the Brotherhood practices discrimination because it does not have an integrated staff is the essence of reductio ad absurdum. Sheer common sense would enable the most prejudicial minded to see that the Brotherhood could only be accused of practicing racial discrimination were a white worker to apply for a staff job and there was a vacancy which was filled by a Negro, after turning down the white applicant.

As a matter of fact, the question of whether or not the Brotherhood practices racial discrimination would only have point if it were a federation of labor with a minority of white workers who were victims of various and varied forms of race bias, such as Negro workers are now in the AFL-CIO. Otherwise, the question is a mere meaningless abstraction.

It is a well-known fact that not only is the Brotherhood not now racist, but it has never been guilty of any form of race, color, religious or nationality bias. In fact, it is responsible for the civil rights movement in the labor movement in the United States today, by its consistent fight against Jim Crow in the old AFL in every one of its conventions. When the Brotherhood came into the old American Federation of Labor some twenty-three unions, more or less, had color clauses in their constitutions. A Negro worker was never even seen in the headquarters, to say nothing about being on some staff in a department. Besides the Brotherhood delegates, Negro delegates were conspicuous by their absence and the situation is not much better today. I understand that Negroes were present in the CIO conventions, but very few were delegates.

Finally, the very groundless allegations of the Brotherhood practicing discrimination is not only an evidence of the concentration of the report on my memorandum to the Executive Council on race bias in unions, with emphasis upon, and engrossment with the trivia, but reveals a preoccupation of mind of the Executive Council members which is unworthy of, and beneath the dignity of responsible leaders of labor of the most powerful national trade union center in the world.

REPORT REFLECTS SPIRIT OF REVANCHE

It sadly reflects more concern with perpetual,petty, picayunish, personal peeves against Negro critics of the moral and organizational inadequacies and shortcomings of the labor movement, as represented by the AFL-CIO in the realm of human rights, than with honestly seeking to come to grips with the most vital, crucial and challenging question of our time, both in the United States and the world.

And it behooves the leaders of the AFL-CIO to know that it is moral suicidal folly to continue to dodge the issue of race bias by playing the role of the ostrich which seeks refuge from a storm by burying its head in the sand. In fact, the report is a distressingly feeble and ineffectual attempt, in frustration and desperation, to brainwash the public into accepting the whitewash of a do-little civil rights record of the AFL-CIO. And so far as factuality and rationality are concerned it is more distinguished, in its spectrum of analysis and argumentation, by its thermal than its luminous rays.

REPORT SOUNDS NOTE OF DEFEATISM

Verily, the voluminous report is a sort of apocalyptic description of the doom and disaster certain to befall the civil rights cause in organized labor if I continue to throw brickbats at the Executive Council, which is supposed to have already given all of the correct answers to the questions involving civil rights in trade unions.

Instead of this melancholy grumbling and reckless practice of striking back in the spirit of revenge, with a self-righteous posture about the AFL-CIO's record on race bias, the leadership needs to give expression to an Olympian optimism and faith in winning the war against racial discrimination with positive and affirmative action to wipe out this evil in all of its forms in the House of Labor. But on the contrary, if it is not belligerency against anyone, and especially Negro, who does not agree with the bankrupt racial policy of the AFL-CIO, it is virtual capitulation to an admittedly tough, institutionalized problem of race bias, under a mood of moral paralysis of pessimism, defeatism, and cynicism.

REPORT FULL OF INACCURACIES

Besides the report's factual inaccuracies and flagrant misrepresentations of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Negro American Labor Council, and myself, it announces a new doctrinal position against any deviation from the Executive Council's civil rights line as a wicked species of trade union heresy.

Moreover, this blundering business of seeking disengagement, from the sharp criticism of trade unions' failure effectively to meet the issue of race bias by the Government's Civil Rights Commission Report and the widening and deepening loss of faith by Negro labor in the integrity of the AFL-CIO, is compounded by a crude attempt to blame me for the gap between the AFL-CIO and the Negro community.

THAT GAP

The fact is, the gap between organized labor and the Negro community has been created by racial bias in the unions, the failure of labor leadership to do anything meaningful about it, and the tendency to question the motives of anyone who tries to do anything about it. When Negro leaders decry the existence of racial discrimination in labor unions they are promptly branded as anti-organized labor.

In order to find out who created the gap between labor and the Negro community, it is necessary to know who is responsible for race bias in trade unions and responsible for doing something about it, but who, on the contrary, are dragging their feet by seeking refuge in the convenient doctrine of trade voluntarism and autonomy. Instead of creating the gap between the Negro community and the trade union movement, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council are trying to close the gap. In the memorandum submitted to the Executive Council I suggested proposals to this end.

BLURB FOR MEANY

One cannot overlook the blurb of adulation given Brother Meany in the report, for the things he has done for the cause of civil rights, in and out of organized labor. We, in the Brotherhood and NALC, certainly do not wish to take away any praise and credit for anything he has done against the evil of Jim Crow, and we agree that he has done some creditable things. Our only complaint is that he hasn't done enough and he has taken too long to do what he has done.

REJECT PUNITIVE SANCTIONS OF RACE BIASED UNIONS

Condemnation of proposals for punitive action against unions because of race bias is an indirect form of support of racial discriminatory practices in the name of opposing it.

AFL-CIO leadership faces the dilemma of choosing between morality and expediency in coming to grips with the great moral question of the God-given right of every worker, regardless of race or color, to earn his bread in the sweat of his brow and, be it said to their discredit, they selected the easy way - expediency.

This policy of compromise and retreat on the problem of eliminating all forms of inequality of workers on account of race, in the House of Labor, will not only weaken the domestic position of the AFL-CIO but will count down its image among the Afro-Asian workers.

If the AFL-CIO will risk nothing for a great moral value, such as respect for the dignity of the personality of every human being, then it will ultimately wind up with less of moral authority than it already has, and which is obviously in decline.

The AFL-CIO is in the midst of a ghastly dilemma of defiance and threat of withdrawal by some big, national unions that are afraid to face their own membership with a mandate to shuffle off this mortal coil of race bias, and the eternal guilt of evading the great moral challenge of human equality.

OBJECTIVE FORMS OF RACE BIAS IN UNIONS AND INDUSTRY

Now, in the light of the uncompromising and militant campaign of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Negro American Labor Council to relegate all forms of race bias in unions and industry to the limbo of oblivion now, today, not tomorrow, the question is being raised as to whether the Negro laboring masses are not too impatient.

Are Negro workers trying to move toward equality in trade unions and industry too rapidly?

What about the so-called progress which has been and is being made to abolish racial discrimination in organized labor?

Is criticism of the racial policies and program of action of the AFL-CIO valid and fair?

Are punitive proposals of unions practicing racial discrimination sound, or impractical?

These questions can only be correctly answered by the present economic plight of the Negro.

What is it?

BLACK JOBLESSNESS

Now, first let us look at black joblessness, a major causal factor of the socio-economic crisis of the Negro community.

What do we find?

According to a survey of unemployment among Negroes in fifty cities in 1959, by the National Urban League, the following facts that eloquently describe the reason for the ghettoization of the black communities are illuminating.

Because of race bias by unions and management, which drastically limits the access of Negro workers to apprenticeship training courses, the rate of unemployment of Negro workers over the last three years has been two and, in some areas, three times as high as the national rate of unemployment.

Note that in Chicago 17.3 per cent of Negro workers are jobless, whereas 5.7 per cent is the community's total unemployment rate; in Detroit, with over 185,000 unemployed, 112,000 are Negro; in New York City, 80,000 Negro workers , or 10 per cent, are unemployed, while 6.4 per cent of the total workforce are without employment; in Pittsburgh, 24 per cent of Negro workers are jobless, as against 11.6 per cent for the city as a whole; in St. Louis, the general unemployment rate is 8.4 per cent, while Negro unemployment is 20 per cent; in Philadelphia, Negro unemployment is 28 per cent, as against the total community rate of unemployment of 7 per cent; in Columbus, unemployment among Negroes has a rate of 10 per cent or more, while the general community rate is 5.6 per cent.

It is important to keep in mind, in connection with the unemployment crisis among the black laboring masses, that these Negro workers are not only victims of economic disaster areas, along with their white brothers, but they are also the victims of disaster industries and even disaster sections of industries, such as the railroads, particularly the passenger section and the operating department of the railroads.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Negro Pullman porters, railroad attendants, dining car employees and red caps have been hard hit as a result of the reckless discontinuance of passenger operations, which is largely the result of competitive modes of transportation such as airplanes and buses, but, especially, private automobiles that are responsible for carrying, between cities, 85 per cent of the traveling public.

But the loss of jobs by Negroes in the operating departments of railroads is largely due to race bias by the Big Four railway unions, the Firemen, the Engineers, Trainmen and Conductors.

Just a word now about the objective effects and results of race bias in trade unions and industry in two major cities that are generally considered to be relatively liberal, New York and Detroit.

In New York City, as well as throughout the State, non-white persons make up a very large part of those who live in poverty; a poverty that is frequently related to discriminatory racial practices that forces Negroes into a marginal position in the economy, even though opportunities may increase for other groups within the community.

The two major industries in New York City are garment manufacturing and printing and publishing. The printing and publishing industry alone employs more than 160 thousand workers, or about nine per cent of the manufacturing labor force. In both garment manufacturing and printing, however, we find that Negroes and Puerto Ricans are concentrated in the low paid, unskilled job classifications.

The Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University recently conducted a series of case studies in New York metropolitan manufacturing and concluded that in the New York garment industry Negroes and Puerto Ricans "were largely to be found in the less skilled, low-paid crafts and in shops making the lower priced lines, and in this industry their advancement to higher skills is not proceeding very rapidly. In the higher skilled coat and suit industry the new ethnic groups have hardly made an appearance."

The New York metropolitan region has twenty per cent of the nation's employment in printing and publishing. In a survey made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of Negro employment on the seven major New York City newspapers we find that, with the exclusion of building service and maintenance, less than one per cent of those employed on the seven major newspapers are Negroes. Virtually all of the Negroes that are employed on these newspapers are within the white collar jurisdiction of the New York Newspaper Guild.

We estimate that less than one-half of one percent of those currently employed in the newspaper crafts outside of the Guild's jurisdiction are Negroes. This includes printing pressmen, compositors, photo-engravers, stereotypers, paper handlers, mailers and delivery drivers.

In the past decade very little progress has been made in eliminating the traditional pattern of Negro exclusion and discrimination in the Plumbers and Pipe Fitters Union; the Iron and Structural Steel Workers; the Plasterers and Lathers; the Sheet Metal Workers; the Boiler Makers; the Carpenters, as well as the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Union, and others.

In New York City, Negro waiters and bellboys are more noted by their absence than presence in the hotels and restaurants except, perhaps, in a token form at some banquets. However, Negroes are members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union. One will need the proverbial microscope to discover a Negro bartender anywhere in the city except in a Negro community.

Negro motion picture operators have no job mobility. They are chiefly confined to the second-class motion picture theatres in Negro communities where they receive a sub-wage differential paid operators in this class of theatre.

At present there is a broad exclusion of Negro youth from major apprenticeship programs jointly conducted by industrial management and labor unions in the City of New York. For many occupations the only way a worker can be recognized as qualified for employment is to complete the apprenticeship training program. This is true for the printing trades, among machinists and metal workers, the construction industry, and others.

The role of the labor union in these occupations is decisive because the trade union usually determines who is admitted into the training program and, therefore, who is admitted into the union. This is especially true when the union controls access to employment.

In the New York metropolitan area there are many apprenticeship training programs in the building trades. Apprenticeship programs provide essential training for a wide variety of skills in this important area of the region's economy. These include apprenticeship programs for asbestos workers, electrical workers, glaziers, ironworkers, latherers, painters, plumbers and sheetmetal workers.

A recent study by the NAACP clearly indicates that less than one per cent of the apprentices in the construction industry throughout the nation are Negroes. Unfortunately, the number of Negroes in apprenticeship training programs in the New York construction industry differs little from the national pattern.

The lack of apprentice-trained Negro craftsmen directly affects the economic standing of Negroes as a whole. Data indicates that craftsmen command substantially higher incomes than unskilled workers. If, then, Negroes are not employed in such occupations in large numbers, a potential source of high income is removed from this group. When this is coupled with other income limitations it becomes apparent why Negroes constitute a permanently depressed segment of American society.

NEGRO WORKERS' PLIGHT IN DETROIT

Vice President Horace Sheffield of the Negro American Labor Council made the following statement before the hearings of the Special Subcommittee on Labor, U. S. House of Representatives, in Chicago, October 23, 1961: According to Vice President Sheffield:

"The Detroit experience corroborates the general findings of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission that, "Within the labor movement itself civil rights goals are celebrated at the higher levels, but fundamental internal barriers tend to preserve discrimination at the working man's level."

"Our Detroit experience also supports the Commission's conclusions that, 'In the building and construction trades, the craft unions are the main source of recruitment and also largely determine admission into apprenticeship training programs. Here, too, there is a vicious circly of discrimination.'

"In 1957, about 3,000 apprentices were enrolled at the Detroit Board of Education's Apprentice Training School (where the Building Trades Unions have significant policy-making power and influence.) Of this number, only 59 were Negroes. The great bulk of whom were in the trowel trades. In 1960, the total number had dropped to approximately 2,000 with only 36 Negroes participating in the program and again the majority of these were in cement masonry, etc. In neither instance were there any Negro apprentices in plumbing, electrical, sheet metal, iron working, and many other skilled trades.

"An extremely dismal picture of the auto industry's apprenticeship training program was painted at the December 14-15, 1960, hearings before the U. S. Civil Rights Commission in Detroit. According to testimony presented at these hearings, Chrysler Corporation had 350 apprentices in its Detroit area plants. However, at the General Motors Institute in Flint, which enrolls 2,400 students in a five-year work and training program, there is not a single Negro student. Under their rules, students can apply directly but are not admitted unless a division sponsors them. These programs are management sponsored and Chrysler and General Motors must bear responsibility for their discriminatory character."

NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

Basically, the Negro American Labor Council is not different from the old United Hebrew Trades which served as the voice of the early Jewish migrant workers to America. These workers had both language and religious problems and, as a result, met with difficulties in industry and trade unions. Of course, the United Hebrew Trades was markedly different in structure from the Negro American Labor Council inasmuch as it had actual trade unions affiliated to it. But it served specifically to advance the cause of Jewish workers,which is definitely expressed in its name.

This organization was built up by Jewish labor, civic and religious leaders, such as Abraham Cahan, noted editor of the Jewish Daily Forward,

B. Charney Vladeck, Congressman Meyer London, Abraham Shiplacoff, Joseph Schlossberg, Benjamin Schlesinger, Morris Hilquit, well-known labor attorney, and others. The organization was accepted and generally supported by the official labor movement at that time, the American Federation of Labor.

In addition to the United Hebrew Trades there was the Workmen's Circle, a Jewish labor-fraternal insurance movement which gave help and leadership to the Jewish workers. I have never known of any complaints about these organizations on the grounds that they were strictly Jewish and were organized for the specific purpose of helping to meet the problems of Jewish workers.

Following these movements, the Jewish Labor Committee was set up, the main purpose of which is not only to represent and advance the interests of Jewish workers in the United States but to give special interest to and cooperate with the international movements of the Jewish people by helping to build the Histadrut.

It is a well-known fact that the Histadrut has served as the basic dynamism of Jewish Zionism and has been the foundation of the building of the State of Israel in Jerusalem. In fact, the Histadrut is one of the great labor movements of the world. It is an outstanding example of the principle of "operation self-help" under the most trying circumstances, in building the power of the Jewish workers through know-how, dedication, struggle, suffering and sacrifice, an example which can serve as great value and inspiration to the leaders of the laboring masses of the new emerging states of Africa and Asia. I am confident that it would be immensely helpful for all of the leaders of African labor to visit Israel to study the Histadrut.

Thus, the aforementioned movements of Jewish workers have wrought well in their behalf. Other minority workers in America, such as the Italians, established the Italian Chamber of Labor to serve as the voice of the Italian workers. There is also the Catholic Association of Trade Unions. Irish workers, who were also greatly disadvantaged by religious discrimination, were greatly helped by many types of Irish and Catholic organizations. These organizations sharply reflected the spirit of Irish-Catholic nationalism for they were not only concerned about the Irish workers in America but also in the achievement of a Free Ireland. Most of the workers from various countries in Europe united among themselves to fight for their rights.

Puerto Ricans who have come into New York in large numbers in the last decade have found it necessary to seek the advancement of their interests through self-organization.

Harry Van Arsdale, liberal and aggressive president of the New York Central Labor Council, informed me of the fact that Puerto Rican members of his union, Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, had formed a caucus to fight for the rights of Puerto Ricans within the local union.

Now, what about the Negro American Labor Council?

It is apparent that the Negro American Labor Council is not an unusual or unprecedented organization in the American labor movement, either before or since the merger.

In the first place, this movement has come into existence in response to a basic need and demand for an organization committed to Negro labor's rights and civil rights to fill an existing vacuum in the Negro community because of a roadblock of discrimination and segregation against Negro workers' advance toward job opportunities and equality in the House of

Labor, industry and government.

It is a basic indication of faith and belief in self-reliance in the fight for the effectuation of the emancipation of Negro labor in American industry and labor unions.

While it is basically pro-Negro, it is not anti-white. It has no color bar. It is non-partisan, but not non-political. It is anti-Communist, anti-Fascist, anti-racist - white or black. It is not anti-AFL-CIO, but pro-free, democratic trade unionism , as the basic hope and salvation of all workers. It is, however, uncompromisingly anti-discrimination and segregation in the ranks of trade unions, industry and government.

It is the reincarnation of a deep spiritual hunger, restless and insistent search for an authentic voice for the black laboring masses to express their grievances, hopes, aspirations and longings for complete equality, freedom and justice.

While not rejecting the principle of alliance with civil rights movements, it is an expression of basic faith in the principle of self-reliance by black labor to abolish racial discrimination and segregation in trade unions, industry and government.

The logic of the right of existence of the Negro American Labor Council consists in the fact that in the history of the cause of human liberty there is little or no evidence of any powerful movement, which inevitably develops a vested interest in the maintenance of the status quo, automatically initiating action of self-purification of its sins of commission or omission at the expense of weaker groups.

Thus, just as it is necessary to develop a labor movement to move employers' movements, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, to win labor's rights, it is also natural, inevitable and necessary for an oppressed minority to develop movements to move other movements, though not always hostile, in the interest of the achievement of liberation.

Instead of NALC constituting a threat to the AFL-CIO it is a basic asset, in that as a result of its philosophy and program the organized American labor movement will be spiritually and morally stronger because of the fight NALC is waging against the color caste system in the House of Labor.

Strangely enough, the advent of the Negro American Labor Council has been the occasion of a wide-ranging controversy involving the question of the justification of its existence. In certain circles of labor and liberals there are grave misgivings about the validity of a movement of Negro trade unionists which elects to presume to serve as the voice of the trials and troubles, hopes and aspirations of the black laboring masses.

Questions are seriously raised about the wisdom of a movement among Negroes which foregoes the integration of its white labor and liberal friends. But what about the Jewish Labor Committee? Is it integrated with its Negro, Protestant, Catholic and liberal friends?

And, what unforgivable sin has been committed against the organized American working class when black trade unionists band themselves together in a movement to wage warfare against discrimination and segregation on account of race or color, in trade unions, industry and government? Is not history replete with comparable struggles of peoples against persecution and oppression on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry?

Who could be expected to struggle, sacrifice and suffer, and even die, in order to break through the dismal and deathlike ghettoes of Warsaw and Southeastern Europe except Jews themselves who have dedicated their lives to the building of a home in Palestine?

Who could have been expected to battle the mighty British Empire for the freedom of Ireland but the Irish themselves?

Who could be expected to build trade unions to fight the organized employing class for decent wages and working conditions but the workers themselves?

And who would be expected to introduce resolutions in the AFL-CIO conventions for the expulsion of two powerful railroad unions on account of the color bar in their constitutions, except Negro delegates to the convention?

In the light of the history of the struggles of ethnic, labor and religious groups for independence, freedom, justice and human dignity, it is distressing to note how the Negro American Labor Council has been distorted, derided and decried by some labor leaders for existing and behaving much in the same manner as other minority movements.

Because of the long absence of Negroes as members of policy-making bodies, delegates to conventions, members of staff, and executive and administrative officials in trade unions, a sort of psychological inertia has been built up which tends to cause some labor and liberal leaders to view with alarm and dismay any militant and aggressive demand and action on the part of Negro trade unionists to change this condition.

Thus, when the Negro American Labor Council raises the demand that a Negro trade unionist be elected or appointed to a certain position which is being held by a white trade unionist, it is promptly met with the charge of practicing a bit of racial metaphysics; namely, segregation and discrimination "in reverse."

Why, the question is asked, should a Negro, though there may be a large membership of Negroes in the union, be mentioned for a job or office, thereby emphasizing the race issue, which is not in the interest of racial harmony?

The contention is that the election and appointment of trade unionists to offices and positions should be made solely upon a basis of merit, which is sometimes based upon the assumption that merit is a non-existent quality among Negro trade unionists. This racial policy, because of the color caste culture of the United States, exists in government, politics, industry, business, church, school, sports and theatre. Hence, the attitude of labor is merely a reflection of the prevailing racial mores of the country.

But since white labor is not fully free itself, as is evident by the Taft-Hartley Act and Landrum-Griffin Law, it has the moral and trade union responsibility to break through and abolish these mores against their fellow colored brothers.

Here are three examples of the necessity of organized action through an organized movement to move an organized movement:

One, the merger of the AFL-CIO in 1955 was practically the result of persistent efforts of the AFL and the CIO to move each other upon a course of action toward labor unity, plus the threat of growing reaction of anti-labor forces represented by the National Association of Manufacturers at the bargaining table, in the State Legislatures and the Congress.

After a period of twenty years of bitter and devastating recriminations and conflicts, trade unionists in each camp finally came to the realization that they could not move forward with a divided labor movement against a united Big Business movement. Of course, without the full moral weight of the office and personality of George Meany, president of the AFL, probably the chief architect of labor unity, together with the full co-operation and support of Walter Reuther, president of the CIO, the merger in 1955 would have been impossible.

What is important to note is that the birth of labor unity was attended by violent intra-labor organization conflicts, pain, trials, troubles and tribulations. And it is also significant to observe that the AFL could not be charged with anti-trade unionism because it fought the CIO, and by the same token the CIO could not be charged with anti-trade unionism because it fought the AFL.

Two, the expulsion of Communists and Communism from the AFL and the CIO was the result of organized, systematic and persistent action of the high command of leadership of both movements to wipe out the menace of Communist subversion to free, democratic trade unionism.

While the leadership of both the AFL and CIO was unequivocally committed to the elimination of Communists and Communism it was, nevertheless, prodded and encouraged to aggressive action by the pressure of anti-Communist public opinion from without, and the threat and fear of Communist disruptive activities from within. This fight against Communists in the labor movement involved a full-time, major, militant, massive movement under the vigilant eyes and direction of the top leadership, William Green and George Meany of the AFL and Philip Murray and Walter Reuther of the CIO.

The fight against Communists and Communism prevailed, but not without nation-wide warfare between the forces of Communism and free, democratic trade unionism which shook the labor movement to its very foundation, comparable to the revolution involving the conflict between craft and industrial unionism over a period of two decades.

In this struggle against Communist infiltration and subversion of trade unions some international unions were split, some local unions were lost to Communist forces and the powerful Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was virtually wrecked. In fact, a third, or Communist labor movement, was practically established in the country.

Not only were some Communist-dominated international unions expelled from the AFL and the CIO, but some international unions were forced to expel

Communist-dominated local unions, and Communist delegates were thrown out of central labor bodies, State federations and AFL and CIO conventions.

Three, the revolution against corruption and racketeering in unions is still under way although its climax has been reached, but only after the most powerful international union in America, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and several other strong national unions were expelled from the AFL-CIO.

This intra-labor convulsion was precipitated by initiation by the leadership of the AFL-CIO, the pressure of the movement of aggressive investigation of corruption and racketeering in trade unions by the McClellan Committee, and public opinion. This struggle for honesty and decency in unions was successful because the full moral weight of President Meany's office, with his personal supervision and direction of the anti-corruption campaign, was placed behind it. Here again, the labor movement was rocked by storms of protest against union leadership dishonesty from within and without.

While the American labor movement has been profoundly shaken by these internal seismic shocks it is the better and stronger morally on account of them.

In the light of the history of American workers to meet the challenge of these three major revolutions in the House of Labor, how can the AFL-CIO dislodge the forces of racism which have reached the stage of institutionalization over a period of almost one hundred years, without a painful, major operation or revolution which must and will shake the House of Labor?

This is why the Negro American Labor Council seeks and tells Negro and white trade unionists the truth about this struggle of black labor for first-class citizenship and equality in the organized labor movement, even when it hurts.

Negro trade unionists take the position that if it is proper and sound trade unionism for the AFL-CIO to expel powerful international unions and local unions because of Communist domination or on account of corruption and racketeering, it is equally proper and sound to expel an international or local union because of its practice of discrimination and segregation on account of race or color.

Though there is a growing sense of pessimism, skepticism and cynicism in the Negro community about the AFL-CIO leadership evincing the flexibility, imagination and will to seek to establish real and genuine communication and dialogue with Negro leadership in order to bring a halt and relaxation of the tensions of a cold war between these two forces, I am certain that the leadership of organized labor can rebuild the confidence of Negro trade unionists and the Negro community in the historic mission of the trade union movement to fight for bread and freedom for all workers, regardless of race or color.

In view of the long tradition of the commitment of the labor movement to freedom of speech and criticism, without which it could not have been born and survived, I hope that the most violent hostility and opposition to an idea or movement in the labor movement will not cause resort to suppression of criticism by the diversionary maneuver of refutation not by argumentation but by condemnation, such as branding Negro leaders who criticize union bias as anti-union.

In our day and time of cold war propaganda when few, if any, individuals or movements are immune from adverse criticism, it is a serious danger to the health of a democratic movement such as the trade union movement to deny the free competition of ideas in an open market of discussion. It is well-nigh self-evident that without criticism there can be no truth. Without truth there can be no freedom. And without freedom life is not worth living.

I have the faith that if George Meany and the members of the Executive Council become sufficiently deeply conscious of the urgency of resolving the harmful problem of the existing deepening crisis of confidence between the Negro and Labor communities to the unity and power of the American working class and a better image of democracy, freedom and brotherhood of the organized labor movement at home and abroad, they will demonstrate the statesmanship to rise to this great moral challenge.

WHAT SHALL WE DO?

1. Our convention must develop moral, spiritual, ideological and organizational unity and solidarity.
2. Develop program to build nationwide membership, primarily of Negro trade unionists and unorganized wage earners, to achieve basic power.
3. Provide moral and financial support to constitutional grant of power to the President to set up personnel forces in the national office effectively to build the Negro American Labor Council.
4. Set up a sound and practical financial system, in terms of dues and tax, and fund-raising plans, to give strength and force to the philosophy and program of our movement.
5. Develop a sound and aggressive apprenticeship training program in every local council. Urge each local council to work to mobilize the total resources of the Negro community in support of program.
6. Develop a veritable crusade to desegregate the southern AFL-CIO State conventions and City central bodies. This is a problem probably not less significant or difficult than the desegregation of public schools in the South. An encouraging and brilliant beginning on this program has been made with the desegregation of the Virginia AFL-CIO State Convention last August, under the educational leadership of the Negro American Labor Council.

It is important to add that President George Meany and the Executive Council, to whom this question was presented at the Executive Council meeting last June at Unity House, failed to make any progress with the solution of this problem.

7. Follow up and redouble the fight to eliminate race bias on the New York City waterfront. Much basic progress has been made, in awakening the Negro and white longshoremen on the docks about the danger of race discrimination to both black and white longshoremen, by the educational and organizational activities of the New York City Negro American Labor Council.

8. Set up workers' education classes in each local council for the purpose of keeping black workers and the black community from equating opposition to race bias in trade unions with opposition to trade unions, since the major purpose of NALC is to build, not tear down, a strong, free, democratic labor movement, with no second-class members.

9. Join with the labor movement in the campaigns to secure the registration of the black wage earners and their families, in order that organized labor develop the political strength to enact pro-civil rights and pro-labor legislation and defeat anti-civil rights and anti-labor legislation.

10. Keep the Negro American Labor Council from becoming the cat's paw of any group of politicians, whether Republican, Democrat, Communist or Socialist.

11. I suggest that the Negro American Labor Council support and help to develop a bona-fide American Labor Party to advance, strengthen and defend the principles of democracy, freedom, human dignity, interracial brotherhood and the cause of the American working class and world peace.

Finally, it is well that we ever remember that at the banquet table of nature there are no reserved seats; you get what you can take and keep

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what you can hold. If you can't take anything, you won't get anything. If you can't hold anything, you won't keep anything. You can only take what you need and are entitled to, and hold what you need and are entitled to with power, and power derives from organization. But power may be constructive or destructive according as it is controlled and directed by a sound or unsound or unsound philosophy and organization.

Thus, with organization must go education, dedication and consecration to high moral purposes and values.if we hope to achieve for the black laboring masses and Negro people complete liberation, without which the great American working class cannot fulfill its historic mission of achieving freedom, human dignity, equality, peace and plenty, not only for all Americans but for all mankind.

INTRODUCTION
to
Keynote Address by A. Philip Randolph
National President, Negro American Labor Council,
at NALC Second Annual Convention, Hamilton Hotel,
Chicago, Illinois, November 10 - 12, 1961

At this hour of world history, two questions challenge the conscience and mind of man. They are world peace and human rights.

While mankind struggles, by trial and error, to attain these objectives, the world is shaked, horrified and terrified by Khrushchev's violation of the nuclear test moratorium in the explosion of some thirty bombs, culminating, for the moment, with a fifty megaton super bomb, attendant with the pollution of the earth's atmosphere with massive quantities of radioactive fallout which, according to scientists, will endanger the lives of unborn generations.

Thus, we view with alarm, dismay and concern, this dangerous lawlessness and willful arbitrariness of Russian Communist Khrushchevism, with its utter disregard of moral commitment to a world understanding, as an indescribable exhibition of madness, calculated barbarism and callous indifference to the life and health of the human race.

It is indicative of the fact that great naked brutal power in the hands of little men with vaulting ambition, devoid of commitment to the great moral value of the life of every human being, constitutes a grave danger, not only to themselves, but to modern society.

Certainly this incredibly insane manipulation of this weaponry of destruction and death is sufficient to wipe out the confidence of civilized men in the Soviet Russian dictatorship which can and may dig the grave, not only of the international working class but the entire human race, for while preaching the cynical doctrine of coexistence, it is moving irresistibly toward coextinction.

Hence, we here assembled, committed to the values of human equality, social justice, freedom and peace, unequivocally condemn this flagrant defiance of the conscience of the world and call upon the nonaligned new emerging nations to stand upon their feet and assert, as a great moral world force, their will for peace and humanity by condemning with all of their righteous indignation, all nuclear tests and, especially, the recent reckless and irrational tests of the Soviet Union, with a firm and positive demand for complete disarmament, with international inspection and control.

It may be that history in these uncertain times of troubles has elected to place the task of bearing the cross for the salvation of modern man not upon the shoulders of the great powers, with their massive material military might, rushing madly forward in the armaments race, but upon the backs of the humble, nonaligned Afro-Asian peoples who for centuries have drunk of the bitter cup of persecution, oppression, tyranny and poverty, and whose moral strength derives from their material and military weakness, and whose wisdom stems from ages of suffering and struggles.

Verily, the Russian communist dictatorship must, and eventually will, pay for this monstrous crime against a startled and frightened world.

STATEMENT OF THE DELEGATION OF NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL TO PRESIDENT MEANY AND DELEGATES TO 1961 CONVENTION OF THE AFL-CIO AT THE AMERICANA HOTEL, MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA, DECEMBER 5, 1961

We would like to state at the outset that our presence here constitutes a further effort on our part as dedicated trade unionists to put the civil rights struggle within the labor movement in proper focus and to impart to you, Brother Meany, our imperative sense of urgency in moving this issue up to the front burner.

Our concern is deep and grave over the growing gap between organized labor and the Negro community. A gap which has deepened and widened as a consequence of the AFL-CIO Executive Council's unjustified and unwarrented attack upon the integrity, sincerity and judgment of labor's foremost champion of civil rights, Brother A. Philip Randolph.

Documentation of our complaints of trade union discriminatory practices which were transmitted by Brother Randolph to the Executive Council have since been buttressed and substantiated by no less an agency than the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in its recent report on employment discrimination. In view of the findings of this report known long to every member of this delegation, it would be unconscionable to let stand the charge that Brother Randolph bears the "major" responsibility for the growing gap that exists between labor and the Negro community.

We say to you, Brother Meany, as sincerely and as emphatically as we know how that the major responsibility for this gap rests with those within the House of Labor who engage in, acquiesce in, and cover up practices of racial discrimination and exclusion. The AFL-CIO can no longer hesitate in fully recognizing the existence of this situation and can no longer delay in the adoption and implementation of a bold, imaginative and vigorous program to end discrimination within the labor movement.

To this end we urge your great personal support for the adoption by the AFL-CIO of the following recommendations:

1. The reconsideration and a withdrawal of the attack made upon Brother A. Philip Randolph at the October 12, 1961 meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.
2. The adoption of a Fair Racial Practices Code as a standard to be followed in the execution of a vigorous civil rights program.
3. The reorganization of the Civil Rights Department into an effective agency to combat discrimination and to be placed under the personal direction of the AFL-CIO President, and staffed by competent

personnel including Negro leadership. Provide sufficient funds to assure its effective operation which shall include the right to:

(a) Investigate and procure information relative to apprenticeship programs participated in by any affiliate, directly or indirectly, including requirements for admittance to such institutions and make available such information to all affiliates and the public.

(b) Actively cooperate, on a continuous basis, with such civil rights organizations as the NAACP, Urban League, NALC and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in combatting discrimination in industry, labor and government.

4. A program urging all affiliated national and international unions to seek actively to include in all collective bargaining agreements a provision barring discrimination in hiring, training and promotions.

5. The application of sanctions including expulsion of those unions which persist in Jim Crow and other discriminatory practices in violation and defiance of the non-discriminatory policies and programs of the AFL-CIO.

6. The conscious recognition of the right of equal opportunity for Negro trade unionists to advance to all levels of union leadership.

STATEMENT OF THE DELEGATION OF NEGRO TRADE UNIONISTS TO PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY AND DELEGATES TO THE 1961 BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE AFL-CIO AT THE AMERICANA HOTEL, MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA - DECEMBER 5, 1961

Our presence here is for two purposes:

First, to support Brother A. Philip Randolph in his contribution that organized labor must rid itself of corrosive racial bias now, and to deny that he bears the "major" responsibility for the growing gap that exists between Labor and the Negro community.

Secondly, to outline and reaffirm those measures we feel Labor must adopt at this convention if it seriously wants to correct discrimination within its ranks.

Racial discrimination is a cancerous disease that is to be found in every major American institution. Historically, the gap that developed between organized labor and the Negro community has persisted since the birth of the former to the disadvantage of the latter. In the opinion of the Negro American Labor Council, to charge that A. Philip Randolph is responsible for this tragedy is not only grossly unfair to an outstanding American but also an ugly reflection upon the immaturity and image of the labor organization we all want to build. Frankly, President Meany, Brother Randolph is the leading spokesman of the American Negro in his fight against racial bias in the trade union movement.

Far more preferable to castigating A. Philip Randolph, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, and the convention itself, should embark immediately upon an earnest campaign calculated to bring its structure and policies in line with the oft-repeated democratic statements of its leaders. Among other considerations such a program will include:

1. Implementation of a comprehensive program with sanctions to end racial exclusion, Jim Crowism, exploitation and discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups in Labor.
2. Greater employment of Negroes in apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs which are union, union-management, or government sponsored.
3. Desegregation of Labor's structure and function to facilitate the participation, election and appointment of Negroes to national and local union staffs, State federations and City central labor bodies and all labor conventions.
4. Support FEPC which is applicable to industry, labor and government alike on jobs and apprenticeship training.
5. Reorganization of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, with President George Meany as Chairman, with enforcement powers and with mandatory periodic progress reports, as suggested by Brother Randolph.
6. Labor support for the inclusion of a fair employment pledge and preamble to every contract between Labor and Management.
7. The adoption of a Code of Fair Racial Trade Union Practice to provide the guidepost in executing a vigorous civil rights program.

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Statement of A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and National President of the Negro American Labor Council, before the Special Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Education and Labor, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., January 17, 1962..

The big, central, commanding fact of our times is not the technological revolution for control over space through sputniks or moon satellites, but the revolution of man for the rights of man, or the revolution for human rights.

Among two-thirds of the population of the world, the revolution of human rights is symbolized by the fires of nationalist revolts sweeping over Africa and Asia against colonialism and racialism. In America, the world revolution for human rights takes the form of the civil rights revolution, or the revolt against second-class citizenship in trade unions, industry and government and a bold affirmation of the status of first-class citizenship for every citizen, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

It is evident that the Negro slave was the central factor of the Civil War revolution. By the same token, the struggle to effect the transformation of the freedman into a free worker and a free peasant-proprietor and citizen, by seeking to complete an incompleted revolution, is the central causal factor today of the civil rights revolution. Because freedom is indivisible, white workers can never achieve full freedom until all workers, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, achieve full freedom.

Exploiters of black labor are also exploiters of white labor. Exploiters of workers make no distinction with respect to race, color, or religion, except with a view to effecting the division of workers since the object of exploitation of labor is profit. The exploitation of workers provokes resistance. Resistance is strong or weak according as the workers lack of organization, or that their organization is strong or weak. If black and white workers are divided by color bias both will be the victims of economic oppression since both will be weak.

Only a strong labor organization is the answer to labor exploitation. A labor organization can only be strong if it brings within its folds all workers in the trade or craft, class or industry. This is a basic lesson the American trade union movement has yet fully to learn. The price organized labor pays for the failure to learn this lesson of the unity of workers is evident by the present plight of labor in the South.

Every single campaign to organize the workers into trade unions in the South, either by the AFL or the CIO, or by the united labor movement, the AFL-CIO, has been an utter and miserable failure. The failure was not due to the lack of financial resources. It was not due to a lack of organizing personnel. It was not due to the lack of organizational know-how.

Failure was due to fear and frustration; a lack of faith and fortitude when faced with the problem of race - a fierce fact of life in the South. Failure was due to a compromise with racialism as a policy of trade union opportunism. Organized labor had no faith in its own cause. White and black workers in the South had no faith in organized labor.

The heart of the problem of trade union organization in the South is racial segregation and discrimination. These southern racial mores which block the progress of union organization highlight the fallacy of the policy of racially segregated unions. We cannot too forcefully emphasize the fact that racially segregated local unions of a national or international union are just as morally unjustifiable and organizationally indefensible as racially segregated public schools, housing, recreation or transportation. They not only subject workers of color to humiliation but, in some instances, to certain forms of exploitation.

For instance, some racially segregated local auxiliary unions possess no local autonomy comparable to the average local union but are guided, supervised and regulated by the nearest white local union of the national or international union. These auxiliary unions, not having the right to designate and elect delegates to the convention of the national or international union, are deprived of the right and privilege to express opinion about, or exercise influence upon, the basic policies of the national union that affect the life, work, wages and living of the members of these segregated local unions.

It is also clear that a racially segregated union operates at an economic disadvantage to its members. This obtains as a result of separate lines of job progression. The racially segregated lines wind up in an industrial blind alley where promotion and upgrading are impossible. This is, undoubtedly, at the bottom of the fact that quite infrequently will a Negro worker in a factory, mine, mill, merchandising establishment, or even the Government, rise to a supervisory position. Moreover, racially segregated local unions lack contact or influence with the mainstream of employment opportunities.

It is a known fact that the salary differential of colored and white teachers in the South was, and is, the direct outgrowth of racially segregated schools. Although, as a result of court action, equalization of white and colored teachers' salaries have been theoretically established, I am informed that salary diferrentials between white and colored teachers still obtain in a large number of areas in the South because of the absence of any agency to enforce an equalization salary plan for white and black teachers.

Employers have profited from a racial wage differential. While Negro workers' wages, as a rule, are lower than wages of white workers performing the same work, the wages of many white workers too are lower than the wages of workers performing the same work in areas under trade union organization. White workers in the South suffer from a sub-standard wage for service in a given craft, class, or industry because of a lack of strong trade union collective bargaining power, resulting from the division of labor upon a basis of race.

On the railroads colored locomotive firemen are rejected as members by the white firemen's union.

In 1941 the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen negotiated an agreement with the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee which contained a "non-promotability" clause. This clause provided that no worker could be eligible for employment as a locomotive fireman unless he was also eligible for promotion from locomotive fireman to the class of locomotive engineer.

Such a contract, if valid, would result in the automatic elimination of Negroes as locomotive firemen because in the South, where Negroes have been employed as locomotive firemen, a locomotive engineer is recognized as a "white man's job." But, as a result of Supreme Court decisions in the Tunstall, Steele and Graham cases, this agreement was knocked out. Today, Negro workers may become locomotive firemen and, if they pass the examination are eligible to become locomotive engineers, even though not employable because of a long line of furloughed engineers.

There exists a seniority differential of doubtful advantage to colored locomotive firemen. Because of longer service, Negro railroad firemen, as a rule, possess a higher seniority than white locomotive firemen on southern roads. Negro firemen were the rule when the job required hard, back-breaking shoveling of coal into a blazing-hot engine. However, the colored locomotive firemen, because of racial discrimination, are confined to one seniority roster - locomotive firemen, whereas the white locomotive firemen, who have always been promotable to the job of locomotive enginemen, have rights on three seniority rosters - locomotive firemen, locomotive enginemen, and hostler helpers.

Thus, if a locomotive engineer is furloughed he may bid and bump in on jobs under the roster of locomotive firemen. If, as a result of reduction of forces among locomotive firemen, he is furloughed, he may bid and bump in on a job as hostler helper. This is not true of a colored locomotive fireman. Here, then, is an instance of the evil of racially segregated lines of job progression and union membership bias.

It is significant and important to observe in this connection that Negro railway workers, who have always constituted the largest number of workers in any American industry, are rapidly passing out of the operating departments of the industry. I refer to the jobs of locomotive firemen, brakemen, flagmen and switchmen. In the South today, most of the railway yards have been practically transformed from black to white, in terms of employees.

On the Atlantic Coast Line, Seaborad Air Line, Louisville & Nashville, and practically all southern railroads, colored locomotive firemen who, when the work was hard and the pay was low, constituted 80 per cent, more or less, of the workforce, now represent less than 10 per cent. Among the switchmen, brakemen and flagmen there have been comparable losses on the part of Negro railroad workers.

The reason for the loss of jobs by Negro railroad workers is the lily-white, anti-Negro policy of the Big Four railway unions, and also the fact that when a Negro worker in the operating department of the railroads is fired, dies, or retires, no Negro is employed in his place. It is evident that it is only a matter of time before the operating area of the railroad industry will be completely lily-white unless some change in the hiring policy of railroads, in relation to Negroes with jobs in the operating department, can be effected.

Because of race bias in trade unions, industry and government, the rate of unemployment of Negro workers is twice as high as the rate of unemployment of workers nationally.

While Secretary of Labor Goldberg has indicated that the unemployment rate in March, 1961 was 7 per cent, the rate of unemployment among Negro workers was 20 per cent and, in some areas, higher than this figure. The basic reason for this, in addition to the causal economic factors at the back of unemployment generally, is the fact that Negro workers are the first fired and the last hired. Thus, Negroes will continue to constitute an alarmingly larger section of the chronically unemployed or a part of the structured unemployment of our economy unless the Federal Equality of Opportunity in Employment bill proposed by your committee is enacted into law.

This plight of the Negro workers is certain to grow worse with the march of radical technology, or the automation revolution. This adverse economic position of Negro workers, as reflected in a disproportionate number of Negro workers on relief in the various metropolitan sections of the nation, tends to divert this mass of workers into a sort of black laboring mass slum ghetto. This is a condition which is not only harmful to Negro workers and their families but to all workers, as well as the national community as a whole. In fact, it is difficult to see how a first-class nation with second-class citizens, such as the United States, can continue to serve as the moral leader of the free world.

Employers have historically engaged in the denial of equal employment opportunities to Negro workers by practicing discrimination in hiring and upgrading. The cases are legion where Negroes with qualifications equal to whites, if not superior, have been denied employment simply because of racist bigotry.

Where employers have not totally excluded Negro workers from employment, tokenism is frequently found. By employing a few Negroes, employers pretend that there is no discrimination. Frequently, Negroes are not upgraded because of a color bar in the employer's firm. Just as frequently, Negro workers come to rest in dead end jobs. Finally, where Negro workers are unorganized, they receive lower pay than whites for the same job.

The rationalizations used by employers to justify discriminatory practices are clearly unsound and basically harmful to the economic well-being of the entire country. By denying an equal and adequate measure of job opportunity to Negro workers, the general standard of living for all workers is lowered and society as a whole suffers. Therefore, the eradication of all traces of the color bar in employment is urgently necessary, not only for the well-being and economic security of Negroes, but also for general economic growth and stability of the American economy.

As I previously stated to the House Committee on Education and Labor, it is an understatement to observe that the elimination of racial discrimination from unions, industry and government and, especially, from all apprenticeship training programs involves the economic life and death of the black laboring masses. This is so for the following reasons:

One, the relatively small number of skilled Negro workers in the nation.

Two, racial barriers to participation in apprenticeship programs.

Three, the concentration of disproportionately large numbers of Negro workers in the categories of unskilled workers.

Four, the phenomenal pace of the automation revolution which is changing the workforce and the work tools, the result of which is the decrease in demand for the unskilled worker.

Now, relative to the first proposition; namely, the relatively small number of Negro artisans in American industry, it is a matter of common knowledge that there is a disproportionate and alarming decline in the number of Negroes in the skilled trades between 1920 and 1950, especially in the building trades where the Negro was once relatively fairly well represented in the South, and where the total number of mechanics has increased.

According to census reports, in nine southern states, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, the percentage of Negro carpenters enumerated in these states declined from 23.2 per cent in 1920 to 10 per cent in 1950. Painters declined from 25.3 per cent in 1920 to 13.8 per cent in 1950. Bricklayers decreased from 54.7 per cent to 37.5 per cent. Plasterers, formerly heavily representative of the Negro, diminished from 66.5 per cent in 1920 to 57.9 per cent in 1950.

It is useless to extend the list. The above indicated status of the black skilled artisans is a fair sample of the changing position of the Negro in the building trades in the South. In this instance, the decline represents a grave threat to their economic progress and to the economic progress of the country.

It is because of this serious situation that the subject of apprenticeship training takes on such timely significance. Obviously, unless newly trained Negro artisans in relatively large numbers enter the workforce it will be only a matter of a short time when skilled Negro workers will disappear from the building construction occupations of the country.

What about our second issue - racial barriers to Negro workers' participation in apprenticeship training programs?

While it is a grave indictment of the building trades' unions, yet no one denies that less than one per cent of the apprentices of the building trades are Negroes. Even in New York State, perhaps the most liberal, racially, in the country, only two per cent of the apprentices are Negroes.

Third, how significant is the concentration of a disproportionately large number of Negro workers in the category of unskilled?

The answer is that one of the major reasons for the grim fact that the rate of unemployment of Negroes is twice, or more, the national rate of white workers is that unskilled workers are not only the first fired and the last hired, but also the first to be liquidated by radical technological advances.

Hence, the acquisition of skills by Negro workers in apprenticeship training programs is a sine qua non to their survival and progress in the new industrial world of automation.

Furthermore, because Negro workers are trapped in the "no man's land" of the unskilled, they constitute the hard core of joblessness, which means that these workers remain unemployed during depressions, recessions, booms, inflation and deflation; during cyclical, seasonal, residual, technological, ethnical and economic maladjustments of the economy.

Verily, there is a large segment of black slum proletariat, untrained, largely the product of race bias, caught up among the structured unemployed and unemployable and, probably, untrainable.

It is important to note that the phenomenal pace of the revolution of automation is not only changing the workforce and the work tools that unskilled Negro workers cannot use, but it is also raising the productivity level and reducing the workforce, which is certain to precipitate sharp and bitter competition not only between black and white workers for a decreasing number of jobs, but also competition among white workers and competition among black workers, as well as competition between women and men workers for the same jobs. And of course, the automation revolution will bring about a decreasing demand for the unskilled blue-jean worker, which hits the black laboring masses.

Legislation, as suggested by your Committee, in the form of a Federal Equal Employment Opportunity law, is definitely essential to enable Negro workers to break through the institutionalized racial barriers in apprenticeship training courses to new and broader opportunities of employment.

A pressing and fundamental condition for the expansion of plans to embrace Negro workers in all forms of apprenticeship training programs is an inevitable movement toward a population explosion.

Projections of estimates by the U. S. Department of Labor and other economic, socio-political agencies indicate that by 1970 the population of the country will range around 208 million. This, of course, will require a vast increase in the consumption of goods and services which will necessitate a tremendous increase in the gross national product, the production of which can only be achieved by expanding the workforce of skilled artisans.

The New York State Department of Labor indicates, in a survey of jobs in 1960 and 1970, that 46,000 additional craftsmen will be needed annually if the State's needs for skilled workers in the 1960's are to be satisfied. A comparable need of craftsmen exists in practically every state in the Union, but Negro workers will be practically completely excluded from apprenticeship training programs in the states of the South. Thus, apprenticeship training is a definite source of economic security for the workers.

Now, job entry is a letter of introduction to a craft or trade. Where job entry is dependent upon apprenticeship and the latter is artificially controlled to keep out or to limit the number admitted from certain ethnic groups, means a denial or restriction of the number who may expect to get on-the-job training. The latter is tantamount to denial of craftsman's status. The closure, or circumscription of craftsman's status, forces persons refused apprenticeship training to seek job entry in low occupational jobs. Ultimately, persons forced into jobs with low occupational and economic status are faced with little economic security. Vocational schooling, unless linked with on-the-job training, is time wasted in such trades as printing, building, cutters in the needle trades, etc.

One such group faced with this problem is the Negro. In the 1960 report of the U. S. Department of Labor entitled: "The Economic Situation of

Negroes in the U. S.," Secretary Mitchell states: "Negro skill rates remain disproportionately low and, as a result, Negro unemployment rates are disporportionately high. The 1959 averages reveal a level of 4.6 per cent for whites, but 11.5 per cent for non-whites. Negro participation in apprenticeship training is still far too low."

The general picture outlined by Mr. Mitchell does not really go to the heart of the matter because in particular trades, as the building trades, not only has Negro participation in apprenticeship training programs been almost nil, but the Negro has been losing ground in many of these trades, which have traditionally been his, in the South. Thus, we are confronted with a dual problem. One, the Negro is losing ground in many trades where he has held high representation. Two, one avenue of replacement, the apprenticeship training program, is excluding him.

To deal with the question of apprenticeship we must deal first with the question - what is the employment outlook in the various trades?

The total volume of employment at any particular time is related to the volume of spending, both private and public. We know that regardless of the level of employment our population is increasing, which means that the demand for housing will increase. When we add to the private sector's needs, redevelopment programs, slum clearance, etc., the need for skilled mechanics will be great.

Of equal importance is the fact that construction occurs everywhere. This means that employment opportunities will be present everywhere, varying from city to city and from trade to trade. The number of workers to be hired will necessarily be greatest where the greatest amount of construction is going on - the larger cities and in those parts of the country in an active stage of industrial development and population growth. However, in the older sections of the country where construction activity seems unlikely, new workers will be needed to replace those leaving the labor force. It should be noted that in the older sections of the country redevelopment programs have added a new spurt to construction activity.

In addition, prospects for workers of all ages are excellent in the building trades, unlike manufacturing where young workers are preferred for certain jobs and older workers for others. The building trades may be called lifetime occupations, since a workman can keep his skill and continue to find employment at a greater age than in many other industries.

Various studies reveal that the trade is losing more workers than is being replaced. The most effective manner in which skilled manpower may be added is through the apprenticeship program; thus, there should be thousands of opportunities for boys interested in the building trades, Negroes as well as whites. But we know that this is not so. Discrimination and race prejudice have prevented the entrance of Negroes into the building trades. In many instances it has been through exclusion from unions either by a "white only" clause, tacit consent, or preference given to white journeymen; in other instances the Negro has been excluded from the job by the employer.

On the whole, opportunities for Negroes have been best in plastering and bricklaying, and the poorest in the mechanical trades - electrical work, plumbing and pipefitting, operating cranes, and other related work.

Even where the Negro has acquired the necessary skill in one of the crafts, union exclusion presents a major handicap since most of the new construction is done under union contract. It is particularly severe for the applicant interested in apprenticeship training, but in spite of this and other handicaps a limited number of Negroes desiring to enter the building trades have been able to do so through informal on-the-job training and training in non-union apprenticeships. Also, a few journeymen have picked up their trades by working as helpers for several years. This is the case in many southern areas where a Negro employed as a helper may do the full job under the supervision of a white journeyman who serves as a foreman. The accepted method of reveiving training for all the building trades, however, is through registered apprenticeship.

Since the organized labor movement is a basic factor in giving reality and integrity to any fair employment and apprenticeship training program, I was pleased to note from a previous statement of George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, which was presented to the Committee on Education and Labor, that he supported the bill on an apprenticeship training program and has also gone on record for a Federal FEPC.

I would like to make the following recommendations for achieving greater equality of employment opportunity and optimum utilization of minority manpower throughout the economy:

1. Federal Fair Employment Practice legislation such as that proposed by this Special Subcommittee on Labor.

2. Reduction of the indenturing term for the graduation of a journeyman craftsman. The present term of indenturing apprentices harks back to the old medieval Guilds that sharply restricted entry into the craft guilds. These restrictions are retained and maintained for job monopoly by the craft unions. This is not objectionable as long as the unions are open and as long as they, in turn, keep and maintain occupations and jobs open.

3. Abolish father and son system of designating candidates as apprentices for training programs.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE,
RHODE ISLAND, FEBRUARY 6-8, 1962

BLACK WORKERS AND ORGANIZED LABOR

INTRODUCTION

The Negro worker is the creature of the labor system of slavery. This system was established in the Western world in the seventeenth century. Fear of slave uprisings against the slave oligarchy resulted in denial of training and education to the slaves, except in order to make a plantation a sufficient economic unit.

Thus, black workers fell behind white workers in the possession and acquisition of skills.

Because slaves were not a wage-rated class of workers and had no competitive status in the labor market they fell behind their white brothers in building and joining trade unions.

Of course, some slaves who had been trained to perform certain tasks were known to have been hired out in the cities or to another plantation by the slaveowner at a profitable price. But, on the whole, Negro slaves constituted a huge mass of unskilled labor. They were the flotsam and jetsam of a slave society.

Negro workers today suffer as a result of the artificially historically fostered concept of the hereditary inferiority of the Negro in our American society. This is almost inevitable because of the status of the Negro for a quarter of a thousand years as chattel or a thing to be manipulated, as expressed in the infamous Dred Scott decision by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, who boldly held that a Negro had no rights a white man was bound to respect.

As a slave, the Negro was never considered a part of society. This societal attitude resulted, and continues to result, in restricted economic opportunity; opportunities that are further limited during periods of economic maladjustment.

WHAT OF THE PROBLEMS?

The first and major problem of Negro workers is unemployment.

According to Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, in March, 1961 almost six million workers were unemployed. Of this number, he estimated that 20 percent were Negroes. Generally, the rate of unemployment among Negroes is twice that of white workers. In Detroit, the Negro constitutes 19.5 percent of the total workforce but 61 percent of the unemployed. In Chicago, Negroes represent 14.7 percent of the workers, but 44 percent of the jobless. Black wage earners are 13 percent of the workforce in Philadelphia but 54 percent of the unemployed.

NEGRO HARD CORE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

As between automation and discrimination, Negroes have suffered, perhaps more than any other section of the workforce, the disadvantage of job elimination. They have become a large hard core of the hard core of the permanently unemployed.

While the hard core of jobless white workers may be reduced because of the possession of some measure of ethnic and craft job mobility, the hard core of the unemployed Negroes may be destined to increase precisely because of the lack of acceptable ethnic and craft job mobility.

Today, it is estimated that in the northern industrial centers, one out of three Negro wage earners were unemployed sometime during 1961, and a high proportion exhausted all of their unemployment compensation benefits.

It is hardly an exaggeration to assert that more than fifty percent of unskilled Negro workers in the country were unemployed for substantial periods during 1961, and that it will be increasingly difficult for a Negro worker, forty-five years of age and over, who has lost his job, ever to get another one. In fact, the Negro has half of a bad chance to get a job when he competes with a white person.

RACIAL BAR TO APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

Another aspect of the Negro in our rapidly changing industrial order is preparation for participation in varied and varying occupations.

Within the American industrial system the credentials to job entry into the established occupations is through apprenticeship training, either by way of on-the-job training with related classroom instruction for theory or solely on-job, in-plant training.

Where Negroes are denied opportunity to acquire training and skills in apprenticeship programs, a prerequisite for occupational status and job mobility, they inevitably become easy victims of economic insecurity. But even when there is continuity of employment, the standard of living of Negro workers is relatively low, due to a low wage income as result of a lack of skills - skills, usually, a concommitant to occupational status. It is well-nigh axiomatic: the higher the craft skills, the higher the occupational rank; the higher the occupational rank, the higher the earning power and, as a rule, the more continuous is employment. Together, steady, skilled, high wage-rated employment affords a great measure of economic security and higher living levels.

WAGE INCOME

It is important to note that a differerence in vocational training and competence is reflected in a difference in the wage income. Note the considerable gap between the median annual earnings of Negro and white persons.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 1958 white men earned a median wage of $4,569 compared to $2,652 for non-white men. White women averaged $2,364 compared with $1,055 for non-white women. In other words, the average wage of non-white men is 58 percent of the average wage of white men.

World War II offered the Negro his first opportunity to perform basic factory operations of skilled and semi-skilled types. During the period 1940 to 1960, the proportion of Negro men employed as operatives, craftsmen, professional, technical and kindred workers practically doubled. This is the main reason for the increase in the median annual earnings of Negro persons to 58 percent of whites.

UNION COLOR BIAS

Now, one of the perplexing problem areas of black labor is exclusion from membership in some trade unions, either by the color bar or by tacit consent.

Of course, some notable progress has been made on this front, in that only one union with the color bar in its constitution remains in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations - the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. But exclusion from union membership by tacit consent still obtains.

Since union membership, under the union shop, is a condition to continued employment of wage earners, and since the union shop has a Federal statutory base, exclusion from union membership of a worker, because of race or color, amounts to a denial of opportunity to a worker to earn his bread in the sweat of his brow.

Because racial discrimination by a union may mean the difference between a worker being employed or not employed, it is obviously serious business.

Now, while this evil is pretty widespread, it does not exist in every union. It is not uniformly distributed in any one national or international union. There may be two local unions of the same national or international union with different and varying records on race bias.

For instance, Local 26 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has kept a Negro electrician from getting a job on a government building in Washington, D. C. because it has consistently refused to take a Negro electrician in as a member, and in defiance of the request, advice and order from the international president.

It was more than two years after Negro electricians had filed complaints of racial bias against the local union before AFL-CIO president, George Meany, was able to get a Negro electrical worker a job on a government building, and I have not yet heard whether the local union has permitted the Negro electrical worker to become a member, even temporarily as a transferred member from his local union in Detroit which is a part of the same international union of electrical workers.

Two Negro electrical workers fought for several years for the right to join Local 36 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Cleveland, Ohio, although Negro electrical workers are freely admitted into membership in Local 3 of New York City of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, with the right to designate apprentices.

It is interesting to note that the first Negro apprentice of Plumbers Local 1 of New York City was designated in the year 1961, and only after a long siege of pressure by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League of Greater New York and the office of New York State Attorney General Lefkowitz. However, in Chicago there are fifty Negro plumbers, more or less, and, at one time, even a Negro business agent.

In New York City, Negro and white musicians are integrated into the same local union, but there is a powerful Jim Crow musicians' local union in Chicago which resists integration.

According to a survey of apprenticeship and training opportunities for Negro youth in various areas of the country by the National Urban League in 1959, the findings are disturbing, if not distressing.

To name just a few: In Anderson, Indiana, there were two Negro apprentices - one in electronics and one in plumbing - and they were the "first" ever.

Atlanta, Georgia: Eighteen Negro apprentices in plastering and cement finishing. No record of any other apprentices.

Baltimore, Maryland: Negroes are not acceptable in the majority of apprentice programs in Baltimore because of union and employer indifference.

Chicago, Illinois: Exact number of Negroes in apprenticeship programs not available. A survey by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations in 1958 revealed a pretty dismal situation.

Detroit, Michigan: In 1957 there were 3,009 apprentices in the building crafts, with 59 Negroes; in 1960 the total dropped to 2,000, with 36 Negroes.

Newark, New Jersey: A study by the Department of Education of the State of New Jersey revealed that 3,523 apprentices were employed in approved establishments as of January 1, 1960. It was reported that two Negroes were included in this total.

New Orleans, Louisiana: There were no Negro apprentices in electricity, plumbing, painting. There were 12 Negro apprentices in one integrated carpenters' local, none in an all-white carpenters' local. There are 20 apprentice brickmasons, 4 lathers and 12 plasterers.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Fewer than 4 percent of the apprenticeable trades are accessible to Negro young people.

St. Louis, Missouri: It is estimated that there are 14 Negro apprentices in St. Louis - six bakers, one bricklayer, two machinists, one sheetmetal worker and four meatcutters.

Washington, D. C.: There are no Negro apprentices in the following crafts: electricians, plumbers and steamfitters, lathers, plasterers. There is one apprentice carpenter.

According to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, about two percent of the approximately 1,500 registered apprentices in New York State in 1959 were Negroes.

In the building trades, throughout the nation, Negroes constitute less than one percent of the apprentices.

Thus, it is quite evident that Negroes have been grossly shortchanged by practically all of the craft unions with respect to opportunities to learn the skilled trades through apprenticeship training programs.

Apprenticeship under the medieval guilds of England became the initial step to a social rank distinct from that of the English peasantry and aristocracy.

And today, apprenticeship training is a letter of introduction to job entry into a craft or trade. Where job entry is dependent upon apprenticeship and the latter is artificially controlled to keep out or to limit the number admitted from certain ethnic groups, means a denial or restriction of the number who may expect to get on-the-job training. This is tantamount to a denial of craftsman status. The closure or circumscription of craftsman's status forces persons refused apprenticeship training to seek job opportunity in low occupational jobs - jobs with low occupational mobility - which, in turn, forces a low economic status upon the victims.

Ultimately, Negroes forced into jobs with low occupational and economic status are faced with little economic security.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

First, a massive, consistent, nation-wide attack must be made against race bias in the House of Labor, under the leadership of President Meany.

As a result of the Fourth Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO, held in Miami Beach, December 1961, it is apparent a broad program is under way effectively to grapple with race bias wherever it may be found in the House of Labor.

It is one of the grave paradoxes of our times that organized white workers, who are themselves fighting for security and freedom, have far too often denied these benefits to their black brothers. But, it is hardly strange that Labor, like every other American institution, would not escape the malady of color prejudice.

However, back to what is to be done.

Second, the million and a half Negro members of existing unions must become informed, awakened, aroused and mobilized to fight for full, first-class citizenship in the House of Labor. Fortunately, this is being done under the banner of the Negro American Labor Council, which President Meany recently expressed a willingness to cooperate with, in the fight on racial discrimination in the unions.

Thirdly, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations need the help and aid of government in the form of Federal fair employment practice legislation to clean out the House of Labor of every vestige, remnant and survival of the color caste culture of the labor system of slavery.

Fourthly, American workers in labor unions, as well as in unorganized areas of industry, should be exposed to well organized, systematic and scientific campaigns set forth in simple and understandable forms developed and conducted by Labor, designed to explain, explode and banish patent racial myths, superstitions, stereotypes, fallacies and fictions about superior and inferior races.

The American labor movement cannot fulfill its historic mission of fighting for the cause of the oppressed unless it embraces in its fold the entire working class of every color, creed and country. This should be achieved, not only because unity of the workers is the basis of power but because it is morally right.

Now, the urgency of the abolition of race bias in industry, trade unions and government, and the increasing concern and impatience of the Negro community about the slow pace of change toward the goal of equality of opportunity, are due to the fact that, as a result of the revolution of automation, unskilled and semi-skilled occupations are estimated to be disappearing at the rate of 35,000 a week or nearly two million a year. It is in these job classifications that there has been a disproportionate concentration and displacement of Negro workers.

Obviously, the economic condition of the Negro community is adversely affected by a hundred years of enforced over-concentration of Negro wage earners in the unskilled and marginal sectors of the industrial economy. Needless to say, the maintenance of race bias in trade unions and industry will create greater and sharper job crises in the years to come unless basic changes rapidly take place in the character, mobility and diversity of Negro labor in the country.

The resolution of this difficult and complex problem is not only the task of the Negro but of the entire nation. It affects the image of the United States over the entire world. It can cause our country to lose the cold war, and the cause of liberty to be set back everywhere.

Fortunately, some progress is being made, though quite inadequate and much too slow.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE,
RHODE ISLAND, FEBRUARY 6-8, 1962

THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AT THE CROSSROADS

There are three great centers and sources of power, authority and responsibility in our democratic American society. They are Big Government, Big Business and Big Labor.

These three forces developed as a result of three American revolutions.

There was the nationalist revolution of 1776 which not only drove British colonialism from America but cleared the way for the capitalist development of the United States.

Old colonial feudal strictures on industry and trade were removed. Enterprise became free and business was no longer restricted by rigid prescriptions of the guilds concerning prices and quality of products and services.

The white laborer, too, was freed from bondage, a sort of hangover or remnant of colonial feudalism. He no longer was bound to his job for a specific period; he could quit when he wanted to and work where he pleased without being branded a vagrant.

The Revolution changed the whole face and life of America. A manufacturing industry began and commerce began to boom.

Despite the common law of conspiracy, workers started to organize unions, though small and weak.

The important historical fact here is that the same revolution which released business for growth and development released the workers, at least to sell their labor in a free market. Of course, it is a matter of common knowledge that the wage earners were never as free or as well organized as business.

The next revolution was the Civil War. While the central dramatic issue of this great historic event was the freedom of the Negro slave, the freedom of the slave also involved the future of America as an industrial nation.

The Civil War, though a destructive, bloody conflict, was a vitalizing historical, political and economic event. The victory of the North over King Cotton was indispensable if America were to develop giant industry, corporate business and a flourishing nation-wide enterprise.

The plantation slave economy was the halter around America's neck, preventing a mercantile nation from becoming an industrial power. If the old Slave South had maintained its grip on Congress and the Administration as in the pre-Civil War period, it would have been fatal to industry, as well as to labor.

Here, again, the Civil War Revolution provided opportunity for growth of nascent American industry under tariff protection, mass markets and subsidies.

Although employers, following the Civil War, unleashed warfare against the labor movement by crushing scores of strikes in blood and violence, and forced many unions out of business, especially during the depression of 1873-1878, the workers fought back through the Molly Maguires of the Coal Miners, railroad strikes of 1877, the Haymarket Riot in Chicago in 1886, Pullman in 1893, and other industrial and labor disorders. The foundation of business trade unionism was laid, which expressed itself in the organization of the American Federation of Labor in 1886.

The Roosevelt New Deal Era marked another revolution, affecting both business and labor through a series of far-reaching legislative acts, which served to bail business and labor out of the depression.

The Roosevelt period strengthened American capitalism and business unionism and social unionism. This was inevitable since both were, and now are, creatures of the free enterprise economy, industrialism and political democracy.

The American trade union movement is at the crossroads, not only because of the damage to its image as a result of corruption in a few unions, and I emphasize the word few because the great majority of unions are honestly and well run by business unionists along with social unionists, but because of its lack of solidarity and its loss of evangelism.

Business trade union individualism - or the policy and practice of every union for itself, expressed in bitter jurisdictional disputes - tends to give the labor union the complexion of a mere business enterprise operated to extend its jurisdictional sovereignty to secure dues-paying members without concern about the basic purpose of the labor movement; namely, the organization of the organized worker and advancement of the welfare of the workers through struggle.

This concept of the development of prosperity and power, for and by national and international unions, as a major objective, emphasizes materialism at the expense and sacrifice of humanism - the original rationale of the existence of trade unions.

Labor unions, like the early Christian movement, have their basic roots in the struggle to give honor and respect to the dignity of the personality of the common man, the worker.

The labor movement, like the Church movement, must be, and is, a moral movement concerned with the freedom and majesty of the human spirit, as well as the material well-being of the worker.

When, and if, the free, democratic trade unions lose their concern about the welfare and freedom of the worker as an individual and as a class, they will lose their spiritual and moral force.

Thus, though the business movement and the labor movement have their origin in the free enterprise economy, they have different objectives and reasons for being. The former exists for profits and the latter exists to improve the life and living of man. Business is a profit-making movement while Labor is a non-profit movement.

Hence, it is unsound and weakens the labor movement morally and spiritually to identify it with, and commit it to, the support of the profit system, which is a system of the exploitation of Labor.

In the light of this fact, business unionism, concerned primarily with accommodation to the business community, ceases to recognize the conflict of interests between labor and business, and hence loses the will to struggle for not only bread, but brotherhood. When Labor ceases to struggle **for** Labor and humanity, it will cease to be.

While all business unionists are not corrupt, the doctrine of business unionism corrupts the labor movement by stressing the business power aspect of unionism, as against the humanist and struggling aspects, and fails to keep the idea before the workers of the goal of human brotherhood, freedom and democracy, to be fought for and attained.

The corrupt business unionists accept the following practices as a matter of good business if they can get away with them:

1. "Soft" or sweetheart contracts
2. Backdoor deals
3. Concealed bribery
4. Joint enforcement of higher prices on trade practices
5. Implicit or explicit understandings to organize only a section of the labor force, leaving the rest non-union.
6. Business partnerships

But, let me add that the great majority of trade union leaders are not guilty of such immoral and criminal practices.

LOSS OF MEMBERSHIP

A grave point of crisis of organized labor is its decline in membership, as a result of the contraction of various industries, such as railroads and coal mining.

Probably one of the greatest challenges of organized labor is the unorganized non-manual workers, such as retail, wholesale, government, financial, insurance, real estate and service employment sectors. While the blue collar workers are decreasing, the white collar workers are increasing.

With the evident apathy of this class of workers toward trade unions, together with the loss of the Messianic fervor which characterized the labor movement at the turn of the century and during the decade of the 1930's, organized labor has failed to organize the unorganized. It takes union members to organize workers into unions. Union members must proselytize their fellow workers. This is not being done today.

Moreover, because of jurisdictional barriers and internal structural problems, the AFL-CIO is unable to rally its entire membership in a membership campaign.

The high command of organized labor does not have the power, in the loose confederation of the AFL-CIO, to mount and command a massive campaign to organize the unorganized, even if it has the will. This fact is largely responsible for the fact that the organized labor movement is not moving. But without movement there is no labor movement.

If the organized labor movement continues to fail to organize the unorganized workers, it is quite likely to prove to be a tragic blow to the working class and our democratic society, since Labor will be unable to serve as a countervailing power to the growing power of Big Business, which will tend to accumulate and amass a disproportionate concentration of power under its control.

A too great, disproportionate concentration of power in the hands of Big Business or Big Labor tends to corrupt Big Business or Big Labor, which may result in such power being used against the public's interests.

Moreover, too great an imbalance between these two power structures could result in the destruction of our democratic society which is founded upon the assumption of the existence of plural centers of power and authority. This is the basic assurance and defense against the development of a monolithic totalitarian state.

Thus, the organized labor movement must grow to remain strong and free, if our American economy and political democratic order are to grow and remain strong and free.

Our American national labor policy must not tend to foster an imbalance between these two basic forces of our democratic society. To this end, free collective bargaining should be recognized and supported for all American workers.

Therefore, "right-to-work" laws are not only not in the interest of the progress of free workers, but they are not in the interest of a free America.

But while it is in the interest of our democratic society that Labor possess the right of free collective bargaining and be able to provide the crucial balance to the economic power of private enterprise, organized labor must never lose sight of the fact that it must be concerned about not only bargaining from a position of strength, but also from a position of truth, reason, integrity and dedication to the public's good.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE,
RHODE ISLAND, FEBRUARY 6-8, 1962

THE NEGRO AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

Ours is the Age of the Revolution of Human Rights.

During the decades of the 1940's and 1950's, fires of nationalist revolutions for human rights raged over the massive continent of Asia. In the decades of the 1960's the winds of revolutionary change for human rights sweep over the mighty land of Africa. And in our own land, black America moves, non-violently but defiantly against an age-old color caste culture, for human dignity.

Verily, it's a revolution - a Civil Rights Revolution.

It involves a complete transition from second-class to first-class citizenship.

AUTHORITY OF THE MORAL ORDER

By human rights I refer to natural rights. Natural rights are God-given, not man-made. Such are the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These rights are unalienable. No government, constitution or law can bestow upon an individual these human rights; they existed prior to, and independent of, the state, constitution or law. Governments, constitutions and laws can only give sanction, protection, recognition of, and respect to, an individual's possession of these human rights. No government, constitution or law can take these rights from man, for they exist as a result of his being human.

No government, individual or institution has the moral right to interfere with man's exercise and enjoyment of his human rights unless he infringe or invade the rights of others.

Since all men are members of the universal human family, of which God is Creator and Father, all men are brothers.

Since all men are brothers, all men are equal under God and are entitled to enjoy equality of opportunity and status before the law of the land.

Within the spirit of the Judaic-Christian traditions every human being, regardless of race, religion, national origin or ancestry, has worth, meaning, value, importance. His personality is sacred and is endowed with divinity, majesty and immortality. "And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth ...." Acts 17:26.

But governments, private organizations and individuals may, and do, employ their power and influence to prevent certain racial and religious groups from enjoying and exercising their human rights. Man does not always forthrightly answer the call of the voice of God: "Cain, where is thy brother Abel?"

Because of this fact, civil rights amendments of the Federal Constitution, such as the 13th, 14th and 15th, and recent civil rights legislation of 1957 and 1960, together with the famous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1954 which struck down racially segregated public schools, are necessary and indispensable to the implementation of the principles of human rights.

BACKGROUND

In fact, the civil rights revolution developed as the result of the fact that the Civil War Revolution, a continuation and culmination of the nationalist revolution of 1776, was never fully completed.

It was never fully completed because when the salvation of the Union was achieved on the battlefield, all interest subsided in the salvation of the former slaves in the cotton fields.

The die was cast when the course of the nationalist revolution, which had crushed British colonialism in America, was blocked by the southern slave plantation secessionists states' rights doctrine, under the leadership of John C. Calhoun of South Carolina.

The resolution of this irrepressible conflict between a slave and free labor economy had become impossible within the framework of the Federal Constitution.

The dynamic, expanding economy of northern industrialism and big business interests demanded and required a strong, centralized, national federal governmental system. The mighty forces of the new, free enterprise economy could not be housed in the narrow political framework of states' rights. They needed a free, wide-ranging field, namely, a national state - a national market.

While the growth and development of the new industrial financial order also required the abolition of slavery - the foundation of the old Confederate governmental apparatus - it did not require the complete liberation of the slaves. Abraham Lincoln had spoken out clearly on this matter. He had given 'saving the Union' high priority over 'freeing the slaves'.

BETRAYAL OF BLACK FREEDMEN

Thus, while practically a quarter of a million slaves had given fully of their life and labor to win the war and save the Union, they had been betrayed and deserted and left - when the government withdrew the protection of the Federal Army from the South - friendless, voteless, landless, moneyless and virtually helpless, if not hopeless.

In fact, Negro freedmen had nobly and heroically fought to save the Union for white America, but had lost it so far as black America was concerned.

The reason for this was that the Confederate counterrevolution, structured upon the notorious compromise of 1877 during the Hayes-Tilden election, fought out between the former plantation slave economy and the new powerful industrial financial capitalism, represented by the southern Democrats and Whigs and northern Republicans, arrested the progress of the Civil War Revolution.

The Confederate counterrevolution nullified the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments of the Federal Constitution. It aborted and distorted the Reconstruction and, as a part of the process of effecting psychological control of the black freedmen for exploitation as cheap labor, pinned upon them the badge of inferiority; drove them from the polls with the shotgun, tissue ballot, poll tax, grandfather clause and white primaries; reduced them to the status of serfs with a labor system of peonage and sharecropping; robbed them of the last vestige of citizenship with the instrumentality of police brutality, legal lynching of the courts, ordinances against vagrancy, and laws, customs and practices of segregation - the new slavery.

THE COMPROMISE OF 1877

Verily, the march of black freedmen upon the stage of American citizenship was stopped cold in its tracks, not only by sinister legal and political machinations but by violence,,blood and death. The hand of the Ku Klux Klan, backed by the southern church, the southern press, the southern states, and winked and connived at by the North, if not the entire country, strangled the cause of human freedom for black and white in the South.

The compromise of 1877 struck a fatal blow to Negro freedom. It paved the way for the U. S. Supreme Court decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896, which propounded the juridical socio-ethnic doctrine of separate but equal - the sinister racial system of segregation which develops and perpetuates the badges and indicia of racial inferiority.

Here was the beginning of a hundred years of brainwashing of the American people and the world by southern racists into accepting the justification of slavery and segregation, or the domination of the black race by the white on a basis of the alleged superiority of the latter over the former. Needless to say, this business of human hate has gravely harmed the South no less than the Negro.

But taking the lid off Pandora's Box of racism was hardly a disillusionment to the black freedmen.

Note this narrative: There lived in Connecticut, in the days preceding the Revolution, a patriotic preacher who was given to making pretty speeches about liberty-or death. This preacher owned a slave named Jack. The preacher preached and Jack slaved and listened and wondered. One day Jack went up to his master and said:

"Master, I observe you always keep preaching about liberty and praying for liberty, and I love to hear you, Sir, for liberty be a good thing. You preach well and you pray well; but one thing I hope you remember, Master, Poor Jack ain't free yet."

An irony of fate made Poor Jack and his master polar symbols of one of history's greatest paradoxes: The American Revolution.

Consider the background of that great event. A colony with a half million slaves decides to go to war in support of the theory that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

What of the prologue?

A bold Negro, Crispus Attucks, decides to strike a blow for liberty and becomes the first martyr of the Revolution.

Let us reflect upon the dramatic climax.

Black men, 5,000 strong, some of them slaves, enter the lines and sign the Declaration with their blood.

"It was not," said Harriet Beecher Stowe, "for their own land they fought, not even for a land which had adopted them, but for a land which had enslaved them, and whose laws, even in freedom, oftener oppressed than protected. Bravery, under such circumstances, has a peculiar beauty and merit."

Behind the revolutionary rhetoric, behind the bombast, behind the bravery, behind the living and dying and bleeding is the irony: black men toiled and fought so that white men could be free. This fact was not lost on the Revolutionary generation. It worried good men and women so much that they made Negro freedom an inevitable corollary of American freedom.

James Otis and Tom Paine, the great propagandists of the Revolution, thundered against British tyranny and slave-owner tyranny. Abigail Adams told her husband John: "It always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me to fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have."

Thomas Jefferson, a worried slaveholder, inserted a clause in the Declaration of Independence which indicted the King of England for promoting slavery. "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the person of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere or to incur miserable death in transportation thither...." This clause was struck out in deference to slaveholders and slavecarriers who had grave doubts about the meaning of the sentence: "All men are created equal..."

What does the word "all" mean?

Black slaves and black freedmen sought to give definition to the word "all" with their lives, along with the Sons of Liberty, for a free America.

Yes, when Paul Revere galloped through the Massachusetts countryside he alerted Negro and white minutemen.

Negroes were at Lexington and at the Bridge in Concord. They were at Ticonderoga. Negro patriots were with white patriots who fought the British when they stormed Bunker Hill. They were at Monmouth, Red Bank, Saratoga, Savannah, Princeton and Yorktown, and made the famous Delaware crossing with General Washington.

After the battle of Valley Forge, every able-bodied man, Negro or white, slave or free, was welcome into the Continental Army. General George Washington, who had formerly rejected Negroes as soldiers, sent an officer from Valley Forge in 1778 to ask the Rhode Island Assembly to authorize the enlistment of Negro slaves. In February, the Assembly took this precedent-shattering step.

At the Battle of Rhode Island a regiment of Negro soldiers repulsed the vaunted Hessians three times.

While every schoolboy knows that Lafayette and Kosciusko answered America's call for help, few are familiar with the fact that black Haitians,too, came to America to fight for her independence.

But it was not long following the Revolutionary War that black slaves and black free men were made to understand that they had fought, bled and died for a freedom they could not enjoy.

The fabric of our national legal and political structure, including legislation and the Federal judiciary, were heavily weighted toward the side of preserving what Wendell Phillips called the "unholy compromise of '87," the "compact to preserve the slave power."

There was the tacit approval of slavery embodied in Articles I and IV of the Federal Constitution. Provision was made in the Constitution to appease the South by counting a slave as three-fifths of a man to increase the representation of southern states in Congress. Finally, the slave trade was permitted to run until 1808.

But at the turn of the century, history thrust the Negro into the vanguard of the great American struggle for freedom, equality and human dignity. It was marked by the formation of the Niagara Movement by the brilliant Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois and a few liberal white Americans. This movement evolved into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which has successfully led the battle in the courts to establish the illegality of segregation and discrimination based upon race or color, culminating in the memorable decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1954 for the desegregation and integration of public schools.

Now, the civil rights liberation revolution is taking on varied and varying forms with the rise of new movements and new leaders and voices, one of the most notable of which was the boycott of segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama in 1956 under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, prophet of the non-violent resistance movement and president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Then followed in rapid and dramatic succession, the sit-ins at lunch counters and the Freedom Riders into the heart of Dixie for the open and avowed purpose of tearing down the barriers of racial segregation wherever they are.

These sit-in movements represented forthright voices of protest in all keys, and deep-spirited hunger for a place of honor in the mainstream of America. They call for a rejection of life on the back street.

They are bitter outcries of frustration, if not desperation, against the dark, grim, bleak, lonely barriers of the black ghettos for a chance to come out into the sunlight and breathe

the free air of human decency and hope. Moreover, these revolts against the illegality of race bias are in the high and noble traditions of the struggles of revolutionary America for liberty.

These movements were piloted by Negro students in the South, by the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, with the support of Roy Wilkins, capable leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The South, like a wounded beast, is fighting back with demoniacal ferocity, but it is fighting a losing battle for its cause is against the forward course of history. It is legally and morally wrong.

This job of completing the uncompleted Civil War Revolution is one of appalling dimensions, of bewildering complexity and terrible and compelling urgency. Negroes, after a quarter of a thousand years of slavery and a hundred years of segregation, which stamps them with the label of hereditary racial inferiority, are in a hurry. They are in no mood to wait any longer for the status of equality and freedom, nor can the United States afford to have them wait any longer.

Only at our peril can America turn its back on the Civil Rights Liberation Revolution raging about us. Nor should it be met by tokenism, a snarl and a deception. It is the most challenging and most pervasive revolution in our history; it's a moral revolution. The Civil Rights Revolution is not only one of rising expectations, but also of rising demands, rising impatience, rising anger, and rising human brotherhood.

Negroes are convinced it is not necessary for them to remain second-class citizens nor impossible to change this status, and that it is they, youth, labor, the liberal and church forces, upon which the responsibility rests to achieve the success of the Civil Rights Revolution. Negroes restlessly seek a way out of the painful indignity and needless socio-political economic tragedy of their present plight.

If the problem of second-class citizenship is not forthrightly, expeditiously and squarely faced and resolutely attacked by the government, as well as private and voluntary agencies and institutions, the country takes a grave risk in this period of emotional tinderboxes and automatic, mechanical, incidental or accidental racial fuses. It will take great ingenuity and effort to prevent sparks of legitimate discontent from setting the country on fire with job rights-civil rights race riots. This must be prevented. But how, when Negroes, who constitute 10 percent of the population represent 20 percent of the unemployed, and the revolution of automation is liquidating unskilled workers by the thousands?

The fact is, first-class citizenship of white America and second-class citizenship of black America in the United States of America - a country proclaiming its leadership of the moral forces of the free world - cannot longer coexist.

The level of second-class citizens must be raised to the level of first-class citizens or the second-class citizens will pull first-class citizens down to their level, turn desperation to irrationality, resentment into violence, and wipe out decades of progress in interracial brotherhood.

Now, this great surge forward of black America to achieve the status of free men, which no force on earth can stop, will not only open new vistas of hope and possibilities of accomplishment and challenge in various areas of life and living, but also creative adventures in the realm of the things of the human spirit for all men. It will also serve as a powerful force to keep our country free, to keep it right, to keep it sound, to keep it strong and great in a world of bewildering socio-economic political metamorphosis; in a world of conflict between two social systems for supremacy - the free democracies of the West and the Russia-China communist bloc of the East.

Yes, this Civil Rights Libertation Revolution will give the true definition to the word "all" in our Declaration of Independence.

Verily, the definition of this word "all" means all God's children, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, rich and poor, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and shall not perish from the earth.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT THE DIAMOND JUBILEE CELEBRATION OF THE
BERMUDA AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE
HAMILTON, BERMUDA, MAY 30, 1962

AFRICAN METHODISM AND THE NEGRO IN THE WESTERN WORLD

Being one of the sons of African Methodism I am honored to share in the fine fellowship spirit of this celebration of the 75th Anniversary of this great church in Bermuda.

Many periods of history bear a distinguishing imprint of some dominant idea, philosophy, personalities, movement or event.

One such period was the age of the Hebrew prophets, thirteen centuries before the Christian era. These mighty men of Israel - Isaiah, Amos, Hosea and Micah - preached the supremacy of moral values and the importance of social righteousness, and thundered their wrath against rituals and sacrifices as substitutes for right and justice.

Thus spake Amos to the wealthy and nobility: "I hate and despise your feast days and I will not delight in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts....but let judgement run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."

Five thousand years ago the image of the ancient world was largely determined by two giant empires, Egypt and Babylon. Egypt, with its Nile Valley, the cradle of human culture, enslaved the Children of Israel, while the Babylonian kings crushed the Kingdom of Judah.

Twenty-five hundred years after the ancient nations of despotism had perished and had been swept away, and five hundred years before

Christ, Athens, described by anthropologists and archeologists as a veritable miracle, moved upon the stage of history with its unexampled passion for truth, beauty, simplicity and freedom, developed in a rocky little seaport in the midst of barbarian superstition, despotism and splendor.

There a light was lit that will never go out. In those brief centuries Athens reached its summit in the few years of the Golden Age of Pericles of literature, science, philosophy, art, democracy, religion, the main achievement of the modern world, with the greatest constellation of luminaries of the book, the mind and the spirit yet known to minkind. The magnificent flowering of the genius of Athens is reflected in her honored sons: In philosophy, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle; in dramas, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides; in history, Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon; and the odes of Pindar, the epic Iliad of Homer, and the sculpture of Phidias.

THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

In the upward climb of man to higher levels of ethical and spiritual consciousness, God sent his son, Jesus Christ, who became the leader of a little band of Christians in Judea in the first century, to become the Messiah of mankind under the banner of the One and the True and the Living God, which was in sharp conflict with the polytheism of the Roman Empire of the Caesars and the religions of the ancient world.

In the ancient world (except Athens) where only the kings, the priestcraft and the great warriors were free, where dreadful human wretchedness and unspeakable fear and cruelty tended to transform the great laboring masses into cringing and hideous mindless human beings, Jesus, the lowly Nazarene, in perhaps the most revolutionary declaration made in those days of darkness and damnation, said to the multitude: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give thee rest; take my yoke upon you and think of me for my yoke is easy and my burden is light, and ye shall find peace unto your soul."

And in reaffirming his deep concern about the people, Jesus said: "I have compassion on the multitude because they have now been with me three days and have nothing to eat. And if I sent them away fasting to their own houses they will faint by the way, for divers of them came from far." And he blessed a few loaves of bread and fishes and fed them. This strange witness of the will of God startled his followers, when he observed: "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it."

He shocked the Pharisees, Sadducees and scribes, as well as his own disciples, when he declared: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to ender the Kingdom of God."

Jesus continued to confound his followers and the high priests. It is written (Luke 4:16-18) And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias. And when he had opened the book, he found the place where it was written: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised."

The revolutionary ministry of the brotherhood of man of Jesus Christ was made increasingly challengingly dramatic when he said: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayer; therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation."

And with a universal injunction of Christian humanism, he gives this injunction: "But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you."

Jesus Christ, unlike the religious leaders of Egypt, India and China, brought hope to the multitudes with the things of the body, as well as the things of the spirit. The priests of Buddhism and Hinduism found strength to endure by denying any meaning and any importance to what they could not escape. The Egyptian world, where dead men walked and slept and feasted, was transmuted into what had always been implicit in its symbolism, the world of the spirit. In India, for centuries the leader of thought to the East, the world of reason and the world of the spirit were divorced and the universe was handed over to the latter. Reality - that which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes - was construed as vague and unsubstantial and forever passing, the shadow of a dream. Only that was real which was of the spirit. This is always man's way out when the facts of life are too bitter and too black to be borne, and where there is little faith.

When conditions are such that life offers no earthly hope, somewhere, somehow, men must find refuge. Then they fly from the terror without to the citadel within, which famine, pestilence, fire and sword cannot shake. What Goethe calls"the inner universe" can live by its own laws, create its own security, be sufficient unto itself, when once reality is denied to the turmoil of the world without.

Led by St. Paul the Apostle, who sometimes preached the tenets of Christianity from Areopagus in Athens, the hill of the god, Ares, this little band of Christians shook the pillars of Rome of the mighty Caesars as they planted the Cross in the known corners of the world. Before the Fall of Rome and the coming of the Dark Ages in the fifth century, the Roman Empire had been conquered by the Christian doctrine, as shown by the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, on the throne in the third century.

AGE OF FAITH

Then came the rise of the Age of Faith, following hard upon the reign of the Christian emperor, Constantine, which held sway over the mind and spirit of Western man for a thousand years. It was marked by two hundred years of warfare between the Crescent and the Cross, symbols of the religions of Islam and Christianity; the beginning of Scholasticism, the roots of which lay deep in the metaphysics of the Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle.

The great ecclesiastics of the Age of Faith began with the celebrated St. Augustine of Africa, the bridge between Classical and Christian idea. Perhaps the greatest of the Schoolmen was St. Thomas Aquinas. St. Jerome, St. Origen, John Scotus Erigena, St. Anselm, St. Abelard - these were the architects of that structure of majestic metaphysics, Scholasticism.

The Reformation followed the early giants of the Medieval Church, led by the intrepid John Huss, Martin Luther, Calvin, Wycliffe, Melanchthon and Wesley, who propounded the doctrine, "every man his own priest."

RICHARD ALLEN

Richard Allen, a black slave, aroused, angered and awakened by the manifestation of racial discrimination while at worship in Old St. George Methodist Church in Philadelphia, rejected, resented and resisted the affront, and walked out of the jimcrow gallery on the Lord's Day, to breathe the air of religious freedom. By this expression of his wrath against religious jimcrow he, like Crispus Attucks (a black man, and the first to fall in 1770 in the Revolutionary War of Independence for the thirteen American colonies) struck a blow for civil rights and first-class citizenship.

Inspired by the sacred soil of Independence Square, where stood the Hall in which the Liberty Bell sounded the call to freedom and equality for all mankind, he purchased an abandoned blacksmith shop nearby and hauled it with his team to Sixth and Lombard Streets and established the first African Methodist Episcopal Church.

During these eventful times the fires of freedom and independence were burning down the rotten temple of British colonial tyranny which had been denounced and condemned in the Declaration of Independence by Thomas Jefferson. These struggles on the part of Samuel Adams, George Washington, Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Madison, Benjamin Franklin and Tom Payne against colonial slavery stirred the Negro slaves and free Negroes to strike a blow against chattel and religious slavery.

Verily, this was the beginning of the independent church movement. And it was essentially a blow struck for racial church integration, not separation or segregation.

Like John Wesley, the position of Richard Allen and the African Methodist Episcopal Church was, and is: "If thy heart be as my heart, then give me thy hand." Any person may come and worship at this altar if he has saving faith in Jesus Christ and desires to flee the wrath to come. The Church believes in and lives by the motto given by that great giant of African Methodism, Bishop Daniel Alexander Payne: "God our Father, Christ our Redeemer, and man our brother."

In Philadelphia, Richard Allen was licensed and ordained,by Bishop Francis Asbury, elected and set apart as the first bishop of African descent of color in the world. In Mother Bethel Church in Philadelphia Bishop Allen, the new challenging luminary upon the religious horizon of America, held the first annual conference in the city.

The growth of the A.M.E. Church is a significant and glorious tribute to the Negro's genius. It has given him a sense of his potentiality and promise. Its institutions and laws, its distinguished bishops and ministers, are the result of Negro initiative, courage and venture, wisdom and vision.

African Methodism was a religious reflection of the deep revolutionary currents set in motion by the French Revolution which had given rise to the doctrine of the Rights of Man. African Methodism struck at white religious royalty and aristocracy and unfurled and held aloft the banner of Liberte, Egalite and Fraternite.

Martin Luther thundered the doctrine of the Universal Priesthood of all Believers, the Freedom of a Christian Man, the Right of Private Judgement; unfurled the banner of Christian liberty and equality and independence. But he exhibited no greater measure of courage and Christian nobility than Richard Allen, a slave-preacher who achieved his own freedom in the depths of a labor system of utter dehumanization.

To Richard Allen, a black man - like a white man, red, brown, or yellow man, was a man - "noble in reason, infinite in faculty, in action like an angel, in apprehension like a god, the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals!" To Richard Allen, the dignity of the human personality was sacred.

Richard Allen was one of those rare spirits which opposition cannot quell. When the attempt was made to pull Absalom Jones from his knees, Allen and his friends walked out of the church, then and there. This action had greater nobility of spirit and entailed more personal sacrifice than that of Martin Luther who nailed his ninety-five theses to the church door at Wittenberg, or when he stood before the Diet of Worms.

On that day, and by that deed, Richard Allen broke down the iniquitous partition wall of racial proscription and segregation in the Christian Church, not only in the United States but throughout the world. Verily, the test of Christianity is the test of the color line, as the test of democracy is the test of the color line.

Well might Richard Allen have exclaimed, "I called to the Eternal in my plight, I cried to my God for aid ....He heard my voice."

Richard Allen died in 1831, the year of the insurrection of the slaves of Virginia under the leadership of the slave, Nat Turner. The manifestation of a burning passion of Negro slaves for freedom shook the American white society to its very foundation. Stringent laws against the slaves followed, but slave insurrections continued in every colony and, finally, in every state in the Union.

Millions of slaves preferred to die on their feet fighting for freedom than to exist on their knees begging for life. Thus, the refrain of the slaves:

Before I'd be a slave
I'd be buried in my grave
And go home to my God
And be free.

The slaves' revolts followed the spirit expressed by Shakespeare in Julius Caesar:

There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and miseries:

On such a full sea are we now afloat,
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures.

Such giants of African Methodism as Bishops Richard Allen, Daniel Payne, Coker, William Paul Quinn, T.M.D. Ward, Henry McNeal Turner, Morris Brown, and a host of others, were slaves.

African Methodism inspired and stimulated Negro leadership to action for abolition and to fight for political progress. During the twelve Reconstruction years, 1865 to 1877, two Negro senators from Mississippi were seated in the Congress, and fourteen Representatives in the House. Some of these men came out of the African Methodist Church.

And let us not forget Abraham Grant, Benjamin W. Arnett, Benjamin Tucker Tanner, Wesley J. Gaines. And there were Bishops Lee, L. J. Coffin, Parks, Heard, Flipper, John Albert Johnson, Carey, Becket, Tyree, Ransom, Fountain, Gaines, and Green. These great leaders of African Methodism might well exclaim: "Upon this rock we have built this Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against."

Today, Negroes in the United States represent twenty billion dollars in wealth annually. They lose thirty billions because of race bias. Their economic problems are grave because they are the first fired and the last hired and their rate of unemployment is twice as high as the unemployment rate of white workers. Their average annual median wage is 58 percent of the annual average median wage of white workers. Because Negroes, on account of race bias, have been deprived of opportunity to acquire craft skills, they are disproportionately concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled categories of industry. They are the hardest hit by the revolution of automation.

But, Negroes are awakened and aroused to the realization of the fact that "he who would be free must himself strike the first blow" and hence young college Negro boys and girls are demonstrating against race bias by "sit-ins" and "freedom rides" and, when arrested, they express their desire to go to jail and not accept bail, which is in the great tradition of lovers of liberty all over the world.

With this militant spirit the future of Negro citizens' fight for first-class citizenship is promising and they will, undoubtedly, eventually get a Negro on the Supreme Court and there is a possibility and probability that a Negro will some day sit in the White House as the President of the United States, but only if Negroes continue to fight for their rights.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
TO THE FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
WESTCHESTER TOWN HOUSE, YONKERS, N. Y.
MAY 28 - 30, 1965

Brother Chairman, Officers, Delegates, Fraternal Delegates and Fellow Citizens of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Negro American Labor Council:

I hail and salute you in these times of trial and troubles, tension and turmoil, social upheavals and profound change.

Ours is an age of revolutions. There are nationalist revolutions against colonialism, imperialism and racialism; revolutions of rising expectations, human rights and technology. In this twentieth century of world-wide revolutionary uprisings scores of African, Asian, Latin American and Caribbean states have achieved independence and become sovereign communities constituting, as it were, a powerful force in the determination of the course of modern history. And in the United States black Americans, in the Civil Rights Revolution are making a determined bid for a place in the sun as free men.

OPPORTUNITY AND DANGER

In the periods of social fermentation and conflict there is opportunity to push forward the frontiers of freedom, and there is danger that the frontiers of freedom may be thrust backwards in frustration, fear and failure.

Whether the freedom movement continues moving ahead, falls backward, or stands still depends upon tactics, strategy and dedication of leadership and the fighting faith of the black masses in the cause of civil rights and freedom.

CRISIS OF CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

Verily, the great Negro community has already been vitally affected by the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 - a monumental triumph. But it is, at best, a declaration of the illegality and unconstitutionality of discrimination based upon race or color. It does not, ipso facto, abolish racial discrimination. Implementation of the Act is yet unfinished business.

However, this problem of implementation will prove to be a formidable task since large segments of the Negro rank and file, as well as some areas of leadership, consider the Civil Rights Revolution as having fulfilled its mission. Thus, there is a tendency of the Civil Rights Revolution to lapse into a state of relaxation, as shown by a loss in membership and a deficit financial condition of civil rights organizations.

But the fact that the Civil Rights Revolution has been caught up in a crisis of relaxation, a sort of inevitable pause in the struggle, which can result in a loss of power and vigilance as to threaten the ability of the freedom movement to hold to its gains, is not unprecedented. It has happened to most causes. No social movement with high moral and spiritual significance can rise to the highest point of a Mount Everest, in a flood tide of emotional expression and struggle, without inevitably falling back into an ebb tide of relative quiescence and passivity.

ORGANIZED LABOR'S RELAXATION

Let us take a look at the long struggle of the workers, marked by blood and tears, violence, imprisonment and death, for the right to organize and bargain collectively with employers and to negotiate contracts concerning rates of pay, rules governing working conditions and fringe benefits, including vacations with pay, medical and hospitalization benefits, and pensions.

In the Roosevelt era labor won the Wagner Labor Disputes Act in 1935, regarded as the Magna Charta of the workers, followed by the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1937, providing for a minimum wage and shorter work week.

In 1947 the notorious Taft-Hartley Act was enacted, providing, in Section 14 (b), the legal opportunity for individual states to enact the so-called "right-to-work" laws that banned the right of organized labor to negotiate with employers for a Union Shop, which required, after a certain period of employment, that a worker must join the union as a condition of continued employment. Thus, Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act encouraged employers to wage compaigns to get states to enact "right to work"laws in order to maintain the Open Shop and cheap labor as an attraction to business firms to establish branches in these states.

This crisis of victory of organized labor, which resulted in a loss of momentum in the drive of the AFL and the CIO to organize the unorganized throughout the nation, including the South, which subsequently became the haven of the "right to work" laws' states, robbed labor of its power of resistance to the forces of reaction responsible for the antilabor Landrum-Griffin Bill in 1957.

This lesson of labor history should teach the trade union movement and the civil rights movement to trust in God - but keep the powder dry! Now the AFL-CIO is faced with the formidable task of getting the Congress to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which will not be easy, even with the support of President Johnson.

LIMITATIONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

Moreover, with the realization of the limitations of the Civil Rights Revolution resulting from its failure to solve the problems of unemployment, quality integration in public school education, and integrated housing, some measure of disillusionment is certain to set in.

Now, the purpose of the Civil Rights Revolution is to effect a transition of the Negro from the status of second-class to first-class citizenship, or to bring the Negro up to the level of the white worker,or ordinary citizen, who possesses the traditional, conventional and classical attributes of American citizenship, namely, the right to vote and to be voted for, right of free speech and free assembly, right of trial by jury, right of petition, freedom from search and seizure, and the right of habeas corpus.

The Civil Rights Revolution does not seek, nor can it achieve, a transition of power from one class to another class, or the overthrow of the existing political-state system. It is essentially a bourgeois revolution with middle-class values which white Americans won with the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789 and for which Negroes have been fighting for a hundred years.

But the Civil Rights Revolution, though indispensable to endow Negroes with full, first-class citizenship and with political potentiality to help shape and direct the course of the American government, is wholly inadequate successfully to grapple with the basic economic and social problems of black Americans, just as the bourgeois revolution has been and still is inadequate to solve the basic economic and social problems of the white workers and ordinary citizens. In very truth, the Civil Rights Revolution is one hundred years late. As a matter of fact, it is a travesty upon justice, an outrage upon common sense, and an insult to decency that Negroes are compelled to march, struggle and fight to secure the rights the ordinary white citizen enjoys.

The Declaration of Independence states:

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Obviously, if the United States, which is committed to its Declaration of Independence, fails to live up to this great moral commitment it will face incessant rebellion from Negroes expressed, hopefully, in various forms of peaceful demonstrations. For Negroes, much in terms of the behavior pattern of the early colonial Americans toward their British overlords, couldn't if they would, and wouldn't if they could, continue to endure the immorality of racial inferiority, injustice and inequality without vigorous and uncompromising protest.

In a world of freedom, or trend toward freedom, no people can psychologically survive in dignity as citizens, without continuous, creative contact with and participation in the realities of this free world by exercising the right to help shape and direct its growth and development.

It is just as unrealistic and impossible for a country to place the concept of freedom at top priority in its value system and withhold freedom from any segment of its population which is exposed to that freedom, as it is to prevent a chick from being born which has been exposed to the forces of incubation and gestation. And just as the little chick must peck a hole in the shell to shatter it (inevitably attended with a speck of blood) for release from the prison of the hard shell, in order to step forth as a free living entity; so the Negro, exposed to the forces of the free world, must, through the Civil Rights Revolution, strike a mighty blow upon the hardened shell of white supremacy to shatter it for release from the prison of racial bias and alleged inferiority, in order to be able to step forth to breathe the free air and live as a free human being in equality and liberty.

Verily, Negroes have no choice save to fight everlastingly in a struggle to live in freedom or to die in ceaseless combat to overcome and destroy the evils of social, economic, political and cultural deprivation and subordination.

And just as the chick, after freedom from imprisonment in the shell must find a way, with help, to solve the problem of life and living in competition with other chicks; so the Negro, after the Civil Rights Revolution has fulfilled its mission in endowing black Americans with the same civil rights white Americans enjoy, must find a way to solve the problem of life and living, of joblessness, illiteracy, ignorance and the dark ghettoes, in competition with other Americans.

STEP UP THE PACE

Hence, Negroes must get on with the business of implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the pending Voting Rights Act which should contain a ban on poll taxes in state and local elections, with federal poll-watchers and federal registrars immediately available without reference to state registrars.

Unless the civil rights movement take immediate and vigorous action to invoke the protection of federal civil rights statutes, it may not only lose its momentum, as a result of erosion of the national consensus for civil rights, but may be pushed from the center of the stage of American history by competitive social forces, such as the war in South Vietnam and Santo Domingo, the revolutions of technology, war weaponry, and labor's battle for the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Hence, the civil rights crusade in the North, which Dr. Martin Luther King has begun, together with comparable action by James Farmer of CORE, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is timely and highly appropos.

FATE OF THE FREEDMEN

It must be remembered that when the Civil War ended, and the thunder of the revolution of Abolitionism against slavery was no longer heard throughout the land, the Confederate counterrevolution emerged in 1865 and not only swept the freedmen out of public focus but they lost the support of the federal government under Presidents Andrew Jackson, Ulysses Grant and Rutherford B. Hayes.

It was President Hayes who, as a concession for the support of the South in the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876, withdrew the federal army from the South, leaving the freedmen to the tender mercies of their former slavemasters.

One of the darkest pages in American history was the betrayal and destruction of the Reconstruction democracy by both the Confederate Democratic and northern Republican Parties.

During the regime of the Reconstruction democracy, which has been slandered and misrepresented by reactionary racists and so-called liberal historians alike, Negroes, for the first time in American history, were elected to State Legislatures and both houses of the Congress and many of them served with distinction and ability.

The freedmen and the Reconstruction democracy were consigned to the limbo of public oblivion by the revolt of the farmers in the Populist movement of the 1890's and the violent national strikes of the workers in the latter part of the nineteenth century, including the Pullman strike in 1894, the Homestead Steel strike in 1893 and the Haymarket Riot of 1886.

Following the death of the revolution of Reconstruction, the United States Supreme Court, reflecting the racial climate of the times, declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional, in 1883, and handed down the famous Plessy-Ferguson decision in 1896, which constituted the legal foundation of racial segregation in the land. It was followed by a rash of state laws such as White Primaries, Grandfather Clauses in constitutions, and poll tax and vagrancy laws that revived the old slave Black Codes and reduced the freedmen to the status of sharecroppers, peons and tenant farmers.

Now that the fight for civil rights has been won, with the job of implementation remaining, the question arises: what next? Of course impelemetation is a man-sized job, but we are on our way.

But even now, at the beginning of implementation of the civil rights legislation, Negroes must proceed to grapple with major, pressing problems; the challenge of poverty in these times of prosperity, joblessness, with an annual increase of a million and one-half new workers and their entry into the national job market, and the march of the revolution of radical technology, with a bewilderingly rapid pace in increased productivity, abolishment of jobs and displacement of workers, especially the blue collar unskilled, in which category the large majority of Negro and Puerto Rican workers will fall.

POVERTY

What is poverty? I refer not merely to the statistic of the poor; but what is it as a human condition, as the jobless welfare recipient sees and understands it?

Verily, it is an indescribably ugly human reality, as William Stringfellow graphically points out in his autobiography entitled, "My People is the Enemy." He states:

> "Poverty means not just density of population or large families or dilapidated housing or infestation of vermin or absence of privacy or obsolescent sanitation or low income or unemployability or retarded education or indifferent politicians or the congestion of the streets - it is all of these tangled up in the life of each person. At least that is the way it is not only in Harlem but every metropolitan center in the country."

In language without ambiguity, which everybody can understand, he continues:

> "Poverty is a mother whose child died from being attacked by a rat. Poverty is a widow on welfare whose landlord cuts the heat, knowing that the winter will end before a complaint is processed.
>
> "Poverty is a drug addict who steals from his own family or pawns the jacket off his back to get another "fix." Poverty is being evicted from a housing project because the project manager determines that the family is "undesirable."
>
> "Poverty is a Puerto Rican shopkeeper whose store is stoned when he tries to relocate south of the 96th Street boundary of East Harlem. Poverty is an adolescent with a tested I.Q. of 130 who cannot read or write the English language well enough to get other than the most menial jobs.
>
> "Poverty is the payoff to a building inspector not to report violations of the building code. Poverty is being awakened in the middle of the night by a welfare investigator who demands to search your apartment to be sure you are not cheating the taxpayers.
>
> "Poverty is the incapacity to complain against the landlord because you can't afford to take a day off from your job or from minding the family to go to court. Poverty is a boy whose father has thrown him out and who needs a place to stay. Poverty is living in darkness after the electric current has been turned off as a fire hazard, and waiting for six or seven days until someone is sent to repair the obsolete wiring.
>
> "Poverty is the enormous burden of waiting - waiting for hours for a doctor to examine a sick child at the hospital clinic, waiting for an interview with a social worker, waiting at the employment office, waiting in line for what the government ironically calls "surplus" food, waiting for everything and everybody everywhere you go.

> "Poverty is the relentless daily attrition of contending with the most primitive concerns of human existence: food and cleanliness and clothes and housing and rest and play. Poverty is vulnerability to death in its crudest forms.
>
> "Where do the people of poverty live? Some are in a block of East 100th Street, Manhattan, where some of the stairways smell of urine. There are smells with a suffocating mixture of rotting food, rancid mattresses, dead rodents, dirt, and the stale odors of human life.
>
> "A family of eight, five kids and three adults, occupy a place of about the size of 25 feet by 12 feet, with a wall separating the kitchen section from the rest. In the kitchen was a bathtub, a tiny sink, refrigerator that didn't work, and an ancient gas range. In a corner was a toilet with a bowl without a seat. The other room was filled with beds. There wasn't room for anything else. The walls and ceilings were mostly holes and patches and peeling paint, sheltering legions of cockroaches."

Such is a description of numberless homes of Negroes and Puerto Ricans today.

WHY IS THIS?

One major cause of the social misery and economic wretchedness of Negroes is that, chiefly on account of race bias, they are the last hired and the first fired. Their rate of unemployment is about two and one half times the rate of white workers. In other words, if the rate of unemployment of white workers is 5 percent, the rate of unemployment of Negro workers will reach 12.5 percent. When the unemployment rate of white teenagers is 16 percent, black teenagers jobless rate hovers around 40 percent.

In 1962 nonwhites, chiefly Negroes, in the U. S. made up 11 percent of the civilian labor force, but 22 percent of the unemployed. Moreover, Negro workers in 1962 were largely concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled areas of labor where unemployment rates are highest, and skill, training and education are lowest.

Thus, the national average median income of Negro workers is about one-half the average median income of white workers and the gap is increasing, both because of the lack of education on the part of Negores, and racial discrimination of which they are victims.

LONG, HOT SUMMER

The nature behavior patterns of any group of people in any given locale at any time are much too complex and variable to predict. But during long, hot summers when teenagers and adults, sick, tired and disgusted with the dark ghettoes in which they are virtually imprisoned, tend to make for the streets where they aimlessly roam and gather in crowds on corners, they are subject to riotous and lawless action upon the least provocation.

With great masses of young and old men, unemployed, hopeless and helpless, whose lives are empty and bored; sceptical and cynical about everything and everybody, they constitute a magazine which can easily explode into violence and lawlessness .

Of course it is difficult to point to any specific cause of these intermittent racial eruptions but, certainly, the growth of Negro and Puerto Rican populations in metropolitan communities, de facto segregation in schools, police brutality, unemployment and teenage school drop-outs contribute to the making of these human hurricanes, sometimes called long, hot summers, leaving the communities a virtual shambles, lying in ruins and wreckage. These racial disorders are a product of despair and insatiable hunger for some meaning of life, and teenagers, in rebellion against social standards of conformity, seek escapism from responsibility of a life in an increasingly complicated super-urban community in the use of narcotics.

But, of course, hoodlums, lawlessness and violence, crime and social disorder cannot be condoned, excused or tolerated for any reason. One of the great lessons of history is that there can be no permanent law and order without freedom, and no freedom without law and order.

While public opinion can be awakened and aroused by demonstrations in the streets, the problems of racial bias cannot be solved in the streets. The problems that caused labor to stage massive strikes were problems that could not be solved in the streets. There came a time when labor met management around the conference table for debate and discussion of the factors involved in the problem, with a view to achieving an understanding in terms of justice and dignity.

Thus, America must take a long, hard look at the root causes of the so-called long, hot summer in the interest of racial and social justice, a precondition to racial and social peace.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Since the Civil Rights Revolution cannot solve the problem of jobs, segregated schools and slums, another social-ethnic tool must be fashioned. Now, although Negroes provided the leadership and the basic shock troops, the Civil Rights Revolution has not been won by Negroes alone, as shown by the fact that young Andy Goodman, Michael Schwerner, Rev. James Reeb, William Moore and Violet Liuzzo placed their all upon the altar of civil rights, along with Medgar Evers and a long line of unknown black freedom-fighting soldiers. And, help came from the Jewish rabbis, Catholic nuns and priests, Protestant ministers and organized labor to build the great March on Washington and the historic Selma-Montgomery Free Ballot Crusade.

In the struggle of Negroes to solve the problem of unemployment, they must fashion a new weapon with which to fight. This weapon must consist of the alliance of the Negro and labor and the black poor and white poor; this is an alliance which has a natural basis because neither the Negro or labor is fully free. Moreover, they have the same enemies. Besides, seventy percent of the poor are white and seventy percent of the Negroes are poor. This alliance must be committed to the war on poverty.

It is also important to note that labor cannot win its rights except within the framework of our free, democratic political system, nor can the Negro win civil rights except within the framework of our free, democratic political system. Therefore, both labor and the Negro have a stake in making America fully free and democratic, and keeping it free and democratic. This involves opposition to the Communist Left, whether of Peking or Moscow, and the Fascist Right.

To this end, the civil rights movement should join hands with the labor movement to fight for the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which provides for the existence of the so-called "right to work" laws. It is interesting to note that most of the states that have the "right to work" laws also have Jim Crow laws. These are the states where poverty stalks abroad among both black and white workers. These are the states where illiteracy is highest. Therefore, when the civil rights movement fights for the abolition of "right to work" laws it is fighting to strengthen the labor unions which, with the Negro, can wage an effective war against poverty and unemployment - the major problems of the black and white poor.

But the fight for full and fair employment, in view of the opposition of the corporate capitalist power structure, will require more power than the alliance between the Negro and labor can provide. It will require, in addition to the alliance of the Negro freedom movement and the labor movement, a broad national consensus composed of the labor-Negro alliance, the Church forces, including the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant faiths, and the liberal and educational communities, such as the Workers Defense League, the League for Industrial Democracy, Americans for Democratic Action, and the student groups.

Moreover, with the bewilderingly rapid progress of the revolution of automation, sometimes called cybernation, involving the computerization of machine systems with the potentiality of decision making, the work force may be reduced to some twenty to ten percent of the population which would render full employment of the entire manpower resource of the country probably impossible, even if they possessed adequate skills and training. Certainly there are no foreseeable prospects of the unskilled Negro and Puerto Rican securing sufficient training to become employable in the American automated workshop. Thus, the only hope of the unskilled black worker is massive public works projected and conducted by the government.

There is no indication that adequate jobs will or can be supplied by the private sector of the economy. If the government does not provide jobs through public works Negro unskilled labor, which has no skills to be sold in the labor market, will get no jobs and will be compelled to depend upon public welfare subsidized by a guaranteed wage.

Therefore, the Federal Government must invest billions in public works in order to meet joblessness among Negroes - some of whom don't even have sufficient knowledge to acquire skills and training.

Public works are indispensable because the black and white poor are not jobless solely because of the lack of education, they are unemployed because there just are no jobs. Education and training are unquestionably basically necessary for the black and white workers, but unless jobs are available they will be trained for nonexistent work. In other words, they will still remain in an economic vacuum.

Thus, full employment is only possible with an increase in economic growth, but economic growth is only possible through private or public investment. It is clear that the private sector of the economy will not make adequate investments to stimulate the economy to provide adequate jobs and even if it did millions of Negro workers are incompetent to perform them.

MINIMUM WAGE

Although President Johnson, in his labor message to the Congress, expressed the position that the federal minimum wage should be increased from time to time, in addition to his timely, clear and unequivocal call for repeal of Section 14(b) of the

Taft-Hartley Act, we were disappointed in his failure to indicate his support of a definite increase in the federal minimum wage of $1.25 to $2.00, which would constitute a mighty blow in the war on poverty.

"We urge upon the Congress serious consideration of the obvious benefits," points out the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, "that will flow from raising the purchasing power of the lowest paid workers, aside and apart from the social benefits of assuring every wage earner of at least a subsistence income which does not exist today for the federal minimum wage is a poverty wage. An increased minimum wage will raise the purchasing power of millions of workers for goods and services, the production of which will create more jobs. In addition to raising the minimum wage, its coverage should be extended to some 19 million workers who are unprotected either by a minimum wage or any form of social legislation.

SHORTER WORKWEEK

The Federal Government took a definite position for the principle of the shorter week in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1937. Now, as a result of the rapid march of the revolution of automation, with the constant liquidation of jobs, especially in the blue collar area, a 35-hour week is of urgent necessity today to help provide employment for the jobless.

RIGHTS MOVEMENT SHOULD BACK LABOR

While it was to the basic interest of organized labor to fight for civil rights, it has not always done so. By the same token, it is to the interest of the Negro freedom movement to stand up and fight for labor's rights because Negroes are workers.

It has not always done so. Negro civil rights organizations should go down the line to help labor win the fight to repeal Section 14(b) and abolish the deceptive and sinister so-called "right to work" laws, thereby providing for workers, north, east, south and west, the right of free collective bargaining with employers.

SALUTE TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON

In the name of the Negro American Labor Council I hail and and salute President Johnson for the high order of statesmanship, courage and conviction he has shown in placing the full weight of the federal government back of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Probably no speech has ever been made by a public official which was as uncompromising, forthright, positive and strong for civil rights as the memorable and historic address the President made to both houses of the Congress in the days of tension and tumult attendant upon the great Selma-Montgomery crusade for a free ballot for black Americans. And, like the late President Kennedy, who sent federal troops to Oxford, Mississippi to protect a Negro student in the University, he did not fail to answer the call for protection of the Selma-Montgomery marck with federal troops. Of course, the Civil Rights Revolution had much to do in strengthening the President's will to act. Obviously, without federal power expressed by the President for civil rights legislation, there would probably be no Civil Rights Act of 1964 today. And without the pressure of the White House for repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act it could founder in the quicksands of reaction.

In the name of the Negro American Labor Council I hail and salute the relentless, resolute and effective support of the AFL-CIO, under the positive and uncompromising direction and drive of President George Meany. Trade unionists can take great pride in the militant role that the organized labor movement has played in the fight for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

STRIKING FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE

I hail and salute David Livingston, brilliant president of District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, and his official family, including the able vice-president, Bill Michelson, and our competent, militant and dedicated Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, and the fighting rank and file membership, upon waging a massive and challenging campaign to organize the unorganized workers in the great department stores of New York City; taking the unprecedented action of placing fair employment as a major goal of a wave of strikes that shook the city. This is the first time that the proposal for the abolition of race bias in employment was made an objective of a strike movement.

In the name of the officers and members of the Negro American Labor Council I hail and salute the aggressive and resourceful leadership of Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, upon his imagination and vision in launching an impressive campaign to organize the taxicab drivers into a bona-fide union , to bargain collectively with the taxicab fleet owners for decent wages, working conditions and fringe benefits. This labor program has given a new image to the trade union movement in New York City and helps to make it a dynamic force in our community life.

In the name of the Negro American Labor Council I hail and salute the emergence of the Afro-Asian states and congratulate them upon taking their place in the great world community of sovereign peoples.

In the name of the Negro American Labor Council I hail and salute the State of Israel and congratulate it upon the constructive role it is playing through its Afro-Asian Institute in helping leaders of Afro-Asian peoples to understand and practice the science and art of social technology in building a powerful trade union movement, giant cooperatives and credit unions, the the recognition of the practicability and ability of building a mixed economy in a newly emerging independent state.

In the name of the Negro American Labor Council I salute the leaders of the civil rights movement, Roy Wilkins, Dr. Martin Luther King, James Farmer, John Lewis, Whitney Young and Dorothy Height, upon their role in building the freedom movement to achieve a today and tomorrow committed to freedom, equality, racial and social justice.

Let me especially hail and salute Brother Cleveland Robinson, a commissioner of the New York City Commission on Human Rights and national vice president of the Negro American Labor Council, upon the key role he played in negotiating a fair employment practice agreement with Locals 3 and 46 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the major brewers in the city, including Schaeffer, Rheingold, Schlitz, Ruppert and Piels. Brother Robinson acted through the New York Chapter of the Negro American Labor Council, with the technical assistance and competence of Theodore Brown, director of the Commission's Business and Employment Division. This noted labor-racial victory might well serve as a model for different industries in various cities.

We again hail and salute, endorse and support President Johnson's program of employment of two million youth who will invade the labor market this summer.

Finally, the Negro American Labor Council will gird to develop and maintain a broad coalition of conscience to build a strong national consensus to wage war upon poverty, fight for full and fair employment and massive public works, the extension of the public sector of the economy and increase of economic growth to provide more and more jobs, especially for the forgotten unskilled Negro and Puerto Rican.

It is a notable fact that the Negro Talented Tenth, glorified by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, are in demand and can secure employment in positions comparable to their white intellectual fraternity.

We, in the Negro American Labor Council, are fundamentally and completely dedicated to the cause of the black proletariat and black poor, employed and unemployed, to help them fight their way to economic opportunity with the white proletariat and white poor for a better life. The black bourgeoisie have risen to measurable status and eminence; they, like the white bourgeoisie, will continue to make progress.

We call upon the black intellectual and professional and business elite for help and cooperation in the battle for jobs. We are not worried about the black bourgeoisie; we are worried about the black proletariat - the source of both the power and trouble. It is the jobless black proletariat who become the black poor and finally, possibly, the black lumpen-proletariat of skid row,who become practically irredeemable and the enemy of the black Civil Rights Revolution and the enemy of society.

Finally, let me remind our brothers and sisters of labor, black and white, that black Americans face the most crucial crisis for economic survival any group of Americans have ever confronted in the history of our country.

May we face the future with a fighting faith in freedom, and unafraid.

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NEW YORK FORUM

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(FOR RELEASE ONLY AFTER BROADCAST)

GUEST: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Vice President of the AFL-CIO, International President of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Co-Chairman of The Committee for Justice to Hospital Workers

Presented by

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ANNOUNCER: "THE NEW YORK FORUM" --- presented by the Public Affairs Department of WCBS-TV. The men and the issues in today's headlines are examined on New York Forum.

And now, your moderator, CBS News Correspondent Tom Costigan.

MODERATOR COSTIGAN: In a significant demonstration of the unity, the civic and religious leaders of New York City's Negro and Puerto Rican communities have formed an action committee to demonstrate their support of the 7-week-old strike against voluntary hospitals by non-union -- or non-professional employees rather.

Our guest today has recently warned that the strike was "becoming a very explosive situation." He is A. Philip Randolph, Vice President of the AFL-CIO, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Co-Chairman of The Committee For Justice To Hospital Workers.

Mr. Randolph, welcome to New York Forum.

MR. RANDOLPH: Very glad to participate on New York Forum, Mr. Costigan.

MODERATOR COSTIGAN: And now to meet our panel, all members of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. They Are Robert O. Lehrman, Leonard Rubin and Cameron K. Wehringer.

Now, for our first question, let's turn to Mr. Wehringer.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Costigan. Mr. Randolph, would you mind telling us the purposes of this committee which you have recently participated in forming?

MR. RANDOLPH: Yes, Mr. Lehrman, the purpose of the Committee For Justice To Hospital Workers is to awaken, inform and mobilize the Negro and Puerto Rican communities, back up the fight in the interests of enabling the hospital workers to join a union and to bargain collectively concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions. That's the primary aim.

QUESTION: Well, Mr. Randolph, do you have any other aims, that is, is the committee going to concern itself with other injustices facing minority groups, particularly the Negro and Puerto Rican people in New York and elsewhere?

MR. RANDOLPH: No, this committee has confined its work primarily to the organization of hospital workers into a bonafide trade union, so that they may be able to bargain collectively in the interests of improving their standards of living.

You know the hospital workers only receive forty-six dollars a week. That's around $2,293 a year. The Department of Labor of our country has indicated that a family of four should have $106 a week, or around $5,000-some odd a year. Now, the hospital workers, you can readily see, are marginal workers and as a matter of fact they are candidates for the slums. Now, the purpose of this committee is to enable these workers to exercise the principle of collective bargaining which is a part of our country. As a matter of fact it is a part of our Western culture; in a free, open, democratic society, workers, like the employers, must enjoy the right of free organization, and in all of that they may be able to improve their economic conditions.

QUESTION: Mr. Randolph, do you and your committee favor a government of laws or of men?

MR. RANDOLPH: We favor a government of laws under which men may be able to get justice and we feel that in this instance the law is on the side of the workers. President Kennedy only recently, in January, issued an executive order giving the federal employees the right of collective bargaining.

QUESTION: And how do you explain it, sir, that the New York State constitution specifically prohibits strikes against such institutions?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, the New York State constituion is one of the problems involved here because we are seeking legislation, by the state, giving the right to hospital workers, to organize and bargain collectively and most of the papers are supporting this position.

QUESTION: Yes, but while the law is on the books prohibiting strikes and when you have a court order enjoining a strike and picketing against the hospitals, do you really feel it is justice and a government of law if you are out striking against the hospitals in violation of the presently existing law and court orders underneath that law?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, Mr. Lehrman, sometimes it is necessary to --- for a group of people who are the victims of severe exploitation to take action in the interests of a higher law, and that is the right -- the God-given right of the worker to band with other workers in the interests of improving the life of their families. Now, as a matter of fact we recognize that constitutions are changed in order that they may correspond to changing conditions. It is our purpose to work in the interest of securing legislation that will give these workers this right and sometimes in the history of mankind we have seen that it is necessary to take action that rests upon moral mandates.

Now, all of the great religious and ethical movements of the world support these hospital workers in their effort to get the right to organize and I include the Vatican. I include the Protestant church and the Jewish Synagogues. All of them are on record in favor of the right of the worker to join a union and to bargain collectively.

QUESTION Yes, but is that the issue, Mr. Randolph? We do have a law on the books; we do have a court order prohibiting the strike. There are certainly remedies open to workers who seek the relief sought in this particular situation. You can attempt to get the Legislature to change the law. You can attempt to get the courts to change their interpretation of the law. These are the legal means for seeking the changes which are desired in the situation. Is it, therefore, morally right to try to achieve your own ends by breaching the law that is presently on the books? I think that is the issue.

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, I think it is morally right to present a basic social issue of injustice to the public and the method by which these workers are presenting this issue to the public is through a strike. A strike is a legitimate weapon of education in our American culture and it is wholly proper, in my opinion, morally justified in every way, for these workers to provide a test ---

QUESTION: To violate the law and to violate the court order?

MR. RANDOLPH: No, not to violate the law, but to demonstrate their desire to express their basic rights in harmony with a higher law and the higher law is the right of an individual to join a union and to bargain collectively in order that he might improve his rate of pay and rules governing working conditions.

QUESTION: Mr. Randolph, if I may, do you feel that in the course of the negotiations between the union -- that is, the president of the union and the hospital trustees -- that the trustees acted in good faith, that the trustees made a decent, reasonable offer, and that the trustees at any time acted in such a manner as to avoid a strike or do you think they acted in such a manner as to leave Mr. Davis no other alternative but the strike.

MR. RANDOLPH: I think they acted in such a manner as to leave him no alternative except to strike. As a matter of fact the trustees did not act in good faith and the offer was not adequate. They have compelled the hospital workers to serve as involuntary philanthropists because their substandard wages compel them to act as philanthropists.

You must realize there is a family working in Bethel Hospital by the name Wormby. He gets $97.45 bi-monthly. Well, now, that's $33.85 less than he would receive were he on relief. This is a case of extreme exploitation that the workers will never be able to meet by any other means except the organization of their forces in the form of bonafide unions, in the interest of bargaining collectively.

Now our committee realizes that the unions are not competent to deal with this problem alone because these workers need the support of public opinion, and especially the support of the Negro and Puerto Rican communities. These are communities that represent enormous social strength. There are one million negroes in New York and 700,000 Puerto Ricans. For the first time in the history of these communities they have united on this issue. This is a significant and historic step and I believe as the result of that fact that the people are becoming aroused. Their consciences are stirred and as a matter of fact the issue is becoming explosive.

QUESTION: How about the conscience of the sick and dying? You are saying --- and I surely hope I am misquoting you --- that the economic well being of a few people is worth more than the moral value of the sick and dying who cannot defend themselves. If I may, sir, I can quote your own union -- the union of Local 1199 -- in the New York Times of June 20, where they said that the conditions are chaotic and the well being of the patients seriously endangered and this you support?

MR. RANDOLPH: Now, in no instance where we have recognition of the union in the voluntary hospitals has there been an interruption of the schedule of work in those hospitals and our organization, 1199, has pledged no strike provisions in the contracts. Not only that, we are willing that the arbitration procedure be invoked whenever problems involving disputes arise. Now, this certainly represents a sound, constructive approach to the problem.

QUESTION: It means, in other words, that the signature of a man who is a union leader, is to be given greater weight than his adherence to being a law abiding citizen. It means a man who said on February 3rd that he would deliberately and consciously violate the law, is to be trusted if he signs a paper? Is that what you mean?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, I mean that he has already indicated and the union has already indicated, that the negotiation of an agreement with voluntary hospitals, is recognized as being bonafide and the agreement is lived up to, it's honored and there isn't a single instance where there has been a breach of faith when once an agreement has been signed by 1199, and Leon J. Davis has certainly maintained an honorable position in all of the negotiations and the struggles of the hospital workers under the banner of his union who develops ----

QUESTION: If he is going to maintain an honorable position, sir, why was he refused certification to represent the pharmacy employees in four New York City departments and refused to submit to examination by the City's Investigation Commission? I refer you to the New York Times of June 5, 1960.

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, of course, the problem of securing recognition from various agencies is one of the problems that all trade unions are familiar with and this is not extraordinary. It is not unusual. It is no evidence of a lack of character or integrity on the part of Mr. Davis. As a matter of fact all of the trade unions in the country have been turned down by some of the organizations that are supposed to represent the highest order of moral values but in the end, finally, they usually give in.

Now, I predict that the hospital workers are going to be organized. The union is going to be recognized in these voluntary hospitals because public opinion believes it is just and fair and proper ---

MORE

QUESTION: To turn back---

MR. RANDOLPH: ---and the hospital workers are not going to surrender. They are not going to give up and the union is not going to back down.

QUESTION: To turn back for a moment, Mr. Randolph, to this question of the trustees of the hospitals, you indicated before that you felt they had not acted in good faith in connection with their bargaining with the union, with the representatives of the union. Would you go so far as to say that the trustees of these hospitals, or some of these trustees, were anti-Negro or anti-Puerto Rican in their outlook or attitude?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, I wouldn't say that. I don't know whether they are or not. But I would say that they are anti-union and, incidentally, all 95% of the workers are Negroes and Puerto Ricans and, consequently, there is no doubt about it, there is some race bias involved.

QUESTION: There is some race bias?

MR. RANDOLPH: Some race bias involved. They feel that these workers are the lowest of the workers. They are the forgotten workers. They are the flotsam and the jetsam of society and, consequently, they can be ignored and shoved aside, and it is also a part of our culture that the peoples of color and the Puerto Ricans are shoved aside. They are not given the consideration of the white workers.

MODERATOR COSTIGAN: Well, do you think, Mr. Randolph, that it's either wise or desirable to emphasize the racial and ethnic background of your committee and your aims in this day of integration?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, we have to face the social realities and one of the realities is that the Negro and Puerto Rican workers are victims of unusual and severe exploitation because of ethnic reasons as well as because of the fact that they don't have the strength that they would have if they had built organizations to fight for their rights. This is a thing they're doing and the Puerto Rican and Negro communities are backing them. For instance, we are going to have a massive pilgrimage July 22, Sunday afternoon, between 72nd and 73rd Streets, and then they are going to solemnly march down to the Manhattan Eye, Ear and Nose Hospital in order that the conscience of the city may be aroused to the tremendous injustice to which these people are subjected. Ministers of some of the large churches of the Negro community will take their congregation down there.

In other words, I have never seen the community more aroused over any issue than they are today over this problem of the right of the workers to form unions of their own choosing without interference, intimidation or coercion---

QUESTION: Mr. Randolph---

MR. RANDOLPH: ---in order that they may fight for their rights.

QUESTION: Excuse me, sir. Have the public officials of the City of New York and the other elected officials from the Negro community themselves, have they been of any assistance to this committee?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, no. We had a conference with Mr. Screvane last week and we sought to get him to come out and express a position on the principle of collective bargaining. But we were quite disappointed that Mr. Screvane would not indicate in the slightest that he was in favor of any form of collective bargaining.

QUESTION: How about Adam Clayton Powell?

MR. RANDOLPH: Adam Clayton Powell, he's certainly in favor of collective bargaining. As chairman of the Committee on Labor and Education, he's certainly---

QUESTION: Has he taken a stand in this strike?

MR. RANDOLPH: I have not communicated with him with respect to this particular strike.

QUESTION: How about the mayor of the City of New York?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, we have attempted to get the mayor of the City of New York to support the $1.50 minimum wage, but we have not been able to get him to do that, and we are seeking to get the mayor to go on record in support of the right of these workers to join a union. And we are going to do the same thing with Governor Rockefeller.

QUESTION: Referring back to---

MR. RANDOLPH: We are trying--we are planning to get a conference with him.

QUESTION: Referring back to the question of Mr. Powell again, Mr. Davis, Mr. Ernest Davis, who is head of the union, has criticized Mr. Powell, Adam Clayton Powell, for failing to take a position, a strong-enough position, in connection with this particular issue. Would you agree with that criticism of Mr. Powell?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, recently, Mr. Powell sent two of his investigators here to New York for the purpose of looking into the problems of the hospital workers. Therefore, I think that no doubt he is now moving to the end of putting his committee back of the effort to help the hospital workers in their problem to win the right to join a union.

MODERATOR COSTIGAN: Why haven't you asked Mr. Powell directly for participation in your movement, Mr. Randolph? He's a leader in Harlem and he's also a congressman, of course.

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, of course, I know that as the chairman of the Committee on Labor and Education he is quite busy. I have no doubt, however, that he certainly would lend his support and cooperation, and I will approach him about it. But, since he has sent these investigators here for the purpose of looking into the hospital problems, I am sure that he will put the weight of this committee back of this effort.

QUESTION: Couldn't the same be said true of Mayor Wagner and Mr. Screvane; namely, that they are sending their investigators out, they are having various city agencies looking into this problem now. Why can't you be equally sure that they will stand behind this eventually, too?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, I'm not sure that they have sent out investigators in the interests of helping the hospital workers win the right to join a union. You see, this matter of going on record in favor of collective bargaining is not a revolutionary thing. It's--as a matter of fact, quite normal, conservative people are on record in support of the right of the worker to join a union without intimidation, interference or coercion.

Now, I think that the mayor, the governor and all of the various city and state and federal officials have a right to state publicly that they favor the right of a worker to join a union---

MODERATOR COSTIGAN: I would like to clear up one---

MR. RANDOLPH: ---in this 20th century.

MODERATOR COSTIGAN: Mr. Randolph, referring to the participation of the mayor's people in your present group in Harlem, Mr. Raymond Jones was present at the first meeting, the mayor's political advisor from Harlem was present at your first meeting in Harlem.

MR. RANDOLPH: Yes.

MODERATOR COSTIGAN: Senator James Watson, also of Harlem, State Democratic Senator, was present, and there was one other concern that I had when I asked you about the overemphasis that is apparent on race and ethnic backgrounds. Also present at that meeting was the leader of the Muslim group, the extremist group in New York, Malcolm X. Is he part of this movement, too, would you say, or have you asked him to participate?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, he's not a member of our Committee on Justice for Hospital Workers, but he attended the meeting which was called in Harlem by our committee inasmuch as we wanted to show a united front back of the fight for the hospital workers. Every significant group in the community came to that conference and the conference represented the finest cross-section that we have ever seen in that community before. And most important of all, is the unity of the Negro workers and the hospital workers, the Negro leaders and the Puerto Rican leaders in this struggle. We have never had that unity before and it's going to be a useful instrument in the struggle of the Negroes and the Puerto Ricans on all fronts in the future.

QUESTION: In other words, Mr. Randolph, you favor the current dispute because of the racial issue? You would not favor or support a strike if it were not for that; is that right?

MR. RANDOLPH: Oh, no, not at all. As a matter of fact, I'm in favor of---

QUESTION: Well then, the racial issue is a red herring.

MR. RANDOLPH: No, no, not at all. The racial issue is there and we can't ignore the fact that it is there. But the basic aim is economic and, namely, improving the wage rates, raising the level of wages---

QUESTION: But not doing it according to law.

MR. RANDOLPH: ---and that's fundamental. It wouldn't make any difference who the people were involved in the hospital. If the wage rates were as low as these wage rates are, then the responsibility of a committee that believes in social justice would be to fight to improve those wage rates. That's what we're doing.

QUESTION: Mr. Randolph, I understand Mr. Davis is going back to jail next week possibly and that the strike will continue. In your opinion, sir--well, the strike has been going on for seven weeks now--could it be ended tomorrow if the trustees agreed to negotiate with the union, to recognize the union?

MR. RANDOLPH: I think so.

QUESTION: That's the only issue right now?

MR. RANDOLPH: That's the only issue, the right of organization and collective bargaining, and if the trustees agree to that, this whole problem could be solved tomorrow.

QUESTION: Mr. Randolph, to turn to the question of interunion rivalry, it was reported in the papers this week that another union is now seeking recognition and the right to collective bargaining with the hospitals, another union other than that which Mr. Davis represents. What is the feeling of your committee as to the participation of this other union?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, our committee will adhere strictly to non-involvement in any jurisdictional dispute between two unions. We are concerned about one thing and one thing only, and that is the right of the hospital workers to join a union and to bargain collectively.

QUESTION: Do you feel that it is healthy for this other union to be seeking the same rights as Mr. Davis' union?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, I don't want to make a judgment with respect to the tactics and the policy of a union in connection with a given dispute, because within the structure of the AFL-CIO, national and international unions have autonomy. They are a right to develop their own policies and to carry them out according to their own judgment and, consequently, as part of the AFL-CIO and as one of the vice presidents, I would not make a judgment with respect to the justice or the injustice or with respect to the efficiency---

QUESTION: However, in all of your comments---

MR. RANDOLPH: ---that might result from another union entering a dispute or keeping out of the dispute.

QUESTION: Excuse me, I didn't mean to interrupt. But, in your comments today you have indicated that you and your committee are supporting

Local 1199 and Mr. Davis; is that correct?

MR. RANDOLPH: That is correct. We are supporting the right of the hospital workers to organize. Incidentally, 1199 and Mr. Leon J. Davis -- they're leading the fight from the point of view of the union as a union. But we are conducting an educational campaign in the interests of awakening, informing and mobilizing the Puerto Rican and Negro communities back of the fight. That is our role. We will not participate in any way in any kind of interunion dispute.

QUESTION: But how are you not going to hurt those who can't help themselves, the sick, the dying, who may or may not be Negro, Puerto Rican, Jewish, Protestant or Catholic, white, yellow or black? How are you going to stop hurting them?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, the reason for any disabilities that they may suffer will lie at the door of the trustees because---

QUESTION: You're breaking the law, not they.

MR. RANDOLPH: ---the union is pursuing reasonable and a recognized proper procedure.

QUESTION: Against the law.

MR. RANDOLPH: They are moving along recognized lines of action.

QUESTION: To ask that the state close the hospitals?

MR. RANDOLPH: No.

QUESTION: To ask that the city withdraw its patients and funds from the hospitals?

MR. RANDOLPH: No. To insist that they get proper wages.

QUESTION: But that's what they have done. They have asked the state to close the hospitals. They have asked that the city withdraw patients and that the city withdraw funds.

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, I think it's improper for people to be subjected to substandard wages in the interests of the maintenance of an institution whatever that institution may be because -- as a matter of fact, while the sick are involved, if these people don't get adequate wages, they'll become sick, they'll become candidates for the hospital, and it is our purpose that they won't be subjected to that condition.

MODERATOR COSTIGAN: Well, Mr. Randolph, briefly, having emphasized what you believe are the racial aspects involved in the strike and the wage situation, could you say very briefly whether in your experience in New York City the racial tensions, if they ever existed or exist now--have they become better or worse?

MR. RANDOLPH: Well, they're worsening at the present time and they're becoming more explosive.

MODERATOR COSTIGAN: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Randolph. We appreciate your coming here.

Our guest has been A. Philip Randolph, prominent labor leader and Co-Chairman of the Committee for Justice to Hospital Workers.

And thanks also to our panelists, all members of the Bar Association of the City of New York: Robert O. Lehrman, Leonard Rubin and Cameron K. Wehringer.

Now, next Sunday at 11:30, another meeting of your NEW YORK FORUM and I hope you'll join us then.

This is Tom Costigan. Good afternoon.

ADDRESS BY INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
TO THE FOURTH TRIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD
OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, QUEEN'S HOTEL, MONTREAL, QUE.,
SEPTEMBER 10, 1962.

Delegates, officials, members, sisters of the Ladies Auxiliary and friends:

Greetings and felicitations!

We have met in this beautiful, colorful and historic city of Montreal in the Fourth Triennial Convention and Thirty-seventh Anniversary, in an hour of challenge and decision.

Verily, the winds of change - accelerated change - are blowing upon our great movement, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

They are blowing upon every movement and institution of man throughout the world.

Yes, the Old Order changeth.

A New World is being born.

Progress, yea, even our very survival, requires adjustment to the momentum and mandate of change, or events will pass us by.

Confronted by a whole new world of opportunity and danger, we must develop the will for adventure, exploration and experimentation with a deep sense of history, tradition and moral imperative.

SPACE AGE

In this mid-twentieth century, as a result of the march of science and technology, man is face to face with the Space Age.

It is both startling and inspiring, with man in a satellite orbiting the earth while a frenzied race proceeds apace between the United States and Soviet Russia to be the first to land a man on the moon.

Because of the gigantic cost (some fifty billion dollars) of man reaching the moon, the question may well be asked: What value is this interplanetary endeavor to the advancement of mankind? There is no definitive answer to this inquiry.

But man's curiosity and love of adventure have ever led him to wonder about the challenge and mystery of the unknown. This is the reason for the advent, life and living of astrologers and astronomers, philosophers, saints and prophets of the ancient world.

Moreover, the development of science and technology, that is a condition to experimentation and exploration in the realm of spacial phenomena, indicate the magic and marvels of discovery and invention of tomorrow.

What a warning to the oppressed and underdeveloped peoples of North America, Asia and Africa?

Thus, the story of history portrays the long struggle of man for the conquest of man, the creation and conquest of the machine and materialism, and the building of systems of religion, morality and government.

STRUGGLES OF BROTHERHOOD

And, here we are of the Brotherhood engaged in the major struggle of our life and history. It is a crucial struggle. It involves danger and opportunity.

There is danger that we may lose and there is opportunity to win, This is true of every great crisis of history. Whether we win or lose depends upon what we do in the crisis.

If we unite and move forward, we will win.

If we retreat, we retreat in disorder and we will lose.

Life requires that a movement move either in progression or retrogression. It cannot and will not stand still.

Thus, the Brotherhood must move forward with the vanguard of labor to face and grapple with the problems that challenge us.

THE PROBLEM

The problem of the workers in the United States and the Dominion of Canada is the problem of diminishing jobs.

The problem of dwindling jobs exists on the railroads, on the ships, in the mills and mines and in practically all of the production and service industries.

This problem takes the primary form of joblessness.

Joblessness means idle men, idle money and idle plants.

This is a type of economic paralysis.

It's a crisis.

It may be the cause of recession and develop into a depression.

A recession or depression means human hunger, foreclosure of mortgages, broken homes and loss of homes, business bankruptcies, sale of farms for debt, depressed industrial areas, victimization of children as drop-outs from school, and increased compulsory reliance on state welfare relief. These ups and downs, booms and busts, bob up like Banquo's Ghost, ever and anon, as chronic behavior characteristic of our free market economy.

ECONOMIC PLAGUE OF THE WORKERS

Verily, unemployment is an everlasting economic plague of the workers, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant.

Workers in the United States and Canada have suffered from intermittent industrial ups and downs or severe depressions since the mid-Eighties and early Nineties. Note the economic rythmn of the appearance and disappearance of good times and hard times in 1907, 1914, 1921, and from 1929 to the mid-30's, and 1949, 1954, 1958 and 1960. In fact, the economies of the United States and Canada seem to have entered into permanent alternating recession and recovery cycles.

Not since 1949 has the national rate of unemployment in the United States dipped below 4 percent, which Government economists consider to be an index of economic health although 4 percent of the workforce of 68 million represent almost three million unemployed workers. And three million human beings tramping the streets looking for work where there is no work constitutes a tragedy.

In fact, recovery from the last recession of 1960 started well but it is now beginning to sputter and may soon run its course. It is predicted by some economists that the human misery and economic waste of unemployment will become worse in the coming months unless an all-out government intervention is projected to counter the economy's downward drift.

Government leaders don't deny that the number of jobless will rise towards 6 percent or more this winter. The present weak and halting performance of the economy today comes on top of brief and incomplete recoveries from the three previous slumps of the past nine years. One recession has followed fast upon another and the upturns have been getting weaker and shorter in duration.

Let me add that the economic sickness of recessions that beset the United States has its comparability in the Dominion of Canada, even in terms of time and, sometimes, in intensity.

Even Europe, as a rule, is brought within the vortex of economic maladjustments operating, as it were, within the framework of a free market economy.

But what of the Common Market? Will it eliminate or ameliorate periodic economic crises of European nations, members of this international movement?

While it is too early to answer this question, there is no doubt about the economic vitality the European economic community has brought to its member nations. There is no unemployment presently in the Common Market nations.

PORTERS' JOB PROBLEMS

Now, as to some specific problems of job losses of porters and attendants.

Probably, the porter and attendant personnel of the Pullman Company has been reduced by fifty percent in the last five years.

Loss of employment by porters and attendants on railroads in the United States and Canada is relatively comparable,

CAUSES

What are the causes of this drastic displacement of porters and attendants from Pullman and railway jobs?

They may be listed as follows:

(a) Discontinuance of passenger operations, and

(b) Abolition and consolidation of railway districts and agencies.

Like a bolt of thunder and lightening, porters and attendants woke up one morning only to learn to their shock and economic distress that passenger operations, that have lasted longer than a half century, had been discontinued.

DISCONTINUANCE OF PASSENGER OPERATIONS

The most outstanding instance in evidence was the discontinuance of the passenger trains of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad between New York City and Washington, D. C. which had been established before the death of Abraham Lincoln. Porters and attendants who had served on this run more than forty-five years were jobless.

Some passenger operations, while continued, are not carried on during weekends.

Passenger trains of the Pennsylvania Railroad from New York City to Detroit have been taken off.

Few passenger operations on any of the roads have escaped some form of abridgment, thereby reducing the porter and attendant personnel force.

ABOLITION OF DISTRICT

Not less incredible and bewildering than the discontinuance of passenger trains that seemed as permanent as the Statue of Liberty was the abolition of certain districts and agencies.

Porters with whiskers of seniority ranging beyond forty years either remained jobless in their old district or transferred to another district, oftentimes without a run which he could follow under the transfer rule, in which event he was consigned to the bottom of the Extra Board.

Thus, the abolition of the following Pullman districts, Birmingham, Montgomery, Nashville and Chattanooga, Augusta, Charleston, Charlotte, Columbus, Shreveport, Oklahoma City and Albany, resulted in the reduction in the workforce, or the loss of jobs. Canada too has lost districts, such as Calgary and Edmonton.

Other districts, like Baltimore, and even Philadelphia, headquarters of the Pennsylvania Railroad, are just hanging on by the skin of their teeth,

Needless to say that these vast changes are made without regard to the concerns of service to some communities or the future of the workers and their families.

STATE OF THE RAILROADS

But what about the state of the railroads?

Are they any longer essential to the life and growth of the national communities of the United States and Canada?

Are they being operated for public service or only for private profit?

Yes, it is a matter of common knowledge that the railroads are in trouble.

Why?

The reasons are:

1. Competition with new forms of transportation such as airplanes, buses and private automobiles.
2. In the field of the transportation of freight, competition obtains with highway trucks, pipelines and coastwise shipping.

Half a century ago practically all of intercity travel in this country was by railroad train. Today, ninety percent of intercity travel is by private automobile; two and three-quarters percent by bus; four and two-fifth percent by airplane and three percent still travel by rail.

Half a century ago practically all of the intercity freight movement in the United States was by railway. Today, motor carriers, both regulated and unregulated, pipelines, barge lines, ships and airplanes account for more than half of this business, or fifty-six percent. The railroads' portion has dropped to forty-four percent.

The revenues of regulated motor carriers alone in 1960 are estimated at seven and a half billion. Revenues of the railroads for the transporation of freight, mail and express, are estimated to be about nine billion.

The status of the railways in Canada has been affected by the same forces that have transformed the industry in the States, and the reaction of the railroads in Canada has been similar.

Verily, railroad management have lost their competitive vitality, imagination and ability to manipulate risk capital because of the loss of the once cherished monopoly. Hence, there is a deterioration of equipment and unconcern about service to the public.

Railway management do not realize that when they permit the passenger service to die--the original reason for the existence of the railways--the railway industry will die.

Many railroads that have deliberately discouraged passenger travel can win a willing public back to the rails if they will improve equipment, schedule trains for the convenience of the public and provide adequate personnel.

RAILROADS' REMEDY

What is the remedy presented by the railroads for their economic plight?

The answer is - mergers.

The two railroad giants, Pennsylvania and New York Central, are well on the way to the effectuation of a merger representing assets of $4.20 billion, now only awaiting approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is estimated to save $75 million a year as a result of the abolition of 7,800 jobs and the elimination of duplicate agencies, roadbeds and stations.

Other proposed giant railroad mergers include the Chesapeake & Ohio, and Baltimore & Ohio; Atlantic Coast Line, and Seaboard Air Line, with an estimated saving of $39 million annually; the Great Northern and Northern Pacific with the Burlington, providing a saving of $40 million a year.

The major basis of these savings consists in the abolishment of jobs. Note the proposal of the President's Railroad Commission to eliminate 40,000 firemen from the engine cab as the first attack to eliminate alleged featherbedding.

On a basis of the Railroad Commission, appointed by former President Eisenhower, railway carriers, through nationwide newspaper advertisements, are trying to portray featherbedding as a major calamity to the railway industry, alleging that it costs $600 million annually for work of firemen not needed.

Railway unions are striking back with nationwide newspaper advertisements puncturing the railroads' "poverty myth" and ridiculing the featherbedding obsession as a monumental hoax.

While, no doubt, railway unions were forced to negotiate rules for protection against the ruthless economic aggression of bucaneer railway adventurers in the heyday of the anti-union American Plan and hence may bear restudy for revision, the proposed remedy of not only throwing 40,000 firemen out of the engine cabs upon the human scrapheap of the unemployed, if not unemployable, but of permanently abolishing these firemen's jobs, is incredible and anti-social.

Under this economic formula, the value of money is placed above the value of men.

As a matter of fact, under the definition of featherbedding, as given by railway management, namely, "work performed though not needed" and "work needed but not performed though paid for," there is probably a very few, if any, agreements in the railway industry without one or more featherbedding rules. Without them rail labor would be exposed and subjected to deliberate and vicious exploitation.

We have only to mention the "first in and first out" and regularly established seniority rules (the violation of which is caused by running a junior employee around his senior in making assignments of jobs, thereby causing the senior worker not only to be thrown out of line but to sustain a loss in wages) in order to understand the origin and value of some featherbedding rules to railway wage earners.

The right of the union to collect a claim for an employee for the violation of a rule, imposing the loss of time and money upon the worker, is the only way by which railway carriers can be made to observe the rules of an agreement and respect the rights of the worker.

PASSENGER DEFICIT DOCTRINE

Now, just as featherbedding is being held like a Sword of Damocles over the heads of railway employees in the operating section of the industry, the abolition of which will result in the slaughter of jobs in the thousands, so the doctrine of the so-called Passenger Train Deficit operation is used as justification for the discontinuance of passenger train which results in the loss of jobs in the non-operating service area, such as sleeping car porters, attendants, dining car employees and red caps.

Unless railway management is stopped in its reckless policy and practice of eliminating passenger trains, Government may be compelled to assume ownership, control and operation of railways in the national interests, both because of a population explosion and the uncertain state of the world.

Moreover, a number of economists cite the dubious validity of the criteria and assumptions upon which the passenger deficit theory and accounting system, rest.

The Interstate Commerce Commission and railway carriers that defend and support the passenger deficit policy have yet to furnish sufficient sound and scientific data for the determination of the allocation of costs of the operation of passenger and freight trains over the same tracks with the utilization of the same terminals, yards, facilities and, in some instances, the same personnel.

Well have the railway unions pointed to the sickness of the railway transportation. It consists in the fact that the bankers and brokers have taken over.

FINANCIERS, NOT INDUSTRIALISTS, OPERATING RAILROADS

The fact is, there is quick, big money for financial adventurers by merging railroad corporations, liquidating facilities, scrapping equipment and track, slashing payrolls and jobs. The 1962 railroad barons' technique is to squeeze out short-term profits by contracting the industry, even though this disregards the needs of a booming population and an expanding economy. Practical railroad officers have been bumped by those whose philosophy is to let the public and employees be damned.

PUBLIC INTEREST IGNORED

Shrinking the railroad system by curtailing service not only undercuts the whole economy, it imperils the national defense. The railroads owe the country safe, efficient and complete service because they enjoy transportation advantages resulting from public-awarded franchises, land grants and eminent domain. This obligation is not being adequately met. When trains are discontinued, travel discouraged, stations closed, branch lines abandoned, less profitable traffic rebuffed and thousands of jobs within and outside the industry threatened, the public is being cheated.

WORKERS MALIGNED AND DISCOUNTED

Indifferent to, and failing in their obligation to the public, railroads, with a guilt complex concerning the type of service they are rendering, seek compensations for their inadequacies, shortcomings and limitations in industrial and economic statesmanship, by resorting to the ignoble art of scapegoating by turning their wrath on the workers.

They have tried to blame 200,000 operating employees and some 700,000 non-operating employees, more or less, in the States, with a lesser number in Canada, for the deterioration of the railroad industry. And yet the increasing productivity of the railroad workers is an indisputable fact economists recognize.

RAILROAD POVERTY MYTH

Though the railroads are weeping bitterly at the wailing wall of competition because of the alleged disappearance of profits on account of the so-called union featherbedding evil and passenger deficit operations, objective analysis does not reveal that the great railway transportation systems are stricken by any paralysis of poverty.

While the government of the United States and Canada have made grants of the public's land that have been largely responsible for the development of giant railroad corporate complexes, railroads are turning their great fire power upon the rail unions' demand for decent wages, fringe benefits, reasonable hours of work, job protection and stabilization, and seeking not only favorable legislation but also government subsidy.

Although railroads refuse to invest new capital in the industry without adequate interest returns and arbitrarily take off passenger trains, close down railroad shops and discontinue terminals, on the grounds of their lack of profitability, they cry aloud when railroad employees withdraw their labor in a strike because the workers' labor investment in the industry does not receive fair compensation.

DEPRECIATION RULES FOR RAILROADS

But railroads do not only want to reduce passenger operations under the controversial formula of deficit passenger accounting and the wholesale displacement of firemen on yard and freight engines, but they have become the beneficiaries of new, more liberal depreciation guidelines recently promulgated by the U.S. Treasury Department for all industry which, according to Daniel Loomis, president of the American Association of Railroads, "are an essential step toward a modernization of our industrial facilities and toward a more vigorous economy."

Railway management admit these new depreciation rules provide a needed cash flow to replace old equipment and to rebuild and modernize obsolescent locomotives.

But it is virtually impossible to liberalize railroad retirement laws for adequate pensions to compensate for the obsolescence of employees as a result of hard work.

AUTOMATION

Man has worked out the mechanics and dynamics of production through science, technology and automation. But man is distressingly unwitting of his way in developing the social instrumentation of the mechanics and dynamics of distribution. The fact is modern science and technology can produce more goods and services than purchasing power in the form of wages and salaries can buy back for consumption and since goods and services will not be produced if they cannot be sold at a profit, the wheels of production periodically grind to a halt and a recession or depression ensues.

But what about the problem of the progressive displacement of physical man by mechanical man from railroad and other industrial jobs?

Automation has come to the railroads in the form of diesel engines, radar and electronic railway yards, central traffic control, and long freight trains of 150 to 200 cars without a comparable increase in crews above that when the average train consisted of 30 or 40 cars. Porters and attendants have been hard hit by the technology of coordination, integration and consolidation of railroads, as well as the elimination of passenger train operations.

Are railroads moving toward greater and greater automatic operation and the progressive elimination of manpower? An automatic shuttle train is now operating in New York's Central Terminal. This shuttle was formerly operated by a conductor and motorman. The union demands the continuance of man power on this shuttle. Management says no.

While labor could not if it would, and would not if it could, stop the march of science and industrialism manifested in the revolution of automation and radical technology, yet the question as to whether automation is an immediate promise or menace to the workers cannot and should not be evaded by trade unions, management or government.

FIRST CREWLESS FREIGHT TRAIN

The world's first crewless trains, are shuttling between a loader and dumper on a six-mile railway line in Western Labrador. The single-track railway, located near Labrador City, is capable of handling 55,000 long tons (2,200 pounds per ton) of crude ore per day. Each of the four trains is powered by a conventional GP-9 diesel locomotive. The automation controls - built by General Railway Signal Company - provide for completely simultaneous operation of four trains.

TRANSFER OF CARS

In 1958 the New York Central Railroad took its sleeping cars from Pullman for operation, with the consequent loss of two-hundred jobs, more or less, and a reduction in pay, until restored by the Brotherhood to the tune of a sixty-one dollars wage increase at one time - the highest wage boose yet recorded in railway labor history.

The Pennsylvania Railroad has recently announced its intention to take over from Pullman, all of its sleeping cars that run over its tracks, involving the jobs of nearly three hundred men. Why?

The answer is - to reduce the cost of operation through the abolition of jobs and reduction in wages. The first wage offer by the Pennsylvania Railroad to porters to man their sleeping cars consisted in a cut in wages of eleven dollars a month. This offer, of course, will be rejected by the Brotherhood and a fight will be made to restore the cut.

Following the example of the New York Central Pennsylvania has already announced its intention to abolish the sleeping car conductors' jobs.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The answer of the Brotherhood to job abolition is the Shorter Workmonth and Job Protection. This is the reason for the initiation of the movement by the Brotherhood for the 40-hour week, or 173-hour workmonth, and job protection and stabilization for all porters and attendants in Pullman and railroad service represented by the Brotherhood.

Just as the Brotherhood reduced the workmonth from over 300 hours a month (under the 11,000 mileage formula) to 240 hours, and from 240 to 205 hours a month, so it now moves to catch up with the parade of rail workers fighting to make more jobs by reducing the worktime.

It is interesting to note that 95 percent of all railway employees already have the 40-hour week. The remaining 5 percent of railroad workers without the 40-hour week are the porters, attendants, dining car employees, sleeping car conductors and dining car stewards.

In brief, the Brotherhood is fighting for more jobs, with protection and stabilization.

BACKGROUND OF REDUCING THE WORKTIME

Organized labor's demand for shorter hours of work is by no means new. Less worktime has been a recurrent bargaining and legislative issue since the Revolutionary War of the 1770's.

At the turn of the century the most typical workweek of non-agricultural workers was 60 hours, made up of 6 days of 10 hours each. Some organized skilled groups had shorter hours; printers negotiated a 9-hour day in 1898; bituminous coal miners gained an 8-hour day 1897 and a number of building trades workers had won a 9 or 8-hour day.

Longer hours, during this period, were quite widespread; workweeks of 72 and 84 hours prevailed in much of the steel industry.

In 1910-19, the average workweek was cut notably as the 8-hour day began to spread, particularly during World War I when trade unions' bargaining strength increased and government attitudes were relatively favorable.

In the railroad industry the 10-hour day was reduced to 8 hours for the Big Four operating employees, as a result of the enactment of the Adamson Act in 1916.

During the period of 1920-29, little headway was made by Labor in cutting the worktime on account of the aggressive anti-labor policies of Big Business under the so-called American Plan, which amounted to the inauguration of the Company Union, the Yellow Dog Contract, Pinkerton goons, and the infamous injunction.

In 1933 the United States Senate adopted the Black-Connery Bill, establishing a 30-hour workweek, but comparable legislation did not come to a vote in the House because of the passage instead of the National Industrial Recovery Act during the Roosevelt New Deal Administration. The NRA provided for fixing new workweek standards on an industry by industry-wide basis.

Under the NRA program, most industries adopted the 40-hour week standards with some, including clothing and petroleum, going to standards of 36 or 35 hours. And, it is important to note that the hourly pay was increased with a reduction in hours.

In the late 1930's the 40-hour standard workweek was made official national policy by new legislation.

The Walsh-Healy Act, adopted in 1936, established the 40-hour standard for government contract work.

The Fair Labor Standard Act of 1938, which covered roughly half the nation's private employment, required a 40-hour standard in steps; 44 in 1938, 42 in 1939, and 40 in 1940.
The Bureau of Labor Statistics for the U. S. Department of Labor, in a comprehensive survey of both union and non-union situations in 82 metropolitan areas in 1960-61, involving nearly 14 million workers, found over 13 percent on schedules shorter than 40 hours.

The survey findings show that (1) such shorter weeks are much more common for office workers than for production workers; (2) the most frequent shorter week schedules are 35 and 37½ hours, and (3) the shorter weeks are not peculiar to several areas of industries, but show up to some extent in virtually all areas and in each broad industry sector.

Some examples of the findings in specific major cities show that: In New York, 19 percent of the production labor force and 87 percent of the office and clerical workers are on full-time schedules shorter than 40 hours. In Boston, the percentages are 13 percent for production workers, 63 percent for office workers. For Chicago, the figures are 9 and 41 percent. In Philadelphia, they are 11 and 44 percent.

Among the varied industries in which shorter workweeks are now prevalent or common are ladies garments, printing, brewing, rubber, construction and coal mining.

In the railroad industry, the 40-hour week was brought about through collective bargaining by the non-operating employees in the 1940's, except that its coverage did not extend to the porters, attendants, dining car employees and sleeping car conductors and dining car stewards.

Hence, practically every segment of the workforce in the railroad industry, reaching 95 percent, work on a 40-hour week except the colored employees and their bosses, namely, sleeping car conductors and dining car stewards.

Therefore, if, as and when an Emergency Board is established by President Kennedy, as a result of recommendations by the National Mediation Board on a basis of the showing of the strike vote and unity of the porters and attendants, it is difficult to see how the Brotherhood can fail to win the 40-hour week, or 173-hour workmonth, assuming, of course, that the case we present to the commission is well developed and expresses sound economic principles.

In fact, the fight for the 40-hour workmonth is twenty years late.

Why?

Well, the basic reason is that we had not built up a sound and high enough wage structure since, at the beginning of the Brotherhood's collective bargaining for wages for the porters and attendants in 1937, the base wage level was indescribably low. This required concentration upon the building of the wage income to provide a standard of living commensurate with decency, comfort and health.

It must be remembered that when the Brotherhood was born in 1925 few if any colored workers in the railroad industry received 100 dollars a month in wages. Colored workers, being unorganized, on the railroads in the United States and Canada, did the hardest work, worked the longest hours and received the lowest pay. This is why the Brotherhood pioneered in the fight to build sound and progressively high wage structures for porters and attendants. It is now embarked upon the first nation-wide crusade of service workers, who are largely colored, to reduce the workmonth in the great railroad industry in the United States and Canada.

JOB PROTECTION

But jobs without protection and stabilization cannot provide the proper economic security. This fact is unusually highlighted by the threat of railroad mergers and technological changes to the jobs of the workers.

Thus, because of the increasing rate of job abolition, the Brotherhood is not only committed to fight for the 173-hour workmonth, but also for job protection within the framework of the principles set forth in the Washington Job Protection Agreement which was negotiated by the major railway unions with the railway carriers in 1936.

While the Brotherhood does not advocate a moratorium on technological and organizational changes, we consider that the investment by the porter and attendant of his labor and life over decades in the jobs deserves and requires some definitive position stabilization provision in an agreement for his job security, upon which the security of his family depends.

Certainly, in view of the rapidly changing complexion of the railroad industry on account of coordination and consolidation and automation, the whole life and future of a worker and his family should not be at the mercy and arbitrary decision-making of Management alone, whose major interest is the cold business of reducing costs of operation in order to boost profits for an impersonal corporate entity. There should be some machinery for joint control of Labor and Management over the rate of job abolition which would help and not hurt the rate of efficiency of operation and improvement.

Even the rate of job abolition which is no higher than the attrition rate, namely, resignations, discharges, retirements and deaths, are likely, and it is too high without a cushion of job opportunities, for the lack of a cushion would tend to drive the attrition rate up.

Our Brotherhood holds that economic efficiency and employee security are not mutually exclusive choices. It is not necessary to sacrifice one to attain the other. Ways and means must be found of accommodating both of these vitally important goals in the light of frightful job abolition in the service area of the railroads.

What hope is there for the porter and attendant, as well as dining car employees and red caps, if job protection and stabilization, the foundation of their economic security and educational and social progress, is not fought for and achieved?

Because of the ethnic blind-alley nature of the porter, attendant, dining car employee and red cap job classification, under which there is little, if any job mobility or flexibility in the assignment of the workforce, the problem of job inequities of this class of employees must be met and eliminated by the railroads and government. This is a condition to the very survival of black men on the rails.

And, it is a matter of common knowledge that if the Brotherhood does not serve as the avant garde in the fight for the effectuation of the job salvation of Negro railway workers of all classes, nobody else will.

However, the skeptic, pessimist, and the weak-kneed, compromising, let-well-enough-alone advocate cry out - but if we should fail? The reply of the militant and aggressive Brotherhood champions of the porters and attendants of Pullman, Canadian Pacific, and the many and varied railroad employees BSCP represents, is - screw your courage up to the striking place and we shall not fail!

Can we delegates in this Fourth Triennial Convention and Thirty-seventh Anniversary, under the fighting banner of this Brotherhood permit these giant railway carriers not to understand and realize that the economic costs, upon which they eternally harp, are not limited to the financial and material resources committed to them. There are also human costs; porters and attendants, dining car emplouees and red caps are displaced; occupational skills become obsolescent; families are uprooted from their accustomed homes; and feelings of anxiety and insecurity are created. These, too, must be counted among the full costs of economic change. We take great pains to point out these facts to the railway carriers and the public and our membership, for it is important to recognize them so they may be faced explicitly and shared equitably among individuals, the carriers, and government.

It is important to note in this connection that the merits and urgency of job protection and stabilization to workers on railroads, and in industry in general in the United States and Canada, is becoming increasingly recognized.

Thus, we have seen the development of unemployment compensation, supplemental benefits, advance notice of displacement, short workweek benefits, separation pay, retraining programs, moving allowances to seek new jobs and new adjustment mechanisms.

This question of job protection of railroad workers was first systematically approached in the Washington Job Protection Agreement. It grew out of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act of 1933 under which a comprehensive investigation was made of the coordination or mergers of railroads, in the interest of efficiency and better service to the public. When the Act expired in 1936, its principles providing for job protection were embodied in the Washington Job Protection Agreement.

The Agreement provides for comprehensive protection for employees affected by the merger and coordination of railroad systems. Specific provisions include advance notice to labor organizations and joint consultation between the parties; displacement allowances protecting rates of pay, for a maximum of five years, of employees transferred to less desirable jobs; maintenance of fringe benefits for affected employees, coordination allowances in the nature of unemployment compensation, for periods up to sixty months, separation allowances, or termination pay, as an alternative to coordination allowances; reimbursement of moving expenses; and indemnity against real estate losses resulting from coordination.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has frequently required protective conditions, similar to those in the Washington Job Agreement, in cases of line abandonments and other changes subject to Commission approval. The best known of these variants are the New Orleans, the Burlington and the Oklahoma conditions. Furthermore, certain individual carriers and railway labor organizations, contemplating the automation of facilities or similar changes, have negotiated special agreements for employee protection and stabilization, such as the one negotiated by the Order of Railway Telegraphers with the Southern Pacific Railroad.

KEEP BUILDING THE WAGE STRUCTURE

Let us report to the delegates that the wage settlement of 10.28 cents between the non-operating railway employees and the railway carriers in the United States, June 6, 1962, has not been applied to the Brotherhood members in the employ of Pullman, New York Central, the Rock Island and Soo Line railroads.

The reason is, the Organization turned down the agreements offered since they have a provision for a moratorium against a wage increase for a period of a year, which would bar the progressing of our Section 6 Notice involving a proposal for the reduction of the workmonth to 173 hours and job protection and stabilization.

This strategy was based upon the principle that it is sometimes a stroke of creative wisdom to forego an immediate advantage to fight for a greater future advantage.

Thus, the Brotherhood has spread strike ballots for the shorter workmonth of 173 hours, or the 40-hour week, without a reduction in pay, and for the aforementioned wage increase of 10.28 cents.

This procedure is dictated by the Brotherhood position that it is entitled to the wage increase as shown by the fact that it was offered by the carriers with which our Brotherhood has disputes over the wage increase and shorter workmonths.

To have accepted the wage increase with a moratorium would have weakened our fight for the shorter workmonth by delaying our fight to proceed with the movement for a year.

The Brotherhood is progressing these two movements at the same time because it is certainly not the intention of the Brotherhood to permit our members to fall behind in the business of building the wage structure of the non-operating railway employees.

Now the constant and excessive emphasis by business and government upon holding down and holding back wage increase demands by the workers, for the purpose of preventing so-called inflationary pressures and improving our international trade position by removing trade imbalances resulting from excess imports over exports, reflects a fundamental misconception of economic realities, both past and prospective.

The fact is, the American and Canadian economies are caught in the grip of a staggeringly large consumption of deficiency, relative to our burgeoning productive powers.

The sharp shrinkage in the pace of wage rate increases in recent years is a warning danger signal rather than something to be applauded. There has been recently, and still is a pronounced tendency for wage rate increases to lag far behind productivity gains in the railroad and general industry.

Current pressures from President Kennedy's administration and big business interests seem to be having the net effect of inducing large scale industry to repeat rather than to reverse the unbalanced relationship between prices, profits and wages, and thus between investment and consumption, which have characterized the recent malperformance of our economies.

With the increasing trend of public opinion against wage increases, there is no danger, if indeed there ever was, from wage-induced inflation. On the contrary, our economies are in grave danger that wages, including wage rates, will not expand sufficiently to make their necessary contribution to the adequate expansion of consumption, for mass production is possible only through high mass purchasing power which rest upon rising rates of pay for the masses of the workers, a condition to mass consumption.

PROGRAM

Well, delegates and officers of this Convention, in the spirit of the great Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms - Here we take our stand.

If this is our stand then we must reaffirm it in this Convention and prepare to defend it.

But we must do more than defend it. We must move to have it accepted by Pullman and the railway carriers. This requires the adoption and prosecution of a program.

What is that program?

It includes the following steps:

1. Follow through with the presentation of the case of the Brotherhood under the terms of the Railway Labor Act, as amended 1934, to the National Mediation Board and, also, to subsequent joint conferences with the railway carriers.
2. Failing to reach a solution of the disputes through the intervention of the National Mediation Board, the Organization shall urge upon the Board that it make recommendations to President Kennedy for the appointment of a National Emergency Board to investigate the disputes.

Meanwhile, preparations of comprehensive economic briefs, upon which our case will stand or fall, backed by competent legal argument, are under way.

It is important to note that the reaction of the National Mediation Board will be largely influenced and determined by the extensiveness of the strike vote and, especially, the position which the delegates take in this Convention, which represents the highest and final authority and power of our great Brotherhood movement.

UNITY

Be it said to the eternal credit and glory of our membership, they have risen to the challenge by a magnificent manifestation of unity in a favorable strike vote and payment of the assessment of twenty-five dollars, not, of course, without some expressions of opposition and grumbling.

But this was natural on the part of some porters and attendants, despite the fact that the Brotherhood has transformed them from industrial slaves and beggars into free, independent trade union workers on Pullman, the Canadian Pacific, and the various railroads with which the Brotherhood holds contracts.

Verily, some of our brothers completely forgot about the long night of trial and torment of the soul through which porters suffered to build the Brotherhood, However, this was so with the children of Israel who, though delivered and led by Moses from the House of Bondage in Egypt of the Pharaohs, where they were forced to make brick without straw, grumbled in the wilderness not only against the great law-giver but even grumbled against God, and worshiped a golden calf.

Obviously, when a program of action is formulated to advance the cause of the porters and attendants it must be implemented.

But how?

Certainly not with good wishes and promised, but with men, morality and money.

Thus, the implementation of the program for the economic salvation of the porter and attendant had to proceed on one simple course, namely, the mobilization of Brotherhood manpower through the strike vote, and the mobilization of Brotherhood money power through the Special Emergency Assessment of twenty-five dollars and, finally, the mobilization of Brotherhood morality.

AFL-CIO

Permit me also to report to the delegates of this Convention that the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO has gone on record in adopting a resolution supporting the Brotherhood movement to win a shorter workmonth and the wage increase.

May I say that we could have requested financial support from the Council and undoubtedly it would have been gladly given, but we have too much respect for you delegates and our membership and too much respect for ourselves to start begging for help to win our fight before we have exhausted our own resources to help ourselves.

WE WILL WIN

Finally, let me assure you that if we close ranks and achieve the total mobilization of the Brotherhood, including the porters' and attendants' families in this massive and monumental struggle for job and economic security, we will not fail.

Remember that 95 percent of all of the railway employees already possess the 40-hour week or 173-hour workmonth.

How can any government commission, appointed by the President to investigate this dispute, hand down a decision granting the por--ters and attendants, who happen to be workers of color, a less favorable award than previous emergency commissions have granted to railroad workers who happen to be white.

CHIEF PROBLEM

Thus, our main problem is ourselves. We must organize ourselves, members and officials and the Negro community, as well as the labor movement in the United States and Canada, including the public, behind this fight for jobs and justice. When we win it will represent a thousand more jobs, more or less. It will represent job protection. Is this objective worth fighting and sacricing for? Certainly what white workers have fought for and won, black workers can fight for and win.

THE DINING CAR EMPLOYEES

In addition to opposition from railway carriers, the Brotherhood also faces opposition from some railroad unions, two of which are the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union. Of the latter, the Joint Council of Dining Car Employees is a part.

The Trainmen's Union, which was only forced in the 1959 San Francisco AFL-CIO Convention to promise to eliminate the color bar from its Constitution by the threat of expulsion from the AFL-CIO by a resolution sponsored by the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is a White Supremacist outfit. It is largely responsible for the displacement of Negro brakemen and switchmen on practically all railroads in the south.

One of its representatives on the Long Island Railroad slandered Negro leaders of labor by boastfully bragging about how much more he, a white man, could do for porters and attendants since Negro labor leaders must go, with hat in hand, to white railway management when seeking to participate in conferences.

This of course, is the "Big Lie" technique, employed to impose upon the credulity of some well-meaning but ill-informed and weakkneed colored railway employees, for no sane person would even intimate that Brotherhood officials would kowtow to any railway management for anything.

This same Trainmen's Union, has, for years, been going from state to state seeking the enactment of legislation for Full Crew laws that would displace Negro train porters on the head end of trains, as well as attendants on the cars.

What about the Joint Council of Dining Car Employees? This movement was organized and set up in Omaha, Nebraska by the speaker. It is the stepchild of the Hotel Workers' Union.

As a shocking exhibition of labor union parasitism, the president of this Hotel Workers' Union sought the endorsement and sponsorship of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO of a bill to be enacted into Federal legislation to have tips considered as wages, to increase pensions of thousands of sub-standard wage hotel workers. In other words, the Hotel Workers' Union wants to have tips considered as wages which would give railway carriers a big advantage in negotiating low wages for all service employees that receive tips, disregarding the fact that tips are capricious and unpredictable and do not and cannot be considered as a systematic reward for service.

Where would the wage structure of the porters and attendants represented by the Brotherhood be today if railroads had the legal right to have tips considered as wages?

If the Hotel Workers' Union wants decent pensions that depend upon wages, let it fight for decent wages which will insure decent pensions.

But, had it not been for the fact that the International President of the Brotherhood sits on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, when this tip-wages humbug was first presented, thus enabling him to blast it into oblivion, it is quite possible the fight to build up the wage structure of service railway workers, including dining car employees that are members of the Hotel Workers' Union, would have been stopped cold in its tracks.

Now, pray tell us, how could dining car employees represented by the Joint Council, fail to stop this proposed vicious bill to consider tips as wages from even being presented to the AFL-CIO for support?

The only conclusion is that either the leaders of the Joint Council of Dining Car Employees and the various locals are weak and ignored by the president of the Hotel Workers' Union, or they are afraid and discounted.

It is also important to note in this connection that Brotherhood leaders are responsible for having the name "dining car employees" written into the Railway Labor Act along with sleeping car employees. But for this fact, the dining car employees would not have any independent class status under the Railway Labor Act. Instead of the leaders of the dining car employees giving the Brotherhood credit for this good and vital service, they are busy distorting and misrepresenting our movement.

Nevertheless, realizing that railroads are steadily building bigger and bigger mergers to achieve more and more power, the Brotherhood, in the interest of building bigger and bigger organization and power with which to fight for bigger benefits in wages, working conditions, shorter hours of work and fringe benefits for porters and attendants, as well as dining car employees and red caps, invite these railway employees into a merger with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The consolidation of the organizations of the railway service employees is a condition to their job survival and economic security.

It will be a calamity to these railway employees if their leadership fail to recognize this economic fact.

Let us not forget that a race which expects to be weak, ignorant and free, expects that which has never existed and never will exist.

Now, my dear delegates and officers of the Brotherhood, our movement stands at the crossroads.

Our membership and leadership in this hour of crisis, faced with a new dimension of job abolition, must not retreat in disarray with a sense of fear and frustration but stand our ground and view the complexity of the problem as an opportunity for boldness, initiative and imagination and adventure.

There is no room for progress in a psychological climate of complacency and adherence to rigid and inflexible assumptions about the limitation of the Union to move ahead despite a crisis.

Let us not become prisoners of our own stereotypes and myths and habit systems of success through supercaution, indecision and a picayune method of action. We must realize that while it was an herculean task to build the Brotherhood, it is going to tax our utmost strength, faith and will to keep it and send its roots deeper in the soil of the life, dreams and hopes of the porters and attendants in particular, and Negro workers in general.

Intrusted with the fate and failure of our Union, we must possess the vision and will to rise to the challenge of this hour of trial. A dynamic approach of members and leaders to build a stable membership among even our present membership is imperative.

May this convention be an unforgettable experience to delegate and leader.

Our Union has lost ground in membership. Why? The answer is the discontinuance of passenger operations. As trains are taken off, jobs are abolished. As jobs are abolished, union members decrease.

We have also lost ground in financial resources as the International Secretary-Treasurer's report will show.

But while a movement, in order successfully to move ahead must have a sound material foundation, contraction of material resources is less fatal than erosion of our moral and spiritual resources.

Albeit, the Brotherhood has built a sound material foundation for the porter and attendant, as shown by the wage structure and fringe benefits. It stands now in the forefront of an historic struggle of trade union labor in the Western world to meet the challenge of the revolution of automation by reducing the worktime of the worker, black and white, on the Iron Horse.

But has the Brotherhood failed to build Brotherhood men with the fighting faith, commitment to courageous convictions for the organization and liberation of the working class in general, and the black working class in particular, with everlasting devotion to the priceless weapon of defense and offense, the trade union - whose path has been marked by rivers of blood and tears?

Strangely enough, instead of being hailed into court by our natural opponent, the railway carrier, the Brotherhood has had to spend some of its resources and use its time to meet and defend its policies and program against some of its own members in the courts.

Legal attacks upon the Brotherhood have involved such incredible cases as defiance of the Union Shop under which dues and taxes are required to be paid, with respect to time. One case by a group of porters sought to establish its unconstitutionality. Needless to say, the Brotherhood's position was maintained except when faced by a prejudiced jury.

Another case has been presented to court by a group of former Pullman porters, who went to work for the New York Central when it took over its sleeping cars from Pullman, because they did not have the seniority age to hold the jobs they held prior to the negotiating of the agreement which set up a seniority roster. But bear in mind that the Brotherhood restored sixty-one dollars in wages and fringe benefits which the New York Central had taken from the porters it hired. The charge is that the International President discriminated against the young men in favor of the older men. While this is not true, these porters are making the Brotherhood spend money to prove it is not true.

Another porter brought suit against the Brotherhood because it didn't employ a lawyer to take his case involving dismissal to the National Railroad Adjustment Board.

Although some of the old pioneer Brotherhood members put hundred of dollars in the Union, long years before it was even recognized by a railway carrier, and who never enjoyed one cent increase in wages won by the Brotherhood, some of our brothers today, who are the beneficiaries of decent wages and working conditions, become hysterical and berate, deride and denounce the leadership of the Brotherhood merely because of a twenty-five dollar assessment which is designed to win more money and better benefits for them.

May this Convention be an unforgettable experience to delegate and leader.

Thus, I am deeply troubled lest some of our brothers are giving a priority importance to the things of this world over the things of the spirit.

But, in our distress but not despair, in the spirit of David, "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my strength."

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY NATIONAL CHAIRMAN A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT
3RD ANNAUL CONVENTION OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
SHERATON-ATLANTIC HOTEL, NEW YORK, N. Y., NOVEMBER 9, 1962

THE TRANSITION OF BLACK LABOR FROM SLAVERY TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Black America has been thrust into a job rights and civil rights struggle. It is not an accident or an incident; it is a massive event. It bodes danger and opportunity. There is danger that black America may be blocked and thrown back in the fight for job rights and civil rights, and there is opportunity to accelerate the struggle for the conquest of job rights and civil rights and human dignity.

Which of the two paths it takes depends upon the principles, programs and practices it adopts. But the principles, programs and practices considered will only have reality in relation to the nature and origin of the crisis.

Thus, while Negro workers have made progress their economic status is still low. They exist within the shadow of poverty. Yes, they are virtually locked up in a socio-economic, poverty-structured system.

Not only are Negro workers a hundred years behind their white brothers but their relative pace of progress is stretching the distance between them, with black workers, under the advance of radical technology, falling further and further behind with no visible prospects, given the continuance of present policies and attitudes of trade unions, industry and government, of ever catching up.

A CENTURY OF STRUGGLE

The Negro's struggle for equal employment opportunities over the past one hundred years is of more than historical or commemorative interest. The crises of the present are rooted in the failures of the past, and lessons unlearned are tragedies prolonged. In our own time the prolonged tragedy of black labor weighs heavily upon all Americans. It is becoming increasingly clear that no lasting political freedom or social equality is conceivable without the integration of the Negro into the economic life of the nation. How far have we come, and how far have we to go?

The Emancipation Proclamation not only freed the slaves but, in doing so, made the question of equal job opportunities a major social problem. Even before the Civil War the question had arisen, though in less pressing form, with regard to the half million free Negroes. Generally, those free Negroes who lived in Southern cities, where Negroes often had a monopoly of mechanical skills, fared better economically than those who lived in the Northern cities, where they faced competition from skilled immigrant labor. So serious was the economic discrimination against free Northern Negroes that in Philadelphia, for example, Negroes in 1837 comprised 14 percent of the poorhouse population, though only 7 percent of the population at large. This dusty statistic is an early example of a 2-to-1 relationship that has shown remarkable persistence down to the present.

During the 1830's many free Negroes organized the so-called Conventions Movement, of which Frederick Douglass was eventually elected president. It is of immense interest that this movement, in 1853, adopted an economic program calling for the establishment of an industrial college and for a type of apprenticeship training program for Negroes. Thus, even before the Civil War, Negroes, feeling the squeeze of job discrimination and segregation, organized to fight for economic security and advanced programs that have a familiar ring today.

BETRAYAL OF BLACK FREEDMEN

The slaves freed on January 1, 1863 were liberated not only from their masters but from their livelihood as well. Thaddeus Stevens, looking toward the transformation of the former slaves into a class of small independent farmers, advocated the government's giving them "forty acres and a mule." The Northern industrialists, however, who had gained control of the Republican Party, could not countenance the confiscation and division of large plantations. Many of the Negroes who did secure homesteads were driven off under President Johnson's program of restoring the land to white planters. Homeless and propertyless, the great mass of Southern Negroes had no alternative but to return to the plantations, this time as tenant farmers and sharecroppers.

The failure of Reconstruction to provide Negroes with an economic base - the tragedy of the period - foredoomed all efforts at political democracy in the South. Even as the Negro was enjoying the fullest participation in political life, helping to maintain Republican power in the South, the stage had been set for the time when, a score years after Reconstruction, his landlord would march him to the polls with voting instructions, and later disfranchise him altogether. Few examples in history so vividly illustrate the fragility of political freedom unmoored in economic security.

Thus the Negro found himself cut adrift into the Gilded Age, the nadir of Big Business morality, the pinnacle of its speculative and exploitative irresponsibility. From the industrial revolution that was sweeping the country the Negro was excluded - North and South. In the South the Negro had never really competed with the poor white for land, having been reduced almost immediately to sharecropping, but he had offered competition in mechanical skills. In fact, at the end of the Civil War, 100,000 of the 120,000 artisans in the South were Negroes. By 1890 the skilled Negro worker had virtually ceased to exist. The mania for textile mills and tobacco factories that gripped the South in the last decades of the nineteenth century took on the character of a religious campaign as plant managers promised poor whites industrial salvation in the new white-only enterprises. In the North, which claimed 10 percent of the Negro population in this period, Negroes were systematically barred from all but the most menial tasks in the burgeoning mass industries.

To what extent the denial of equal job opportunities to Negroes in both the North and South "stemmed from interlocking control or management" is "difficult to determine," as the historian Rayford W. Logan points out in (The Negro in American Life and Thought). Nonetheless, after the famous Compromise of 1877, "Big Business continued to constitute the principal force for peace at almost any price, for 'leaving the South alone.' Further investigation may reveal close links between Northern capital and management and the supposedly predominantly Southern enterprises of cotton and tobacco factories." In any case, the Southerners had their own reasons for keeping these factories white. Whatever the motives of the Northerners, their policy was deliberate, and it is clear that Northern capital made ample and profitable use of Negroes as strikebreakers.

Not only the Federal Government (through its Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction policies) and Northern and Southern capitalists were responsible for the deterioration of the Negro's economic condition; the unions were also to blame.

LABOR'S ROLE

It is not entirely coincidental that the surge of American capitalism, the freeing of the slaves, and the formation of the first national labor organization should occur almost simultaneously. Yet the confluence of these events was significant for the future of the Negro. The National Labor Union, formed in 1866, was a weak counterweight to the power and influence being wielded by the industrialists, backed up by the Supreme Court and other agencies of government. Before its destruction, following the panic of 1873, the National Labor Union had recognized the danger posed by Negro strikebreakers and decided to organize black workers, but into separate locals. The reaction of Negro workers was the formation, in 1869, of the National Negro Labor Union.

The fate of the National Negro Labor Union was predictable. Although Negroes had successfully established independent churches in the eithteenth century, inexorable economic laws militated, then as now, against the organization of workers along racial lines. Efforts of the National Negro Labor Union to affiliate with white labor were unsuccessful. Negro workers remained isolated and were increasingly used as strikebreakers.

The Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, was more anxious to recruit Negroes. Aiming at unskilled as well as skilled workers, the Knights brought Negroes into some all-black locals and also some mixed ones. In 1887 it may have had as many as 90,000 Negroes out of a total membership of a half million. Many of its organizers played courageous roles in the South, braving terrorist anti-labor tactics of a sort all too familiar to students of the CIO drives in the Thirties. The decline of the Knights following the Haymarket Riot of 1886 was paralleled by the rise of a new union and a new labor philosophy.

Unlike the Knights, the American Federation of Labor, founded in 1886, had a decentralized structure consisting of essentially autonomous craft locals. Because of its disinterest in unskilled workers, the AFL could attract few Negroes; at the same time, various unions that constitutionally excluded Negroes from membership could not be curbed because of the federation structure of the national body.

Structural questions aside, however, the AFL lacked the broad idealistic spirit of the Knights of Labor, and for the latter's crusading spirit substituted a more narrowly economic and "practical" program. Still, the Federation's 1893 and 1894 conventions stated: "We here and now reaffirm as one of the cardinal principles of the labor movement that the working people must unite and organize, irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality, or politics." The resolution was not binding, only a request. But consistent discrimination by its affiliates whittled away at even this principle, so that by 1901 the federation gave ground on the issue of social equality and approved the organization of separate locals. It also scolded Negro workers for strikebreaking, as if the AFL's exclusive policies were unrelated to that practice.

Thus the labor movement in this period, with the general exception of the Knights, also hindered the integration of the Negro into the expanding economic life of the nation. It is interesting to note, however, that all three of these national labor movements felt constrained at least to enunciate the principle of class solidarity without regard to race, whereas the large corporations of the period in the main were silent. It should also be borne in mind that the character of the age was determined infinitely more by the impress of capital than by that of the fledgling labor movements. The decline of the Knights of Labor, whose policies had been favorable to Negro workers, was largely the work of red-baiting corporations in alliance with a Big Business government, even as the rise of the AFL was facilitated by its conservative philosophy, less sharply counterposed to that of the new ruling class. Implicitly we recognize this in applying the term "business unionism" to the AFL and "social unionism" to the Knights.

Whoever was most to blame - government, management or labor - the results were clear. Despite the march of the nation from agrarianism to industrialism in the second half of the eighteenth century, 88 percent of all Negroes in 1890 remained in agriculture and domestic service. By 1900 the figure had dropped only to 86.7 percent.

To describe this phenomenon as a pattern of unequal employment opportunities is euphemistic. Only when viewed as an almost total exclusion from the national revolution in technology and economic organization can the Negro's experience prior to World War I be understood in terms of the lack of skills with which he met the twentieth century. This economic alienation of the Negro was of course paralleled by his deepening social and political alienation.

NEGRO HANDICAPPED BY LACK OF SKILLS AND RACE DISCRIMINATION

With the advent of World War I masses of Negroes migrated North, many of them refugees from technological displacement in Southern agriculture, and Negroes for the first time made an entry into modern industry. The rate of unemployment among the race was reduced and its earning capacity increased. Still, Negroes remained concentrated in domestic service and unskilled occupations throughout the prosperous Twenties, and their position was less secure than that of white workers.

Although Negroes constituted on 5 percent of Detroit's male workers in 1926, 16 percent of them were unemployed.

The Negro's marginal economic position was catastrophically demonstrated during the Great Depression, in the course of which nearly half of his number in skilled occupations were displaced. In 1931, 60 percent of the black workers in Detroit were unemployed, as compared with 32 percent of the white workers. Unemployment among both races was understandably higher in the industrialized North than in the more agricultural South, but it is interesting to note that in the North in 1937, Negro unemployment stood at 39 percent and white unemployment at 18 percent. In 1935, over half of the Negroes in Northern cities were on relief as compared with one-third in Southern cities.

Roosevelt's New Deal brought many benefits to the pauperized black man, but he remained industrially submerged on the eve of the defense buildup. For one thing, the Negro had been trained in small-scale construction and was handicapped when the government-financed construction programs were undertaken in the early Thirties. And, of course, racial discrimination persisted in hiring, as it did in the administration of the welfare measures of the New Deal, especially in the South. As late as October, 1940, approximately one-fourth of the Negro workforce was unemployed, as against 13 percent of the white workforce. Nor was the problem simply educational. Only 4 percent of all Negro college graduates in 1940 had an annual income of $2,500 or more. The figure for whites was 34 percent. That was after eight years of the New Deal.

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND RACE BIAS

Contrary to popular belief, the launching of the defense program in 1940, however much it aided white workers, did not automatically lead to a significant increase in the employment of Negroes in defense industries. Despite the antidiscrimination pronouncements of the New Deal administrators, Negroes continued to be barred from these industries. In meeting this situation, the Negro relearned a basic lesson: even from his friends he could expect little except through the exertion of vast social pressures.

Thus was born the March on Washington movement. Thousands of Negroes throughout the country, spearheaded by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, mobilized for a 100,000-strong convergence on the nation's capital with a demand for equal employment opportunities in the defense industries. Many efforts were made to have the march called off, and when it became clear that we would not be cajoled, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 in June, 1941. The Order reaffirmed the government's policy of nondiscrimination and established the Fair Employment Practices Commission to investigate violations of this policy in defense industries.

How much FEPC was responsible for the rise in Negro employment after 1942 has been debated. Certainly, where FEPC was successful, it was accompanied by government pressure, training opportunities and the existence of full employment. Without full employment generally, the effectiveness of FEP legislation would doubtless have been diminished as competition for job increased. It has never been possible to abstract the condition of the black worker from those of labor at large. And, as we have seen, the New Deal never succeeded in achieving full employment for either race until the initiation of war production.

RISE OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

But with comparable importance with Executive Order 8802 for the Negro worker was the rise of industrial unionism in the late Thirties.

For the first time since the decline of the Knights an active effort was made to bring black workers into the house of labor. Not surprisingly, the leaders of the new movement were those unions in which Negroes had all along been best represented, particularly the United Mine Workers, which in 1900 could claim one-third of the total organized Negro labor force. Negroes played an important role in organizing the steel workers and, in New York City, the Negro Labor Committee helped bring Negroes into a wide variety of CIO unions. Only isolated instances of segregated locals in the Southern textile industry marred the CIO's early nondiscrimination policies. By 1940 the CIO had taken in 210,000 Negroes, who gradually acquired new industrial skills. In 1940, 4.4 percent of Negro male workers were skilled; four years later the figure had risen to 7.3 percent. Correspondingly, the figure for the semiskilled rose from 12 percent to 22.4 percent. It was also during this period that the Negro became predominantly urbanized.

Notwithstanding the large gains made by the Negro during these years in economic and civil rights - thanks largely to the militance of industrial unionism - the precariousness of his position was demonstrated anew at the war's end. With the curtailment of defense production, Negroes lost their jobs faster than whites. Not only did they lack seniority, but many were concentrated in those defense industries that were least convertible to peacetime production. Black labor's plight was callously aggravated when Congress killed the FEPC in 1946.

GOVERNMENT ABANDONMENT OF NEGRO TO ECONOMIC OPPRESSION

In withdrawing its support of the equal opportunities principle, Congress paved the way for the inevitable decline of skilled Negro craftsmen and foremen. Having won the war against racism abroad, with the help of her thirteen million Negroes, the nation apparently no longer felt constrained to continue that war at home. Once again the federal government had abandoned the Negro to economic oppression.

Certainly recent years have seen progress in the Negro's struggle for equal opportunities. In the absence of federal legislation, a score of states and numerous cities have enacted their own FEP program, varying in scope and enforceability. Direct action by Negroes at the 1948 Democratic Party convention was largely responsible for President Truman's Executive Order 9981 ending segregation in the armed forces. President Kennedy's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, established in March 1961, is a considerable improvement over phlegmatic predecessor, though it still lacks some of the powers of Roosevelt's FEPC. That discrimination persists in employment created by Federal grant-in-aid and loan programs, we well as in national guard and reserve units, is documented in the 1961 Civil Rights Commission Report. Moreover, the Commission has reported that: "Efforts of the Federal Government to promote nondiscriminatory employment by Government contractors and Federal agencies have not generally been effective in overcoming resistance to hiring Negroes in any but the lower categories."

The labor movement has made welcome advances. During the Forties, there were still twenty-six AFL affiliates whose constitutions barred Negroes from membership - and thus from fruitful employment. Today only the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen explicitly excludes Negroes. Twenty-six international unions and seventeen state central bodies have established civil rights committees. One and a half million Negroes now reside in the house of labor and they have won increasing representation in labor's governing councils, even in the South. The 1961 AFL-CIO Civil Rights Resolution forthrightly proclaimed: "The AFL-CIO is in the forefront of the civil rights revolution in our land. It is a foremost force in the drive to eliminate and prevent every form of race discrimination and race injustice in the American community." It is not without interest that no comparable statement has come from any national manufacturing organization.

Still, resolutions are not enough. In apprenticeship training, hiring policies, seniority lists, pay scales, job assignments and the like, discrimination persists in too many locals, especially in the building trades. Negroes continue to be barred from some unions, segregated in others. To combat these evils, hundreds of Negro trade unionists banded together in 1959 to found the Negro American Labor Council. Loyal to the labor movement and recognizing it as the most progressive institution in our society, the NALC has fought vigorously to cleanse the trade unions of every vestige of Jim Crow. Racism, we have insisted, is uniquely incompatible with labor's needs and aspirations; it is no less an evil than Communism and corruption and must be met with equal severity.

Many of our white liberal friends have been perplexed or irritated by the seeming "impatience" of the NALC, while gratified by the "impatience" of the Southern Negro students. They are incensed by the cruder forms of racism in Dixie, but point to the progress of black workers elsewhere.

AUTOMATION

That progress in employment opportunities has been made during the past century is as foolish to deny as it is fruitless to proclaim.

That progress has been made does not gainsay the fact that the Negro today faces an economic crisis without precedent. For progress is relative, and we are in a period when rapid movement is required merely to stand still.

The crisis confronting the Negro worker today can be summed up in one word: Automation. The displacement of men by machines hits the unskilled and semiskilled workers first and hardest, and these are the jobs to which Negroes have been relegated.

As late as 1955, only 12 percent of the Negro workforce had risen into professional, technical, managerial, and white-collar clerical and sales jobs (as opposed to 42 percent of the whites). Forty-seven percent of the Negroes were in service and other unskilled (nonfarm) jobs. Another 15 percent were in agriculture. At present there is no single skilled craft in which Negroes constitute even 2 percent of the total! More ominous than the figures themselves is the fact that the elevation rate of the Negro into more skilled occupations has fallen behind the rate of automation displacement.

No where is the crisis more starkly revealed than in the unemployment figures. Far from indicating progress, they point to an almost steady deterioration in the position of the black worker. Whereas the unemployment rate during the years 1947-1955 did not exceed 8.9 percent for Negroes and 4.6 percent for whites, the rate in 1958 was 12.6 percent and 6.1 percent respectively. The Bureau of Labor Statistics for August, 1962 show 11.4 percent of the Negro workforce unemployed as against 4.6 percent of the white.

Thus, despite all progress, the black unemployment rate has remained double that of whites for decades, and at the moment is is two and one-half times that of whites. A recession for white workers is a depression for black workers.

The extent to which the Negro unemployment rate is due to automation is suggested in the statistics on chronic unemployment. Most of the chronically unemployed are victims of technological displacement. At present, among those unemployed for more than fifteen weeks, 23.8 percent are nonwhite.

Statistics can be endlessly elaborated. Their meaning is plain: the relative position of the Negro in the economy has remained astonishingly static over the years and the future threatens even that woeful position. The Negro is not the only loser. Automation is likely to create more skilled jobs than men to fill them, according to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Yet, as a nation we passively observe the languishing of untapped talent in stagnant pools of unskilled labor continuously drained by automation into the sewers of unemployment.

OCCUPATIONAL AND JOB MOBILITY

Since man's first concern on earth is to live, his sources of life or economic status is of primary importance. It is one of the main bulwarks in our modern industrial order. It is a basic determinant in establishing or circumscribing the potential position of an individual or group within the socio-economic spectrum.

Because economic status involves economic security and economic opportunity that underlie living standards, they hold high priority in the struggle for life of any individual or group.

Thus, unions exercise immense control over the economic status of Negroes and workers by their capacity to manipulate their occupational mobility, thereby maintaining and reinforcing their status as virtual outsiders. In fact, the Negro's economic viability is definitely conditioned by limiting his occupational and job mobility.

In view of the rapid mortality of jobs in modern American industrialism as a result of the continuous introduction of new tools, materials and processes in the production of goods and services, workers without occupational and job mobility face relatively permanent job instability and economic insecurity. Such is the serious plight of the Negro worker.

Because of the long historical existence of the sinister concept of the biological inequality and hereditary racail inferiority of the Negro, it is difficult to find Negro workers with first-class status in any occupation and hence practically all Negro workers, regardless of qualification, lack occupational and job mobility.

Even in a semi-skilled occupation such as longshore work on the waterfront, Negro longshoremen of long seniority do not possess occupational mobility. This is evident by the fact that they are excluded from the west side piers where the luxury liners dock. It is also seen by the fact that there is less than a half dozen Negro longshoremen in the quasi-white collar checkers local, north or south; and the existence of Jim Crow locals in the South, although Negro workers constitute the majority in the industry.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners practice preferential placement of white members as against Negroes in New York City, by the racially segregated Local 1888, the geographic jurisdiction of which is Harlem, where its members as a rule depend upon employment which is both inadequate and generally of a repair nature except when housing projects are built.

It is well known that Negro hotel workers, in the main, do not enjoy occupational and job mobility, since they are either racially segregated into second-class hotels or completely excluded from the big hotels in Miami Beach, Florida, Atlantic City, New York City and most of the big metropolitan centers, except in the pattern of tokenism at banquets. And Negro bartenders in the big hotels in any city are as scarce as hens' teeth.

According to Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Negroes and Puerto Ricans are victims of restrictive job mobility by their concentration into the low-paying, semiskilled and unskilled areas in the garment industry because of race bias in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which of course, is denied by the leadership of ILGWU.

While I would not give a judgement as to the accuracy or inaccuracy of the charges of Mr. Hill, I have no reason to affirm or deny the charges. The fact is, Negroes and Puerto Ricans are grouped into the low-paying, unskilled and semiskilled sections of the industry.

UNION RESTRICTION OF NEGRO JOB MOBILITY

Now, there is a three-way prong in operation denying the Negro occupational status, according to Herman D. Bloch of Cornell University; denial of union membership which is requisite for apprenticeship leading to master mechanic rating; dependency upon the union's hiring hall for employment; and partial union control of the licensing board. Negro occupational status and job mobility are directly related to union restrictive measures. Since skilled occupations controlled by these unions are high in occupational status,and these are generally closed to the Negro, it leaves fewer occupations open.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The first step is to awaken, inform, arouse and mobilize Negro workers in and out of the unions, and transform them into a militant and massive movement since history is full of lessons to the effect that it is virtually impossible to move the labor movement, or the business movement, or the government, without a movement.

Moreover, our pluralistic democratic society, with many varied and various segments of the population, with their specific interests and concers, invariably encounter if not provoke opposition from a particular group or groups of the population with adverse interests and concerns.

Such is the case with such major groups as Capital and Labor, as represented by the National Association of Manufacturers and the AFL-CIO; the Negro and the South, as represented by the NAACP and the White Citizens Councils and its allies. There are also numerous sub-groups of citizens that organize to protect their interests, such as the senior citizens movement that fight for legislation for medical care within the framework of Social Security, which was bitterly attacked and defeated by the American Medical Association.

And in the long run, the group wins out and achieves its goals, not always because its cause is right, but because it possesses the more effective leverage and can bring the more pressure to bear upon, and constitutes the greater threat to, the power and stability of the government. Of course, it is an advantage when a group can claim moral grounds for its cause which, interestingly enough, no group is willing to admit is not the case. Thus the awakened oppressed ever disturbs their oppressors.

Note the long struggle against slavery in the United States. It was the insurrections led by black revolutionists under the valiant Toussaint L'Ouverture in Santo Domingo in 1793; the slave revolts led by Gabriel, that alarmed the masters of slavery in South Carolina in 1800, the uprisings in Virginia by Denmark Vesey in 1822; and Nat Turner in 1831, that shook, shocked and frightened the daylights out of the pompous slave masters.

Such are the mechanics and dynamics of the struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors, not only in the United States but also in Africa and Asia against Western colonial tyranny and terror, as well as revolts in Eastern Europe under Communist savage oppression and violence.

POLICIES PROPOSED

Many proposals have been made. Perhaps the most pretentious is the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity Plans for Progress program, the purpose of which is to secure the large employers and the national and international trade unions of the AFL-CIO to sign with Vice President Johnson, at the White House, a Plans for Progress for equal employment opportunity. This strategy may be immensely helpful only if the government does not leave compliance upon a voluntary and permissive basis, but takes firm, positive action to compel some 38,000, more or less, contractors operating 50,000, or more, facilities, and 100 hundred national and international unions, to abolish race bias or accept the penalty of the cancellation of contracts and the elimination of jobs.

Up to the present time this program is a mere moral gesture even if not without some educational value. It is a lesson of record that powerful corporations and national and international unions understand nothing but force.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING AND NEGRO MANPOWER

But even if contractors and unions are forced to comply with the Plans for Progress program and Negro workers secure entry into various occupations and jobs, the question arises - where are the Negro workers who are qualified for the said jobs in this age of technology? Of course there are some. But, how many?

In view of the fact that progress in apprenticeship training of Negro workers in the last decade is around one half of one percent, an improvement of two or three hundred percent would not mean much.

It is a notorious fact that in the building trades throughout the nation Negroes represent only two percent of the apprentices. In view of the long term of apprenticeship, from four to five years, to produce a journeyman in practically all of the crafts, and because of the rapid liquidation of jobs, around two million annually, in the unskilled and semiskilled areas of industry, areas in which Negroes are chiefly concentrated, some drastic, but basic and bold, massive, nationwide program must be devised, mainly by the federal government, but pushed by the Negro, to salvage the black proletariat from the condition of chronically unemployed denizens of metropolitan slums.

In addition to the normal type of apprenticeship training which must be made accessible to Negro youth in all crafts immediately, in-plant, on-job training in the factories, mines and mills is imperatively needed and should be carried out by government upon private business. But it will not be done without the continuous pressure of black America.

And, of course, a sincere, vigorous campaign to secure the enactment of federal fair employment practice legislation should be sponsored by a coalition of Negro organizations with their labor and liberal allies. But while this legislative battle should be stepped up, its achievement will take much too long to meet the emergency job crisis confronting the black laboring masses today - a crisis which is becomingly increasingly explosive. It is frankly socio-racial dynamite.

Therefore, since Negro workers have been systematically barred from apprenticeship programs on account of race bias they are one hundred years or more behind their white brothers in the possession of skills. Can they overcome this tremendous handicap and catch up? No one can answer this question. It is obvious, without sounding the note of defeatism or pessimism, that the odds are against the Negro unless all barriers of race are promptly swept away. And, is it even possible then?

NEGROES AND FEDERAL VOCATIONAL LEGISLATION

Reenforcing apprenticeship programs or on-the-job training with related classroom theoretical work for the preparation of workers for skilled crafts through vocational and technical education, as provided by the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, and broadened by the George Barden Act of 1946, with the keynote of "education for employment and learning for living", has been immensely meaningful only to white workers. These acts were largely sponsored by southern Congressmen for the benefit of the white South. Few Negro leaders or workers knew either of their existence or purpose.

Title VIII of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 was designed to help states to develop area vocational programs offering technical education in fields involving extensive use of science and mathematics. Here again, education is distinctly related to economic developments and manpower needs of the nation, involving chiefly white workers and students, especially below the race-conscious Mason-Dixon line, where practically two-thirds of Negroes live.

The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 brought the Office of Education into the training aspects of this program designed to give new impetus to those areas of the country which have been most seriously affected by excessive persistent unemployment. Efforts to attract new enterprises to such areas and to revive old ones, and thereby to create new jobs, involve the retraining of workers. Retraining Negroes in segregated schools in the South, that neither have the physical equipment or trained teaching personnel to provide the retraining, is a futile gesture. In the North, only a handful of Negroes get within earshot distance of any program for retraining workers for jobs.

The Clark-Holland Manpower Development and Training Act is designed to recognize that the skills of many persons have been rendered obsolete by dislocations in our economy arising from automation, from foreign competition, relocation of industry and shifts in market demands. It calls for government leadership to insure that the benefits of automation are shared by capital, labor and the public.

The purpose of this Act is unquestionably constructive but its utilization by the Negro, in the light of the dogma of states' rights that uphold states' wrongs under the color caste culture in the South, is practically nil.

The implementation of these Federal Acts in the interest of Negro job rights is a challenge to the Negro pressure power reflected by the Negro American Labor Council and Negro civil rights movements, and their labor and liberal allies.

Even the Full Employment Act of 1946, the purpose of which is to provide for the federal government to assist states and communities to bring about the best use of manpower resources and to meet problems of unemployment by promoting maximum employment, production and purchasing power, has never achieved its objective, even in relation to white workers, to say nothing of black workers who could suffer from unemployment despite a condition of relative full employment because of the inevitable tendency, due to race bias, to develop a hard core of the black jobless.

BLACK WORKERS FACE AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

This is why the black workers face an uncertain future and will continue to do so until the racial inequities are completely removed throughout the length and breadth of the nation.

For instance, according to Dr. Daniel Schreiber, Director, School Dropout Project, National Education Association, almost 1.9 million American youth graduated from high school last June, and while 650,000 will pursue further education, more than one million will try to enter the labor market. This one million will be swollen by 850,000 who dropped out of school during this past school year, and if the ratio of dropouts of Negro youth to white youth is comparable to the ratio of unemployment of Negro workers to white workers, then whereas normally, according to the population relationship of black to white, 85000 black youth would drop out of school, actually twice that number, or 170,000, will be included in the dropouts.

WHAT OF BLACK YOUTH TOMORROW?

Before we in the Negro American Labor Council ask ourselves whether there will be jobs for all, black and white, and what kind of jobs will be available, let us take a look into the future, or as early as 1965, three years from today.

According to estimates of population projections, the 1.9 million graduates of 1962 will become 2.5 million, an increase of 600,000 - 60,000 of which wll be Negroes,by 1965. If the ratio remains constant, practically 800,000 will seek college training while 1,500,000 will enter the labor force. Their dropout counterparts will increase this number to approximately 2.3 million new workers. The large number of youth reaching the age of 18 will increase from 2.6 million in 1962 to 3.8 million in 1965, approximately a half million of whom will be black.

These youth will enter a rapidly changing world, with technological improvements in industry making it possible to produce more units of goods and services in less time, and liquidating, as it were, some two million unskilled and semiskilled jobs annually.

The question might well be raised - can our black youth survive and move ahead in a highly competitive, racially prejudiced labor market, in view of an increasing demand for skilled, technical, professional training which they possess but sparingly? This question must be met.

Moreover, without access to unlimited areas of vocational and scientific education, reenforced by on-the-job apprenticeship training, which is only possible in industry, schools and trade unions completely free from race bias, Negro youth will be trapped in a dilemma of job impermanency, a trade or skill acquired today becoming obsolete tomorrow as a result of the bewildering sweep of change incident to the revolution of automation.

This is why, my dear brothers and sisters, the presence and role of the Negro American Labor Council is so grave, urgent and imperative.

MOBILIZING COMMUNITY NEGRO MASS POWER

Youth of minority groups, and especially Negro youth, have particular problems that must be realistically met. They include

1. Development of a creative and constructive self-image which is in consonance with the universal image of forward-moving youth of America.

2. Indentification of the needs, responses, aspirations, yearnings and rising expectations, with the militant march of disadvantaged youth under the yoke of colonialism and imperialism of world capitalism and Communism in Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe.

3. Inspiration and motivation from status symbols of accomplishment of black leadership in the skilled trades, technical, professional and scientific fields.

4. Development of adequate personality mechanisms to deal with hostility and rejection on ethnic grounds.

5. Development of constructive personal attitudes towards work and achievement.

6. Belief in his personal worth as a human being, regardless of race or color.

The Negro American Labor Council must formulate and evolve ways and means of helping black youth find their way, not only to economic success but to moral and spiritual service to the black community in particular, and the entire city, state and nation in general.

Breaking through ethnic marginal economic opportunities cannot occur in a vacuum, it can only develop in a community context in which indigenous community leaders and institutions play a key role. Many significant jobs are not filled or even found on the basis of merit, but on the basis of a complicated system of community and personal connections and pressures. The opportunity available to a Negro youth must be construed as the function of the total community and not the sole personal responsibility of the individual youth or of his parents.

The use of all the devices for breaking down barriers to employment and job mobility and progression upward in wage rates and status is a personal responsibility that falls on the leaders of community institutions and movements - religious, labor, business, educational, fraternal, political and civic.

I am sure the leaders and members of NALC share with me a sense of the tremendous magnitude of the problem of the job and skill training crisis of Negro youth, as well as a sense of the great inadequacy which now exists in our general efforts to cope effectively with the dimension of the issue of job inequity. Whether it is the part-time and occasional effect of private agencies and voluntary groups, or the more systematic programs of public schools and public institutions which have direct contact with large numbers of Negro youth, I think there is little doubt but that these programs fall desperately short of filling the vacuum which exists in this area. The problem, albeit, increases both in magnitude and complexity year after year and with each generation of Negro youth. We have only to show on the favorable side of the ledger a few individual sucess stories which circumstance has accidentally placed in our hands, and on the negative side the mounting delinquency and jobless rate with their attendant psychological costs to the youth involved and the staggering social losses that cannot be reclaimed.

COSTS OF RACE BIAS

In addition to psychological and social losses on account of racial bias, according to a statement on the Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment, presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in September, 1962 by the Council of Economic Advisors, there are measurable economic losses resulting from racial discrimination that arise from (1) inefficienceis in the use of the labor force resulting from failure to utilize fully the existing skills of our population and (2) failure to develop potential skills fully.

This memorandum attempts to provide rough quantitative estimates of the gains that might accrue if various types of racial discrimination were eliminated. All the estimates herein are based upon a definition of "economic loss" as "amount of national product that is foregone."

Measurements, therefore, relate to how much greater the gross national product could be if discrimination were eliminated or had been eliminated in the past. Because of the legacy of past race discrimination affects today's occupational, geographic and capital structure and the skills, training and education of the labor force, the gains would only accrue over time as the economy adjusts and the labor force is upgraded.

Part of the gain in output is attributable to increased employment of nonwhites. The calculations assume that in the absence of discrimination the unemployment rate among Negroes would be the same as among whites. Thus, there would be a net reduction in unemployment which could be achieved only if the level of demand in the economy were high enough to provide employment for whites and nonwhites on the same basis.

Thus, it is relevant to ask not only how much higher the gross national product might be today if nonwhites, an estimated 92 percent of whom are Negroes, were able to be as productive as whites, given their present productive capacities as measured by education, but, also, how much higher the gross national product would be if nonwhites had been educated as fully as whites.

Because this was not accomplished on account of the unfinished or incompleted Civil War Revolution, which failed to fulfill its traditional, liberal, classical mission of transforming the slaves into free workers and independent proprietors; provide them with free suffrage and a free public school system, the remnants, vestiges and survivals of the old slave order, like the vermiform appendix, lingers to cause the social malady of race bias.

If nonwhites, the statement points out, had the same educational levels as whites and if the economy fully utilized their education the gross national product today might be, perhaps, 5.7 percent higher, which amounts to $17 billion at today's levels of the gross national product.

But Elmer Roper, nationally known public relations analyst, estimates that race bias costs the country $30 billions annually.

Since it is estimated that the Negro market today, despite race bias, represents $20 billions annually, if racial discrimination were eliminated and the estimated economic loss of $17 billions by the Council of Economic Advisors is added to the present market of $20 billions, the Negroes' annual income would reach $37 billions, and with Elmer Roper's figures, would mount to the enormous level of $50 billions.

This is why the Negro American Labor Council was born. It wants Negroes to get more jobs, more remunerative jobs, jobs requiring skill and responsibility, in order to increase their standard of living and economic security.

But how is this wealth created? It is created by black labor, of hand and brain. When the earnings of black labor dry up, the black community will dry up, decay and die. But the earnings of black labor hover around the level of a bare subsistence wage without trade union organization. Even the wage rates of non-union workers are raised by the struggles for living and cultural wage standards of organized labor. The million and one half Negro members of trade unions have contributed enormously to the building of the existing Negro market. But if there are no jobs, or few jobs, what then? Obviously, both black and white workers will suffer as they do in recessions and depressions.

How are jobs made? Jobs are made by increasing and utilizing labor, capital, management and land through science, technology and industrialism. The increased production and distribution of goods and services which is only possible as a result of increased purchasing power, which rests upon rising wages and salaries, provide more jobs. But wages are not voluntarily given. They are exacted through collective bargaining of union labor or through scarcity. Even government does not voluntarily grant wage boosts. Government must be pressured by organized labor, both at the bargaining table and in the city councils, state legislatures and the Congress.

Thus, the gross national product must be increased, which is only possible by raising the rate of economic growth. This is a process which requires government intervention and long-range planning involving national taxation, program, periodic government expenditures in public works and the continuous extension of the public sector of the economy. This can only be made possible by collective bargaining of organized labor and its political pressure and power. In fact, without the continued growth and development of the power of organized labor to be employed as a countervailing force against the tremendous power of private corporate capital, our open, free, pluralistic democratic society will wither and die under the mighty juggernaught of Big Business, the primary motivation of which is profits.

Therefore, a powerful, well-organized, disciplined, massive labor movement, under aggressive, militant leadership, free from race bias and with a political arm of its own, is the only hope of democracy and freedom in America and the world.

This is why the Negro American Labor Council moves uncompromisingly to deepen the consciousness of the Negro community of the value, importance and necessity of the trade unions, the only voice of the workers, black or white.

I am particularly concerned about the Negro becoming increasingly labor union-conscious since I head a union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which took twelve years to win recognition from a powerful and ruthless Pullman Company. During this struggle our union faced as inflexible, bitter and vicious opposition from the Negro press, church and leaders, with very few exceptions, as we encountered from the powerful Pullman industrial dynasty. In fact, this is one of the blackest pages in the history of the black working class. fought by the leaders of the black community in its struggle for first-class industrial citizenship.

And make no mistake about it, the Negro community is not yet labor union-conscious. It is capital conscious. It is anti-labor and pro-business. It is the mission of the Negro American Labor Council to change this. The Negro community and the labor community must be brought together since they are natural allies. Both need each other at the labor-management bargaining table and at the ballot box and in the halls of the Congress.

While the struggle to wipe out root and branch race bias in all its forms must be uncompromisingly and vigorously pushed, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the absence of race bias is not to be equated with equal employment opportunity.

In other words, it is necessary, in order to avoid disillusionment, to recognize that non-discrimination and equal opportunity are not the same. When the "white only" signs are taken down we may have non-discrimination but still be a long way from equal job opportunity.

It is a matter of common knowledge that denial of opportunity isn't purely the result of wilful discrimination. The historical process of discrimination has woven a very subtle web indeed in our society, so subtle that its effects continue even after the intent to discriminate has vanished.

Without the possession of skills, training and technical education there can be but little, if any, opportunity, even when and where there is no blight of race bias. Thus, the likelihood is that the albatross of racial discrimination shall have long flown far away ere Negroes come into the possession of the skills and training requisite to participation in the process of production of goods and services, with the tools, processes and materials of the revolution of automation.

According to the National Urban League there is simply not enough talent available in certain areas of industry and business to take advantage of the new job opportunities that the work of the President's Committee, the state and local FEPC, and other forces, are opening up.

But while equal opportunity does naturally follow the disappearance of race bias, it is also evident that equality of opportunity is impossible where, as, and when racial discrimination exists. This is why there is no alternative in the Negro's fight for first-class citizenship and human dignity to the fight to abolish all forms of race bias.

The evil operation of slavery and segregation performed upon the skilled work capabilities of Negroes over a period of a quarter of a thousand years has set them back of their white brothers over a century.

CURSE OF COLOR CASTE TO BLACK WORKERS

The curse of color caste to black workers is written in the stark and forbidden realities of the highest rate of joblessness of any segment of the workforce of the country, yet not only is the American public not actively responsive to this fact but even Negro workers and the Negro community are not adequately informed, awakened and aroused to move to change the situation.

Thus, since the American conscience accepted and accommodated itself to the monstrous system of slavery and segregation for centuries, and only awakened under the impact of the crisis of slave revolts of the Civil War, the court actions of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro uprisings in the South under the leadership of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., the student movements, in the form of boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides, prayer pilgrimages and vigils, and the demands of black trade unionists for equality in the house of labor, it is clear that the conscience of the country will only frown upon social and racial wrongs today under pressure and prodding.

PRODDING THE COUNTRY'S CONSCIENCE

In our American free society a multitude of questions involving social, labor and racial justice bob up ever and anon. The question which ultimately becomes an issue in the social conscience is that which some organized group makes an issue. Verily, progressive social and racial change does not come about automatically. In fact, there is social retrogression and social progression. It is either one or the other at any given time in the life of a people when the people choose the path and make social change progressive or permit to to retrogress.

Where there is long, intrenched, institutionalized racial inequities, the only remedy consists in making the struggle against color injustice a burning issue. This requires the use of protest, public demonstration, mass demonstrations such as mass marches, picketing, boycotts, and various forms of sit-ins and non-violent direct action.

Thus, it is the task of the Negro American Labor Council to make the disadvantages of marginal racial job opportunities an issue of compelling challenge in the house of labor and in the national community, while maintaining a sound trade union posture. Because the membership of NALC is of the house of labor and the Negro community, it holds a strategic dual position for creating a creative climate for constructive cooperation between the labor community and the Negro community to advance civil rights and labor's rights. This requires that NALC maintain two positions: (1) uncompromising commitment to the abolition of race bias in the house of labor, and (2) uncompromising commitment to the support of free, democratic trade unionism.

CONFLICT BETWEEN NAACP AND ILGWU

Charges of racial discrimination by the NAACP against the ILGWU have provoked countercharges and refutations from the ILGWU against the NAACP.

The investigation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union by Congressman Powell's Committee on Education and Labor was the occasion of angry outbursts of denunciation between leaders of these two organizations which have been followed by a bitter propaganda campaign of recriminations against each other throughout the country.

I greatly deplore this conflict between these two outstanding, influential and important movements in the life of New York City in particular, and the country in general, because they are fighting for the same basic objectives; namely, civil rights and labor's rights.

Being aware of this pro-civil rights record of ILGWU, when the Union's leader, David Dubinsky, asked me, at the Chicago meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, did I consider that he and the ILGWU were anti-Negro, I promptly replied no. I reaffirm that position. I wrote him a letter to that effect. I also wrote him that while I didn't consider him or the ILGWU anti-Negro, I didn't mean by this that ILGWU was free from some forms of racial discrimination. In fact, it would be difficult to find a labor union or any institution or movement, including the church, government or business, which is controlled by white people, which is free from racial bias.

There is undoubtedly some forms of racial bias in every department of the government under President Kennedy's Administration, but there is hardly a fair-minded person who would claim that the Kennedy Administration is anti-Negro. But if you ask me to point to anti-Negro governments, I would name the southern states. These governments deliberately seek, administratively and legislatively, to block the progress of the Negro and to keep him down as a second-class citizen.

If you ask me to point to a union, or unions, which I consider to be anti-Negro, I would indicate the Big Four Railroad Brotherhoods, three of whom exclude Negro firemen from membership, and one, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, was only forced to admit Negroes under threat of expulsion from the AFL-CIO, as a result of a resolution placed before the 1959 San Francisco Convention by the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

I would place Local 26 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the category of being anti-Negro, but not the international union, one of whose local unions, Local 3 of New York City, whose Business Manager is Harry Van Arsdale, has taken the leadership and done a fine job in providing for the participation of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in an extensive apprenticeship program on a meaningful scale.

I would also point to a number of national and international unions in the Building Trades, and a number of racially-biased local unions of practically all of the national and international unions.

But I would not include the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, with 100,000 Negro and Puerto Rican members, in this category although it certainly is not wholly free from the sins of omission and commission involving race bias, and I think it would do well to give serious consideration to the charges of racial discrimination made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which are definitely made in good faith. And, may I add, that I have no reason to believe that the denial of these charges by ILGWU are not made in good faith, and they deserve the serious examination and consideration of the NAACP.

ARBITRATION OF THE DISPUTE BY CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

In view of the fact that two perfectly responsible national organizations, with leaders of unquestioned ability, integrity and dedication to the cause of civil rights and labor's rights, are engaged in a propaganda cold war which is certain to be harmful, not only to them but to the cause of interracial trade union brotherhood, civil rights and labor's rights, I want to suggest and recommend that Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and David Dubinsky of ILGWU, who appear to be in sharp disagreement with respect to certain questions of fact as well as opinion, sit down together at an early date and discuss this dispute, in the spirit of reason and good will, with the willingness to admit the validity of charges where there is obvious vulnerability, and also to retreat from unfactual charges and a non-rational position. But if their personality clashes may render this procedure undesirable, I strongly advise that the two distinguished leaders accept the arbitration of the dispute by a committee of some three or five eminent citizens of recognized good will for the good of civil rights and labor's rights; citizens of the stature of Dr. C. B. Powell of the New York Amsterdam News, Dr. Carmen of Columbia University, Dr. Gallagher of the College of the City of New York, and Theodore Kheel. Otherwise, this racial-labor conflict may serve to widen the gap between the Negro community and the labor community.

Unfortunately, apparently all forms of contact and communication between these two organizations have closed, and a hostile confrontation is now the modus operandi. Needless to say, this psychological warfare is both unnecessary and disastrous and must promptly end, and a creative and constructive process of friendly dialogue on a basis of consensus established, in the interest of cooperation in achieving complete first-class citizenship of Negro and Puerto Rican workers in the union and the industry, and the maintenance of the power and integrity of ILGWU.

ROLE OF NALC

We of NALC are deeply concerned about this racial-labor dispute. We have two interests - civil rights and labor's rights. We know it can, must, and will be resolved. This will come because the NAACP has the leadership of Roy Wilkins, an able and resourceful statesman of civil rights, and ILGWU is piloted by David Dubinsky, an able and resourceful statesman of labor. Moreover, one basic lesson of the philosophy of history is that the fact that one side of a dispute may be wrong does not make the other side right. It just doesn't seem to be a mark of wisdom for two groups that are fighting for freedom for themselves to be fighting each other.

NEW YORK CITY CHAPTER OF NALC PLAYS IMPROPER ROLE

I am greatly disturbed and distressed by the ineptitude of procedure, irrationality of action and unprincipled position the New York City local chapter took on the Congressional investigation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The New York local chapter at one of its meetings, without a careful examination and evaluation of all the factors involved in this question and with a flair of a vast arrogance of self-righteousness, went on record to put out a leaflet to help round up Negro and Puerto Rican workers to appear at the hearings of the Congressional committee to become informers against their own union.

May I vouchsafe to the delegates and officials of this NALC convention that when I read the leaflet I was deeply shocked and grieved that a chapter of NALC, composed of Negro trade unionists, could betray not only the principles of the Negro American Labor Council, but the revolutionary ideals, goals and aspirations of the working class of the world to build unions - labor unions, their only voice and instrumentality of struggle against oppression, exploitation and tyranny, by taking a course of action which tends to break the faith of the garment workers in their union as a weapon of combat and defense.

It is not the function of NALC to become the ally of any Congressional committee of politicians to help it train its guns of investigation through harassment and persecution against the ILGWU, the union of our fellow workers, brothers and sisters. It is a gross violation of basic trade union morality and cheap, shabby and dishonorable business for NALC to become a busybody among the members of ILGWU, or any union, in an attempt to create dissension in the ranks, to the embarrassment of the union.

NALC leaders and members must understand that reform or revolution for change in a labor union, a people, a government, or any other institution, must come from within. It cannot be imposed from without. This does not mean that unions that practice race bias should not be attacked, exposed and condemned. In fact, pressure and criticism from without can help wake up the workers from within.

Thus, we need to learn the fundamental lesson of organized labor and precisely within the frame of reference of this situation; namely, that the union, and the union alone, is the voice of its members. The members of the union select, elect, and pay their leaders to express the philosophy, principles and program of labor.

But while the NAACP cannot serve as the voice of the garment workers, it has the right, responsibility and obligation, as the voice of civil rights of all Negroes, to expose, condemn and fight to eliminate race bias wherever it may be.

Therefore, in the terms of this problem, the ILGWU, and the ILGWU alone, is the voice of the garment workers, and David Dubinsky is its spokesman. NALC cannot serve as the voice of the garment workers. Not even the AFL-CIO can serve as the voice of the garment workers. And, certainly, no Congressional committee, even without partisan political motivation, can serve as the voice of the garment workers. And, let me add, that I do not regard Congressman Powell's Committee on Education and Labor as being anti-labor. Its record is pro-labor, and the hearings, including union and management and the workers, have been fruitful.

But history shows with a plentitude of evidence that the fortunes, fate and future of the trade and industrial unions of the workers must not be placed in the hands of any Congressional committee in quest of deliverance from exploitation and injustice however apparently good its intentions may be. There must be no illusions about this although some Congressional investigations have been useful.

Obviously, the aforementioned course of action of our New York NALC chapter is only calculated to isolate the Negro American Labor Council from the organized labor movement since there is not one single bona fide union in the United States or, for that matter, in the world, which would not condemn the alliance of a labor organization such as NALC with a government committee in its pursuit of a trade union.

Moreover, no unprejudiced trade unionist who has any conception of what it takes to build a union will gainsay the fact that for over a generation of struggle, sacrifice and suffering, the ILGWU transformed a veritable industrial jungle of the garment district into a civilized labor-management community. But there is no doubt about the fact that all the beasts of racial bias have not been driven from this labor union-management garment jungle, and that ILGWU has not done all it should and could have done to achieve racial equality in the union, or on the job in the factories.

= The broadside by Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the NAACP, shook up the ILGWU and its leadership, and there was just enough fact in it to make trade unions aware of the fact that any and all practices of race bias are being relentlessly tracked down, which is certain to bear fruit. Though I am not always in accord with his method, there is one thing his attacks upon unions and industry have done which is of unquestioned value and which is long overdue, and that is that they have served notice upon all and sundry that race bias in all forms must go. For this I applaud him.

NALC CHAPTERS PLAGUED WITH COMMUNIST CELLS

Because Communists have been routed and thrown out of the labor movement, and have failed to sink any roots in the Negro community and other minority groups, it was natural for them to look upon the rise of a militant mass movement like the Negro American Labor Council as an happy hunting grounds.

Thus, in harmony with their behavior pattern and international format, Communists moved into local chapters of NALC to proceed to build beachheads for infiltration and domination of these chapters and, finally, the control of the policy of the national Council.

The Newsletter which the New York City Chapter issued May-June, 1962, reflected a distinct Moscow orientation in an article entitled: "All African Trade Union Federation." The pertinent section of the article begins as follows:

"The history of the trade union movement in Africa has been a long and glorious one that culminated in the calling of the All-African Union Federation .... All of those countries who were formerly colonial masters over many of these African countries attempted in every conceivable way to sabotage the Federation. A major role was played by Irving Brown, AFL-CIO European representative, to wreck this Federation. We who have had a long and sometimes bitter experience in the AFL-CIO can imagine what Mr. Brown had in mind."

"The Africans were not taken in. They fought for, and won, a democratic and free trade union movement in spite of Irving Brown and his European counterparts. It is quite interesting to note that among those that met secretly with Brown and tried to destroy the unity of the African workers was Tom Mboya of Kenya...."

"The move was for those members who are a part of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, largely controlled by the AFL-CIO leadership and of the World Federation of Trade Unions, a federation of trade unions largely from the Socialist and Neutralist countries...."

It will be noted that the blast against Tom Mboya, recently designated Secretary of Labor of the Government of Kenya, and former Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor, parrots the Red line. The Red line seeks to discredit African labor leaders who, like Tom Mboya, maintain allegiance with the ICFTU, which is committed to the policies of the free world as against the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, which is committed to policies of labor slaves since unions in the Soviet Union are organs of the State and the workers have no right to strike.

The Communist formula for the organization of African workers provides for either neutralist labor unions or the development of Pan African labor unionism, a national trend of African workers, preferring however their acceptance of the leadership of the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions.

Any labor leader who refuses to follow this Marxist labor doctrine is marked for slander and libel, with a view to breaking the faith of the African laboring masses in his leadership. And, of course, any association of African labor leaders with the leaders of the AFL-CIO is utter plasphemy to the Communist gods.

Hence the Newsletter was the calculated reflection of the Communist ideology on African labor and in accordance with the dogma of Communist fundamentalism for aggression against the so-called bourgeois African leadership and the conquest of the minds of the innocent African masses.

Needless to say that this sort of propaganda can only serve to turn organized labor, as well as the liberal community in the United States, against NALC. It is, indeed, a kiss of death.

ATTACK ON UNITED STEEL WORKERS UNION

In this same Newsletter there appeared an article entitled "Steel Workers Sold Out," in which the following statement is made: "....the leadership of the United Steelworkers of America negotiated (and we use this word very loosely) a sell-out contract. This two-year agreement does not provide for any money during the first year but may be reopened on issues of wages, pensions, insurance and work practices on ninety days' notice on May 1, 1963 or later..."

Aside from the fact that the members of the Editorial Board admitted they had not read the contract which they had branded as a sell-out contract, their criticism revealed an utter lack of knowledge of labor contracts since they condemned the Steelworkers Union contract merely because it did not provide for a wage increase although there are numberless union contracts with managements that involve no wage raises. As a matter of fact, there are contracts in the railroad industry, national in scope, that contain provisions for moratoria on wage increases over a certain period.

ABOLISHED EDITORIAL BOARD

When I read this Newsletter I promptly called in the members editorial board and engaged them in a long discussion of the articles in question. I ordered the president of the New York Chapter to stop the issuance of any more Newsletters until further notice, and that the editorial board be reorganized and, further, that the members of the board not be assigned to any official activities in the chapter. I also ordered that, in the future, no newsletters be printed before submission to me for criticism.

But, after discussing the articles with them, it was apparent that they were prisoners of their own limited information about union agreements and some absolutist dogma that criticism of any big AFL-CIO union, or an African leader outside the Casablanca bloc, under the cover of race bias, was evidence per se of a fighting movement of revolutionary purity, within the framework of which there is little, if any, area for logical maneuverability.

I tried to show them that NALC does not derive from, or rest upon, the sylogism that (1) race discrimination is bad, (2) all unions are guilty unions, having some racial discrimination, (3) therefore, all unions are bad. Under this logic, if we assume that one is justified in not joining a union which has race bias in it, Negro workers would not join any unions at all. And were we to carry this logical proposition to its extremity, Negroes would wind up in joining few, if any, movements in America, or the world. And they would conversely get out of everything they are now in because race bias is in everything white people have anything to do with.

But the policy of NALC is not to remain out of, or to refuse to join, unions that are known to practice racial discriminations, but to remain in, and also join, biased unions and fight to drive racial discriminations out of them, both from within and from without.

Having had an extensive and fruitful experience with the machinations of some adroit Communists in the old National Negro Congress, a mass movement of the late 1930's which I was compelled to torpedo in order to break the grip of the agents of the Kremlin upon that movement, and being familiar with the literature and the doctrine, I was not dismayed when Communists began infiltrating the chapters of NALC.

Since the passing of the National Negro Congress, Communists have had nowhere to go among Negroes, and when they are isolated from organized labor and minorities that wage a continuous battle for labor's rights and civil rights, they are forced to fall back for association and adventure upon the FBI agents who represent a large segment of the Communist Party, and in order to be recognized and accepted as undeviating, faithful brethren of the Communist Church, they out-communist the Communists in berating American capitalism and imperialism, thereby rising to some of the most trusted places of leadership in the Party.

Hence the appearance of the Newsletter, written by an editorial board of three members, while not startlingly surprising was immensely distressing that some of our brothers had not yet discovered the difference between trade unions in a free, democratic society and trade unions in a totalitarian Communist society. Without a clear understanding of the simple fact that workers are slaves in a Communist state without the right to strike, and that workers are free in a democratic state with the right to strike, NALC will be involved in endless confusion and chaos and eventual collapse.

INFILTRATION OF BUFFALO CHAPTER

The Communist infiltration of the Buffalo Chapter for the domination of the movement was quite a natural phase of Communist behavior pattern.

But so soon as I was alerted by John Coston, president of the Buffalo NALC Chapter, who came to New York City with copies of the Buffalo Evening News, which carried a series of articles on Communists in the Buffalo Chapter, I promptly wired the officials to stop all activities of the chapter until further notice. I had Vice President Joseph Overton to go to Buffalo to investigate the charges of Communist infiltration and domination, advising him to reorganize the chapter with a view to eliminating the Red gentlemen. This was done.

Subsequently, on account of a number of communications stressing the importance of an NALC Chapter in Buffalo, I went there and addressed an enthusiastic meeting and made it clear that I would not tolerate any Communist activity and influence in the chapter.

RED BEACHHEAD IN CLEVELAND CHAPTER

It is the trend of any aggressive movement to seek and move into a vacuum for development and growth. Thus, Communists took over the official positions of the Cleveland Chapter and proceeded to make policy decisions concerning the position the chapter should take on current national issues, on the grounds that its autonomy gave it the right to take a position on certain questions, regardless of the National President.

Some of the members and officials, as I recall, during the Presidential campaign kept my telephone hot with inquiries about various candidates they thought the chapter should endorse. I repeatedly informed them that because of the bipartisan political composition of the movement of NALC it was not the policy of NALC to endorse any candidate.

Later, the president of the chapter wrote me several letters, as well as telephoned me, that he felt NALC should sponsor the case of Mae Mallory. I told him emphatically that the Cleveland Chapter had no right to sponsor or back the case in any way, and that such a decision involving a matter of national significance could only be made by the National President or the National Executive Board. I also indicated to him that Mae Mallory had picketed NALC public meetings in New York City but it had no effect on him for he informed me the chapter was going to sponsor the case anyway.

Subsequently, he wrote me trying to make a case for the Communists who had been exposed by a Negro special investigator for the Un-American Activities Committee, on the grounds that the Committee was condemned by well-known liberals. I wrote him that although I was in favor of the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee, because of its invasion and disregard of the constitutional civil liberties of citizens, this did not justify NALC refusing to look into charges, against certain officials of the chapter, of Communist history and connections.

Vice President Frank Evans wrote me concerning the Communist cell in the Cleveland Chapter and I authorized him to use his own best judgement in handling the situation, with a view to wiping out the Communist menace in the chapter. I want to commend Vice President Evans for moving with dispatch, and without compromise or appeasement of Red forces.

But suppose local NALC chapters had such unlimited autonomy, as a few chapters have advocated, that the President lacks or should lack the power to keep them in line with NALC philosophy, principles, policies, programs and practices, our movement would now lie in ruins, disgrace and dishonor, isolated from the bona fide labor movement of the country, smeared and discredited with Communist infiltration and domination.

Now, while I would not be guilty of mounting a witchhunt against Communists or Communism, or any other political sect, let me make it unmistakably clear that before I would permit the Negro American Labor Council to be used as a door through which Communists could enter to descend upon the black laboring masses so that they might brainwash them to advance the fortunes of Communist Russia, I would disestablish the Negro American Labor Council and abolish it entirely.

Please, dear brothers and sisters, let me assure you that Communism is not the wave of the future. It is not the Messiah of the working class of the world. The Russian Soviet Union which has become a "have" nation and has lost its proletarian evangelism, is much more concerned, as a highly centralized, bureaucratic form of Communist industrialism for state power and profit, in its national interests than it is in the ideological liberation of the workers, in or outside the USSR, although it seeks to delude the workers, especially in Africa and Asia, into believing that it is the fatherland of labor.

WHAT IS NALC?

First of all, let it be understood that NALC is not a trade union. It is a labor organization committed to fighting for equality and civil rights for black workers in the house of labor, and also to the philosophy of free, democratic trade unionism.

Therefore, it negotiates no contracts concerning rates of pay or rules governing working conditions, nor does it seek to adjust grievances or claims.

Nor is NALC a civil rights movement although it supports civil rights movements like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Non-violent Student Movement, as well as other bona fide civil rights organizations.

Therefore, we initiate and conduct no sit-ins, wade-ins, stand-ins, freedom rides, boycotts or picket lines, but we support them that are bona fide. NALC, like other movements, cannot do everything and shouldn't try. We are a specialized movement with a clear objective; namely, the abolition of race bias against black workers in trade unions, industry and government.

It is a big enough task for any one movement. In very truth, it is big and difficult enough to engage the interest and concern of every Negro, labor and liberal movement in the country if we hope to win our goal in time for it to be meaningful to the black laboring masses.

Moreover, NALC is not equipped with the requisite training, personnel and experience to enter into the civil rights field. Nor is it equipped with the requisite training, personnel and experience to negotiate or evaluate contracts. This is the function of a trade union. We are only concerned with inquiring into the nature of a contract of a union when it involves race bias.

NALC is non-partisan, but not non-political. It is primarily concerned about increasing registration among Negro workers, and the use of political action to secure executive and legislative measures for labor's rights and civil rights.

NALC is not anti-white, but it is pro-Negro.

NALC is not anti-AFL-CIO or any bona fide trade union. It is pro-AFL-CIO.

NALC OBJECTIVES

1. The complete abolition of race bias in trade unions, industry and government.

2. Integration of Negro trade unionists into the policy-making bodies of unions, local, national and international, city central labor councils and state AFL-CIO federations.

3. Integration of Negroes into the staff structure of unions.

4. Desegregation of southern city central labor bodies and state AFL-CIO federations.

5. Establishment of civil rights committees in national and international unions, city central labor councils and state AFL-CIO federations.

6. Negotiate non-discriminatory clauses in union contracts.

7. Abolition of Jim Crow local unions

8. Elimination of exclusionary membership clauses, based upon race or color, or by tacit consent.

METHODS

1. Reorganization of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee has been effected by the appointment of William Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer, as chairman, with a number of new members including a Negro vice president of the Hodcarriers' Building Laborers Union, and the president of the Transport Workers Union.

2. Reorganization of the Civil Rights Department is long overdue. Since it is the agency for the implementation of the 1961 Miami Beach Convention resolution for the elimination of race bias in the house of labor, reorganization of the department from the

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top, including the Director, Boris Shishkin, is imperative. The civil rights program of the AFL-CIO will not move ahead until Brother Shishkin is replaced by a more vigorous and aggressive director. NALC therefore recommends that a new director of the Department of Civil Rights be selected and appointed at an early date.

3. I recommend that the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee or Civil Rights Department hold periodic regional or national civil rights conferences, to evaluate and assess methods, strategy and tactics for the advancement of the cause of civil rights in trade unions, with fraternal delegates from the established civil rights movements.

4. I recommend that the programs of the Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO and of civil rights movements for voter registration, especially in the South, be coordinated.

5. I propose that a nationwide legislative program for the enactment of a Federal FEPC be developed.

6. I propose that NALC develop, with the cooperation of civil rights movements and labor unions, job rights marches on City Hall, state capitals and, if necessary, the nation's capital, to awaken and stir the conscience of the country concerning the social misery and economic wretchedness of the Negro masses in this twentieth century, a hundred years after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln.

7. I propose that all newsletters of local chapters be discontinued and that a national newsletter be issued monthly, edited by the President, the details to be worked out with the National Executive Board.

8. I propose that no NALC chapter engage in the picketing of any bona fide trade union without prior authorization from the National President. One over-enthusiastic group of misguided brothers from Chicago, in seeking, I am told, to get certain concessions from the Building Laborers International Union, made the blunder of picketing the headquarters of the AFL-CIO in Washington, D. C. this past summer.

9. I propose that the local chapters of NALC proceed to establish some practical cooperative working relationship with the city central labor bodies and state AFL-CIO federations, and the national and international unions, with a view to developing participation of Negro youth in broad apprenticeship programs comparable to the plan set up under the splendid leadership of Harry Van Arsdale, Business Manager of Electrical Union Local 3, and President of the New York City Central Labor Council.

10. I propose that the National President of NALC be empowered to employ a full-time director when the finances warrant same.

11. I propose that no NALC chapter be authorized to sponsor or endorse any civil rights case, unless it is sponsored by the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or the national Non-violent Student Movement, without prior authorization by the National President.

BUILDING LABOR-NEGRO POWER THROUGH DIALOGUE

NALC is the only area of dialogue, though quite inadequate, between Negro and white trade unionists,upon a basis of equality, in the country today. While a Negro staff person for a union may, and does, have dialogue with his boss, it is an employer-employee sort of thing which is hardly the same as when Negro and white trade unionists have dialogues upon a basis of equality. But, in order for Negro and white trade unionists to have fruitful dialogue there must be an area of consensus. What could this be? It could be:

1. Common commitment to free, democratic trade unionism.

2. Commitment to a democratic form of society within the framework of which alone can free, democratic trade unionism survive and develop.

3. Opposition to the totalitarian Communist or Fascist form of society under which the trade union is an organ of the state without the right to bargain collectively on a basis of equality with management, and without the right to strike.

4. Commitment to civil rights,which is an attribute of a free and independent citizen.

5. Commitment to the spiritual and moral values of the Judeo-Christian tradition that emphasize the worth of every human being and the sacredness of the dignity of the human personality.

6. Commitment to first-class citizenship in the house of labor of all workers, regardless of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.

7. Commitment to the principle of any worker, white or black, Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic, to equality of opportunity to learn in order to earn.

8. Commitment to union and ethnic democracy.

If we fight and faint not, we shall win.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH TO GAMMA ALPHA
SIGMA CHAPTER OF PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.,
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THE STRUGGLE OF BLACK LABOR FOR STATUS IN THE REVOLUTION OF AUTOMATION

The whole world of color is in flames. It is in the flames of protest, revolt and revolution, resentment and resistance, impatience and anger against white supremacy, oppression and persecution.

The fires of nationalist revolutions against colonialism, racialism and tyranny, disease, illiteracy and insult are sweeping over the hot sands of Africa, especially in the areas of South Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland, Portuguese Angola and Mozambique, and Kenya in East Africa.

Concerning the crisis areas of Africa - the Congo, South Africa, Angola and Central Africa - seven Negro leaders conferred with President Kennedy at the White House on December 17, to present resolutions adopted at Arden House in Harriman, New York by the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, and to discuss and urge positive and immediate action to support Africans in their efforts to complete their revolutions for the abolition of colonialism and the achievement of a basic measure of viability of the economies of the emerging African states.

The conference, in which Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Dr. Martin L. King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women, James Farmer of the Congress of Racial

Equality, Theodore Brown, Conference Director, and myself participated, was friendly and fruitful. It is to be supplemented with additional conferences in depth at the United Nations with Governor Adlai Stevenson in the early part of the New Year.

While nationalist revolutions are taking place in Africa, here at home Negroes, young and old, in Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama are hurling defiance and challenge against the old mores, habit systems and color caste culture of the Old South. They are in rebellion, in the form of the memorable Supreme Court decision of 1954 secured by the brilliant fight of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for the desegregation and integration of public schools, sit-ins, wade-ins, kneel-ins, stand-ins by Negro students in the Deep South, freedom rides,by both black and white, for social equality, under the banner of the Congress for Racial Equality, and boycotts against Jim Crow, such as the effective fight led by Dr. Martin Luther King in Montgomery.

Yes, the human rights revolutions in Africa are spiritually identified and inevitably tied up with the civil rights revolution now surging throughout the length and breadth of the United States that are shaking all institutions in our land.

Why these revolutions?

The answer is that black Africans and black Americans are not yet fully free. They are not yet fully free to secure the jobs they wish to secure, or to attend the schools they desire to attend, or to live in houses that are convenient and decent. Nor are black Africans free to live under their own sovereignty in their own land.

What about the Negro unfreeness and the civil rights revolution in our own land? How did this phenomenon begin? Why did it begin?

These are questions that can only be answered in terms of the historical, social, economical, political and racial realities in our country. It is this question to which I wish primarily to direct your attention.

Black America has been thrust into a job rights and civil rights struggle. It is not an accident or an incident; it is a massive event. It bodes danger and opportunity. There is danger that black America may be blocked and thrown back in the fight for job rights and civil rights, and there is opportunity to accelerate the struggle for the conquest of job rights and civil rights and human dignity.

Which of the two paths it takes depends upon the principles, programs and practices it adopts. But the principles, programs and practices considered will only have reality in relation to the nature and origin of the crisis.

Thus, while Negro workers have made progress their economic status is still low; they exist within the shadow of poverty. Yes, they are virtually locked up in a socio-economic, poverty-structured system.

Not only are Negro workers a hundred years behind their white brothers but their relative pace of progress is stretching the distance between them, with black workers, under the advance of radical technology, falling further and further behind with no visible prospects, given the continuance of present policies and attitudes of trade unions, industry and government, of ever catching up.

A CENTURY OF STRUGGLE

The Negro's struggle for equal employment opportunities over the past one hundred years is of more than historical or commemorative interest. The crises of the present are rooted in the failures of the past, and lessons unlearned are tragedies prolonged. In our own time the prolonged tragedy of black labor weighs heavily upon all Americans. It is becoming increasingly clear that no lasting political freedom or social equality is conceivable without the integration of the Negro into the economic life of the nation.

How far have we come, and how far have we to go?

The Emancipation Proclamation not only freed the slaves but, in doing so, made the question of equal job opportunities a major social problem. Even before the Civil War the question had arisen, though in less pressing form, with regard to the half million free Negroes. Generally, those free Negroes who lived in Southern cities, where Negroes often had a monopoly of mechanical skills, fared better economically than those who lived in the Northern cities, where they faced competition from skilled immigrant labor. So serious was the economic discrimination against free Northern Negroes that in Philadelphia, for example, Negroes in 1837 comprised 14 percent of the poorhouse population, though only 7 percent of the population at large. This dusty statistic is an early example of a 2-to-1 relationship that has shown remarkable persistence down to the present.

During the 1830's many free Negroes organized the so-called Conventions Movement, of which Frederick Douglass was eventually elected president. It is of immense interest that this movement, in 1853, adopted an economic program calling for the establishment of an industrial college and for a type of apprenticeship training program for Negroes. Thus, even before the Civil War, Negroes, feeling the squeeze of job discrimination and segregation, organized to fight for economic security and advanced programs that have a familiar ring today.

BETRAYAL OF BLACK FREEDMEN

The slaves, freed on January 1, 1863, were liberated not only from their masters but from their livelihood as well. Thaddeus Stevens, valiant and uncompromising champion of slaves and freedmen, looking toward the transformation of the former slaves into a class of small independent farmers, advocated the government's giving them "forty acres and a mule." The Northern industrialists, however, who had gained control of the Republican Party, could not countenance the confiscation and division of large plantations. Many of the Negroes who did secure homesteads were driven off under President Andrew Johnson's program of restoring the land to white planters. Homeless and propertyless, the great mass of Southern Negroes had no alternative but to return to the plantations, this time as tenant farmers and sharecroppers.

The failure of Reconstruction to provide Negroes with an economic base - the tragedy of the period - foredoomed all efforts at political democracy in the South. Even as the Negro was enjoying the fullest participation in political life, helping to maintain Republican power in the South, the stage had been set for the time when, a score years after Reconstruction, his landlord would march him to the polls with voting instructions, and later disfranchise him altogether. Few examples in history so vividly illustrate the fragility of political freedom unmoored in economic security.

Thus the Negro found himself cut adrift into the Gilded Age, the nadir of Big Business morality, the pinnacle of its speculative and exploitative irresponsibility. From the industrial revolution that was sweeping the country the Negro was excluded - North and South. In the South the Negro had never really competed with the poor white for land, having been reduced almost immediately to sharecropping, but he had offered competition in mechanical skills. In fact, at the end of the Civil War, 100,000 of the 120,000 artisans in the South were Negroes. By 1890 the skilled Negro worker had virtually ceased to exist. The mania for textile mills and tobacco factories that gripped the South in the last decades of the nineteenth century took on the character of a religious campaign as plant managers promised poor whites industrial salvation in the new white-only enterprises. In the North, which claimed 10 percent of the Negro population in this period, Negroes were systematically barred from all but the most menial tasks in the burgeoning mass industries.

To what extent the denial of equal job opportunities to Negroes in both the North and South "stemmed from interlocking control or management" is "difficult to determine," as the historian Rayford W. Logan points out in (The Negro in American

Life and Thought). Nonetheless, after the famous Compromise of 1877, "Big Business continued to constitute the principal force for peace at almost any price for 'leaving the South alone.' Further investigation may reveal close links between Northern capital and management and the supposedly predominantly Southern enterprises of cotton and tobacco factories." In any case, the Southerners had their own reasons for keeping these factories white. Whatever the motives of the Northerners, their policy was deliberate, and it is clear that Northern capital made ample and profitable use of Negroes as strikebreakers.

Not only the Federal Government (through its Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction policies) and Northern and Southern capitalists were responsible for the deterioration of the Negro's economic condition; the unions were also to blame.

LABOR'S ROLE

It is not entirely coincidental that the surge of American capitalism, the freeing of the slaves, and the formation of the first national labor organization should occur almost simultaneously. Yet the confluence of these events was significant for the future of the Negro. The National Labor Union, formed in 1866, was a weak counterweight to the power and influence being wielded by the industrialists, backed up by the Supreme Court and other agencies of government. Before its destruction, following the panic of 1873, the National Labor Union had recognized the danger posed by Negro strikebreakers and decided to organize black workers, but into separate locals. The reaction of Negro workers was the formation, in 1869, of the National Negro Labor Union.

The fate of the National Negro Labor Union was predictable. Although Negroes had successfully established independent churches in the eighteenth century, inexorable economic laws militated, then as now, against the organization of workers along racial lines. Efforts of the National Negro Labor Union to affiliate with white labor were unsuccessful. Negro workers remained isolated and were increasingly used as strikebreakers.

The Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, was more anxious to recruit Negroes. Aiming at unskilled as well as skilled workers, the Knights brought Negroes into some all-black locals and also some mixed ones. In 1887 it may have had as many as 90,000 Negroes out of a total membership of a half million. Many of its organizers played courageous roles in the South, braving terrorist anti-labor tactics of a sort all too familiar to students of the CIO drives in the Thirties. The decline of the Knights, following the Haymarket Riot of 1886, was paralleled by the rise of a new union and a new labor philosophy.

Unlike the Knights, the American Federation of Labor, founded in 1886, had a decentralized structure consisting of essentially autonomous craft locals. Because of its disinterest in unskilled workers, the AFL could attract few Negroes. At the same time, various unions that constitutionally excluded Negroes from membership could not be curbed because of the federation structure of the national body.

Structural questions aside, however, the AFL lacked the broad idealistic spirit of the Knights of Labor, and for the latter's crusading spirit substituted a more narrowly economic and "practical" program. Still, the Federation's 1893 and 1894 conventions stated:

"We here and now reaffirm as one of the cardinal principles of the labor movement that the working people must unite and organize, irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality, or politics." The resolution was not binding, only a request. But consistent discrimination by its affiliates whittled away at even this principle, so that by 1901 the federation gave ground on the issue of social equality and approved the organization of separate locals. It also scolded Negro workers for strikebreaking, as if the AFL's exclusive policies were unrelated to that practice.

Thus the labor movement in this period, with the general exception of the Knights, also hindered the integration of the Negro into the expanding economic life of the nation. It is interesting to note, however, that all three of these national labor movements felt constrained at least to enunciate the principle of class solidarity without regard to race, whereas the large corporations of the period in the main were silent. It should also be borne in mind that the character of the age was determined infinitely more by the impress of capital than by that of the fledgling labor movements. The decline of the Knights of Labor, whose policies had been favorable to Negro workers, was largely the work of red-baiting corporations in alliance with a Big Business government, even as the rise of the AFL was facilitated by its conservative philosophy, less sharply counterposed to that of the new ruling class. Implicitly we recognize this in applying the term "business unionism" to the AFL and "social unionism" to the Knights.

Whoever was most to blame - government, management or labor - the results were clear. Despite the march of the nation from agrarianism to industrialism in the second half of the eighteenth century, 88 percent of all Negroes in 1890 remained in agriculture and domestic service. By 1900 the figure had dropped only to 86.7 percent.

To describe this phenomenon as a pattern of unequal employment opportunities is euphemistic. Only when viewed as an almost total exclusion from the national revolution in technology and economic organization can the Negro's experience prior to World War I be understood in terms of the lack of skills with which he met the twentieth century. This economic alienation of the Negro was of course paraleled by his deepening social and political alienation.

NEGRO HANDICAPPED BY LACK OF SKILLS AND RACE DISCRIMINATION

With the advent of World War I masses of Negroes migrated North, many of them refugees from technological displacement in Southern agriculture, and Negroes for the first time made an entry into modern industry. The rate of unemployment among the race was reduced and its earning capacity increased. Still, Negroes remained concentrated in domestic service and unskilled occupations throughout the prosperous Twenties, and their position was less secure than that of white workers. Although Negroes constituted only 5 percent of Detroit's male workers in 1926, 16 percent of them were unemployed.

The Negro's marginal economic position was catastrophically demonstrated during the Great Depression, in the course of which nearly half of his number in skilled occupations were displaced. In 1931, 60 percent of the black workers in Detroit were unemployed, as compared with 32 percent of the white workers. Unemployment among both races was understandably higher in the industrialized North than in the more agricultural South, but it is interesting to note that in the North, in 1937, Negro unemployment stood at 39 percent and white unemployment at 18 percent. In 1935, over half of the Negroes in Northern cities were on relief as compared with one-third in Southern cities.

Roosevelt's New Deal brought many benefits to the pauperized black man, but he remained industrially submerged on the eve of the defense buildup. For one thing, the Negro had been trained in small-scale construction and was handicapped when the government-financed construction programs were undertaken in the early Thirties. And, of course, racial discrimination persisted in hiring as it did in the administration of the welfare measures of the New Deal, especially in the South. As late as October 1940, approximately one-fourth of the Negro workforce was unemployed, as against 13 percent of the white workforce. Nor was the problem simply educational. Only 4 percent of all Negro college gratuates in 1940 had an annual of $2,500 or more; the figure for whites was 34 percent. That was after eight years of the New Deal.

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND RACE BIAS

Contrary to popular belief, the launching of the defense program in 1940, however much it aided white workers, did not automatically lead to a significant increase in the employment of Negroes in defense industries. Despite the anti-discrimination pronouncements of the New Deal administrators, Negroes continued to be barred from these industries. In meeting this situation, the Negro relearned a basic lesson: even from his friends he could expect little except through the exertion of vast social pressures.

Thus was born the March on Washington movement. Thousands of Negroes throughout the country, spearheaded by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, mobilized for a 100,000-strong convergence on the nation's capital with a demand for equal employment opportunities in the defense industries. Many efforts were made to have the March called off, and when it became clear that we would not be cajoled, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 in June, 1941. The Order reaffirmed the government's policy of non-discrimination and established the Fair Employment Practices Commission to investigate violations of this policy in defense industries.

How much FEPC was responsible for the rise in Negro employment after 1942 has been debated. Certainly, where FEPC was successful, it was accompanied by government pressure, trainingingopportunities and the existence of full employment. Without full employment generally, the effectiveness of FEP legislation would doubtless have been diminished as competition for jobs increased. It has never been possible to abstract the condition of the black worker from those of labor at large. And, as we have seen, the New Deal never succeeded in achieving full employment for either race until until the initiation of war production.

RISE OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

But with comparable importance with Executive Order 8802 for the Negro worker was the rise of industrial unionism in the late Thirties. For the first time since the decline of the Knights an active effort was made to bring black workers into the house of labor. Not surprisingly, the leaders of the new movement were those unions in which Negroes had all along been best represented, particularly the United Mine Workers, which in 1900 could claim one-third of the total organized Negro labor force. Negroes played an important role in organizing the steel workers and, in New York City, the Negro Labor Committee helped bring Negroes into a wide variety of CIO unions. Only isolated instances of segregated locals in the Southern textile industry marred the CIO's early non-discrimination policies. By 1940 the CIO had taken in 210,000 Negroes, who gradually acquired new industrial skills. In 1940, 4.4 percent of Negro male workers were skilled; four years later the figure had risen to 7.3 percent. Correspondingly, the figure for the semiskilled rose from 12 percent to 22.4 percent. It was also during this period that the Negro became predominantly urbanized.

Notwithstanding the large gains made by the Negro during these years in economic and civil rights - thanks largely to the militance of industrial unionism - the precariousness of his position was demonstrated anew at the war's end. With the curtailment of defense production, Negroes lost their jobs faster than whites. Not only did they lack seniority, but many were concentrated in those defense industries that were least convertible to peacetime production. Black labor's plight was callously aggravated when Congress killed the FEPC in 1946.

GOVERNMENT ABANDONMENT OF NEGRO TO ECONOMIC OPPRESSION

In withdrawing its support of the equal opportunities principle, Congress paved the way for the inevitable decline of skilled Negro craftsmen and foremen. Having won the war against racism abroad, with the help of her thirteen million Negroes, the nation apparently no longer felt constrained to continue that war at home. Once again the federal government had abandoned the Negro to economic oppression.

Certainly recent years have seen progress in the Negro's struggle for equal opportunities. In the absence of federal legislation, a score of states and numerous cities have enacted their own FEP program, varying in scope and enforceability. Direct action by Negroes at the 1948 Democratic Party convention was largely responsible for President Truman's Executive Order 9981 ending segregation in the armed forces. President Kennedy's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, established in March 1961, is a considerable improvement over its phlegmatic predecessor, though it still lacks some of the powers of Roosevelt's FEPC. That discrimination persists in employment created by federal grant-in-aid and loan programs, as well as in national guard and reserve units, is documented in the 1961 Civil Rights Commission Report. Moreover, the Commission has reported that: "Efforts of the Federal Government to promote nondiscriminatory employment by Government contractors and Federal agencies have not generally been effective in overcoming resistance to hiring Negroes in any but the lower categories."

The labor movement has made welcome advances. During the Forties, there were still twenty-six AFL affiliates whose constitutions barred Negroes from membership - and thus from fruitful employment. Today only the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen explicitly excludes Negroes. Twenty-six international unions and seventeen state central bodies have established civil rights committees. One and a half million Negroes now reside in the house of labor and they have won increasing representation in labor's governing councils, even in the South. The 1961 AFL-CIO Civil Rights resolution forthrightly proclaimed: "The AFL-CIO is in the forefront of the civil rights revolution in our land. It is a foremost force in the drive to eliminate and prevent every form of race discrimination and race injustice in the American community." It is not without interest that no comparable statement has come from any national manufacturing organization.

Still, resolutions are not enough. In apprenticeship training, hiring policies, seniority lists, pay scales, job assignments and the like, discrimination persists in too many locals, especially in the building trades. Negroes continue to be barred from some unions, segregated in others. To combat these evils, hundreds of Negro trade unionists banded together in 1959 to found the Negro American Labor Council. Loyal to the labor movement and recognizing it as the most progressive institution in our society, the NALC has fought vigorously to cleanse the trade unions of every vestige of Jim Crow. Racism, we have insisted, is uniquely incompatible with labor's needs and aspirations; it is no less an evil than Communism and corruption and must be met with equal severity.

Many of our white liberal friends have been perplexed or irritated by the seeming "impatience" of the NALC, while gratified by the "impatience" of the Southern Negro students. They are incensed by the cruder forms of racism in Dixie, but point to the progress of black workers elsewhere.

AUTOMATION

That progress in employment opportunities has been made during the past century is as foolish to deny as it is fruitless to proclaim.

That progress has been made does not gainsay the fact that the Negro today faces an economic crisis without precedent. For progress is relative, and we are in a period when rapid movement is required merely to stand still.

The crisis confronting the Negro worker today can be summed up in one work: Automation. The displacement of men by machines hits the unskilled and semiskilled workers first and hardest, and these are the jobs to which Negroes have been relegated.

As late as 1955, only 12 percent of the Negro workforce had risen into professional, technical, managerial, and white-collar clerical and sales jobs, as opposed to 42 percent of the whites. Forty-seven percent of the Negroes were in service and other unskilled jobs. Another 15 percent were in agriculture. At present there is no skilled craft in which Negroes constitute even 2 percent of the total! More ominous than the figures themselves is the fact that the elevation rate of the Negro into more skilled occupations has fallen behind the rate of automation displacement.

Nowhere is the crisis more starkly revealed than in the unemployment figures. Far from indicating progress, they point to an almost steady deterioration in the position of the black worker. Whereas the unemployment rate during the years 1947-1955 did not exceed 8.9 percent for Negroes and 4.6 percent for whites, the rate in 1958 was 12.6 percent and 6.1 percent respectively. The Bureau of Labor Statistics for August 1962 show 11.4 percent of the Negro workforce unemployed as against 4.6 percent of the white.

Thus, despite all progress, the black unemployment rate has remained double that of whites for decades, and at the moment is two and one-half times that of whites. A recession for white workers is a depression for black workers.

The extent to which the Negro unemployment rate is due to automation is suggested in the statistics on chronic unemployment. Most of the chronically unemployed are victims of technological displacement. At present, among those unemployed for more than fifteen weeks, 23.8 percent are nonwhite.

Statistics can be endlessly elaborated. Their meaning is plain: the relative position of the Negro in the economy has remained astonishingly static over the years and the future threatens even that woeful position. The Negro is not the only loser. Automation is likely to create more skilled jobs than men to fill them, according to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Yet, as a nation we passively observe the languishing of untapped talent in stagnant pools of unskilled labor continuously drained by automation into the sewers of unemployment. Such is the plight of Black America. Of course, progress is being made, but it is not enough and the pace is too slow.

May God give us the strength, faith, wisdom and courage that in these trying and agonizing days of struggle for freedom and human dignity we may never falter.

3/22/63

A CALL TO ACTION TO THE BLACK LABORING MASSES BY THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL, TO FIGHT FOR JOBS AND JUSTICE AND THE RIGHT TO LEARN, FOR ABILITY AND OPPORTUNITY TO EARN A LIVING.

INTRODUCTION

And Jesus spake unto the multitude:

> "I have compassion upon the poor; they have been with me three days and have had nothing to eat; I will not have them return to their houses fasting for they may fall by the wayside; for divers come from far."
>
> \- St. Matthew 16:32 -

That every human being has a God-given right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is an article of faith of our American Christian-democratic society.

Negro workers are at the bottom of the totem pole of jobs and wages.

Black workers, being chiefly unskilled and semi-skilled, are hardest hit by automation.

Negro workers' rate of unemployment is twice that of white workers.

Negro workers are generally excluded from the Right to Learn in order to Earn.

A major, continuing and distressing jobs crisis marks the 100th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation. It poses a monumental challenge to the survival and progress of the Negro community in general, and the black laboring masses in particular. When black workers are without jobs they are without wages; without wages they are without purchasing power, and without purchasing power they cannot secure food, clothing or shelter - the essentials of life.

But this challenge can only be met with a fighting faith in and an everlasting dedication to the cause of complete triumph of the liberation of Negro labor from the slavery of segregation, second-class citizenship, and the concept of hereditary racial inferiority in the House of Labor, industry and government today - not tomorrow.

Our struggle against the doctrine and practice of white supremacy in labor unions, industry and government involves the very salvation of black youth, our most priceless racial asset, our greatest wealth. Thousands of black youth can be found to be high school drop-outs and roving denizens of darkening and dismal ghettos, whose lives are being tragically wasted in idleness.

ADVENT OF NALC

It was in New York City, July, 1959 the Negro American Labor Council began its controversial life, to awaken, arouse and mobilize the black laboring forces in a nationwide, massive assault upon racial barriers in unions, industry and government.

Its high mission is to wake up Negro labor, the most brutalized, oppressed and exploited of the workers in America, to the realization that it must stand on its own feet and fight for its economic salvation, for its very life.

NALC has the responsibility to keep the Negro community deeply conscious of the fact that jobs, more jobs, and better jobs is the pressing No. 1 issue with Negro America. It must keep Jobs for Negroes as top priority in the consciousness of black and white America.

It must keep on holding out the warning signs that Negro America must move now for employment opportunities if it expects to achieve meaningful goals of progress in our rapidly changing, automated industrial American society.

NALC must teach black America, the large majority of whom are workers, to understand that it must develop and maintain alliance with its natural ally, organized labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and/or any bona fide trade union.

True to its historic mission, NALC in its first convention in Detroit, mounted a massive and militant attack upon race bias in unions, industry and government which gave not only expression to anger and anguish, aspirations and faith of the voiceless millions of black workers in labor organizations, on jobs, in factories, farms, mills and mines, but shocked and shook union labor out of its complacency concerning the shame of the union color bar.

WHY NALC?

NALC was a response to a deepening and threatening racial-economic crisis stemming from structured black ghetto poverty and marginal economic opportunities lost in the backwaters of social and cultural deprivations which gives rise to frustration, if not desperation, that ever and anon manifest itself in intermittent violent interracial eruptions. It is a matter of common knowledge that the germs of race bias breed in the slums of poverty, insecurity and fear. Thus, an impoverished, unemployed Negro working class without the light of hope is sheer social dynamite.

PHILOSOPHY

What is the basic mission of NALC?

The Negro American Labor Council is unequivocally committed to racial equality, freedom and human dignity for black workers in the House of Labor, industry and government, and to free, democratic trade unionism. This is its major reason for existence.

WHAT IS NALC?

NALC is not a labor union and does not seek to negotiate or police wage contracts, adjust grievances (except when race bias is involved) or become the bargaining agent of any group of workers.

It is a labor organization of Negro workers, but without the color bar.

It is not anti-AFL-CIO, it is pro AFL-CIO.

It is anti-racial discrimination in the AFL-CIO.

It is not a civil rights movement. It is a labor's rights movement, but supports civil rights struggles as represented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Urban League and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Council.

It seeks implementation of its principles of racial labor equality through cooperation with the AFL-CIO within the House of Labor, without relenting in policy and program through pressure of education and factual criticism from without.

NALC recognizes and accepts its responsibility vigorously to defend the AFL-CIO when unjustly attacked, since black and white workers are brothers whether or not they are always conscious of this fact and, therefore, must build and maintain the House of Labor.

NALC is not anti-white but pro-Negro.

NALC is anti-Communist, anti-Fascist and anti-Racist, opposing black, as well as white, supremacy.

It is nonpartisan but not nonpolitical.

NALC rejects the doctrine of progress through racial segregation or separation, but advocates integration as the sound road to liberation from racial discrimination while recognizing the soundness, value and necessity of Negroes themselves taking the initiative in developing movements to build the power with which to strike down barriers of race.

NALC is anti-Communist because Communists seek infiltration for the domination of the Council, in order to use it as a propaganda tool to brainwash Negro workers to advance the fortunes and schemes of world power of Communist Russia in the United States and Africa.

NALC does not only reject Communist ideology because Communists and Communism are antidemocracy - the only political framework within which civil rights and free, democratic trade unionism can survive and develop - but it would disestablish itself rather than fall into the hands of this immoral, anti-freedom of the individual, monolithic system of dictatorship.

NALC is anti the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions because it is anti free, democratic trade unionism and is committed to the doctrine and practice of trade unions being shackled as organs of the state, without the right to strike.

ICFTU

The Negro American Labor Council is committed to support the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions as the only sound and bona fide representative of the free world of labor.

It does not condemn or oppose, however, Pan-African labor unionism, nor does it equate Pan-African labor unionism with Pan-African labor union isolationism but considers the growth, strength, independence and integrity of the Pan African labor movement compatible with its membership in the ICFTU, the value of which as a world forum to African labor is inestimable.

PROBLEM

(a) The rate of unemployment of Negro workers is twice that of white workers. During the last five years the unemployment rate fluctuated between 5.5 and 7 percent for the country as a whole, but for Negroes the rate fluctuated between 11 and 14 percent.

(b) Today there are, perhaps,a million and one-half jobless Negro workers in the country, an incredible, staggering and tragic condition.

(c) Of the lowest one-fifth of American families that currently receive an average annual income of $1,500 Negroes are disproportionately concentrated.

(d) Exclusion from apprenticeship training programs by some trade unions and also from participation in on-job-training programs in mass production industries, such as automobile, steel and rubber.

(e) The menace of token progress which is the illusion of progress and an attempted appeasement of discontent.

(f) Negroes' average annual median wage is just little more than half of white workers' annual wage.

THE REMEDY
or
WHAT IS TO BE DONE

1. Wake up the black workers and the Negro community to the consciousness of their economic plight and their power to change it.

2. Inform, educate and stimulate Negro workers to raise and press the issue of civil rights at the local union level, for the purpose of wiping out race bias and achieving first-class citizenship.

3. Cooperate with city, central, and state federated labor bodies in fighting for civil rights and labor's rights when possible, and fight to desegregate segregated city, central and state federated bodies wherever they exist.

4. Whenever race bias is claimed to exist in a union, a job, or industry, first consult with the leader of the union before condemning the union and before seeking conference with the employer.

5. Employ the picket line against a union on account of race bias only after the said race bias is definitely and factually established and serious, reasonable conferences, with the leaders of the local union and its national body and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO, have failed.

6. NALC does not accept the doctrine of union decertification on account of race bias, except through representation elections of bona fide rival unions which receive a majority vote of the membership of the racially unions and is designated as the duly authorized bargaining agent; the said victorious rival unions being chosen by the membership to take over and police the existing contracts to protect the members of the unions from the persecution and oppression of the employers.

BODY OF LAW ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN UNIONS, INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT

While the Negro American Labor Council agrees with the idea of developing a body of law - judicial, legislative and executive - to outlaw race bias in unions, industry and government, it does not regard the policy of decertification of trade unions as basically sound and constructive.

Decertification of a union should only obtain when its members cease to support it with their votes and dollars.

The goal of the fight of NALC against race bias in unions is not to destroy the unions any more than the fight against race bias in schools is to destroy the schools or the fight against race bias in industry is to destroy industry or the fight against race bias in government is to destroy government. The basic objective is to destroy race bias in the unions, in industry, in schools and government.

NALC agrees to the use of legal action to compel unions to abolish exclusionary or any discriminatory policies based upon race.

NALC supports a policy of expulsion of national and international unions that practice racial discrimination from the AFL-CIO.

NALC advocates a policy of picketing unions that discriminate against workers because of race or color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

NALC demands the cancellation of contracts by the Federal Government with contractors that recruit workers from unions that discriminate against workers because of race.

NALC views the struggle against racism in organized labor as having a dual objective, both of which are vitally important and imperative. First, is the goal of complete integration and democracy in unions and full and unequivocal equality for all union members. Second, is the positive need for greatly strengthened alliance between the Negro and Labor, as part of a broad coalition for democratic progress in the nation.

This alliance can never be fully achieved so long as Jim Crowism continues to raise its ugly head in the trade union movement.

Neither can it be realized if those of us fighting this battle lose our perspective and forget that labor's and the Negro's interests are the same, such as the need for decent wages, fair working conditions, healthful integrated housing, old age security, health and welfare measures; conditions in which families can grow, with education for their children and respect in the community.

This is why enlightened Negroes support labor's demands and fight to defeat legislation which curbs labor.

This is why enlightened labor supports civil rights legislation and moves to abolish race bias in its unions.

This is why a labor hater and Negro baiter is virtually always a twin-headed monster spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and antilabor propaganda from the other.

Thus, NALC turns down the doctrine of decertification for the following reasons:

The Negro civil rights freedom movement and the labor movement are the most dynamic, cohesive and authentic liberal forces in the country and can become the architects of political, economic and social democracy in our land - but only if they maintain an alliance.

Decertification of trade unions, which amounts to taking away recognition - the priceless historical goal of the workers for which they have fought harder than for wages - can only result in a serious disorientation among the ranks of the workers, black and white, thereby weakening the alliance between the Negro community and the labor community and strengthening the forces of organized capitalism.

Decertification of unions, under the rules of the National Labor Relations Act, deprives them of their right to appeal against unfair labor practices committed by employers - employers that are opposed to union labor, black and white.

The probable net effect of decertification may permit employers to engage in a campaign of vicious union-busting, striekbreaking, firing of union militants and blacklisting.

It may tend to substitute an employer-Negro alliance for a Negro-labor alliance, in that it would provide an incentive for antiunion employers to encourage decertification action by well-meaning civil rights organizations.

It may have the regrettable effect of causing our white union brothers to misunderstand the purpose of decertification and regard the Negro liberation movement as a grave threat to the very existence of the labor movement.

Moreover, the Negro trade unionist may be torn between his needs as a worker for unionism and his needs as a Negro fighting for freedom and equality, a division which can do irreparable damage to both the civil rights movement and the labor movement.

Decertification is hardly any more justifiable as a method of dealing with race bias in unions than the disincorporation by the state of a business or industry, or the discontinuance of public schools or government agencies on account of racial discrimination.

The main object is to eliminate race discrimination from every area of unions, industry, schools and government, not to remain out of the areas because race bias is in them.

If the Negro should take the position that he is going to remain out of everything race prejudice is in he will get out of the labor movement, industry, schools, and all sections of government, for racial bias is in everything in America. In fact, if he should follow to the limits of his racail logic, he will get out of America.

But the purpose of the fight against race bias is not to get out of anything race discrimination is in, but to get into the racially prejudiced areas and drive the monster of race bias out.

BLACK LABOR MUST BUILD STRENGTH TO STRUGGLE FOR JOBS AND JUSTICE

Recognition by black labor of the role of education, organization and agitation in the struggle for liberation from the bondage of racial segregation, discrimination and exploitation is indispensable.

Realization by black labor that black labor must bear the cross to lead black labor to achieve a new emancipation from marginal, industrial and technical manpower utilization is necessary.

Abolition of the concept of the hereditary racial inferiority of Negro labor and all forms of race bias in labor, industry and government is essential.

Recognition of the value, importance and necessity of alliance between black and white labor, with the understanding that alliance is not to be equated with reliance of one upon the other. Alliance implies cooperation upon terms of equality whereas reliance of black labor upon white labor implies weakness and a sense of inferiority. Nor should an alliance between the Negro civil rights movement and the labor movement be designed to suspend or eliminate mutual criticism. Mutual criticism is necessary and constructive because no movement is always wholly right or wholly wrong.

Cooperation between black and white labor, in the fight for liberal civil rights, labor, and social legislation, and opposition to antilabor and anti-civil rights legislation, such as Right-to-Work laws and attempts to place labor under antitrust laws, must be developed.

Verily, black and white labor don't fight each other because they hate each other, but they hate each other because they fear each other, and they fear each other because they don't know each other, and they don't know each other because they lack contact and communication with each other, which stems from racial segregation and discrimination.

Thus, black and white labor should develop and carry on common struggles for minimum wage legislation of $1.50 an hour.

Black and white labor should cooperate in the struggles to organize the low-paid hospital workers and migrant farm labor.

Black and white labor should stage massive demonstrations together for civil rights, labor's rights, and jobs, more jobs and better jobs for Negro and Puerto Rican workers.

Black and white labor should cooperate and stage demonstrations, against unemployment and for massive public works, through marches and mobilization in Washington.

May 15, 1963

WHY THE EMANCIPATION MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS?

by

A. Philip Randolph, National President
Negro American Labor Council

He who would be free must himself first strike the blow!

Only the awakened oppressed can disturb their oppressors. Unless the oppressed constantly disturb the conscience of the oppressors, the oppressors will not move to abolish oppression.

Obviously, if Negroes would be free they must free themselves, for it is the verdict of history that the salvation of a people must come from within. This is a basic reason for the Emancipation March on Washington for Jobs.

Verily, black Americans must bear their own cross of crucifixion!

It is only realistic to expect that Negroes should initiate, organize, conduct and maintain demonstration such as marches, sit-ins and boycotts against Jim Crow that are certain to be resisted with attacks of police brutality, imprisonment and the danger to life and limb by the Simon Legrees in the Egypt of southern racial bondage.

By the same token, only the Jews can be expected to give up their liberty and life for Jews, such as occurred in the memorable Warsaw Ghetto Uprising against their Hitler-Nazi murderers.

Only Catholics can be expected to fight, go to prison and die for Catholics. History is replete with the nobility of martyrdom by Catholics for their faith.

Only union labor can be expected to fight, go to jail and die for their fellow brothers of the working class. Since the uprising of the peasants against the oppression of their feudal lords, the battlegrounds of labor and capital have been marked by the blood and death of labor for the status of free workers and human dignity.

It can well-nigh be mathematically demonstrated that the nature of the challenge determines the nature of the response. If the challenge is vacillating and weak the response will be vacillating and weak. If the challenge is firm, militant and powerful the response will be affirmative, decisive and positive.

Moreover, the nature, magnitude and difficulty of the problem should determine the nature, magnitude and scope of the challenge.

Thus, in this nuclear-space age, the problem of racial joblessness requires a powerful challenge such as a massive March on Washington for Jobs to achieve constructive accelerated change.

And it is important to note that despite the mighty, brutal power of the slavemasters, Negro slaves staged insurrection after insurrection against slavery in every colony under King George III, as well as in every state in the Union, though the leaders, Gabriel, Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey, and many of their followers, were put to death.

But does this mean that Negroes should reject and resent help from our white brothers and sisters because they are white?

The answer is no, not at all.

Negroes, like other oppressed peoples, should not only welcome but expect support from their natural allies; namely, labor unions, Jews and Catholics, none of whom are yet fully free from varied forms of discrimination in our American community and, conversely, labor unions, Jews and Catholics are justified in expecting and inviting support from Negroes.

Nor have Negroes been completely deserted by their white brothers and sisters during this long night of oppression.

You have only to point to William Moore, a white Southerner and member of the Congress of Racial Equality who, on a challenging and solemn one-man march through Dixie, laid down his life upon the sacred altar of civil rights - a testament of the highest form of spiritual heroism.

But this is not all!

Who can question the honored and dedicated service, for the freedom and human dignity of black Americans, rendered by such noble American liberals as Arthur Spingarn, Alfred Baker Lewis, Allan Knight Chalmers, and Mary White Ovington, one of the founders of the NAACP; Norman Thomas, Frank P. Graham, Father John LaFarge, John Haynes Holmes, Roger Baldwin, Jim Peck of CORE, and the late Eleanor Roosevelt, First Lady of the world?

And there are the famous Freedom Riders, composed of Negro and white Americans, who defied Jim Crow bus terminals in Mississippi and, like Paul and Silas, bore witness to the Judeo-Christian tradition of Christian brotherhood in prison.

All oppressed peoples must unite to fight oppression!

All workers must unite to fight exploitation!

No oppressed group can win freedom alone!

No single group of workers can win the fight for job security alone!

Freedom is indivisible and the fight for freedom must be indivisible!

Black supremacy is as objectionable as white supremacy!

Black racism is as dangerous as white racism or anti-Semitism!

There are various forces in our American society that determine its course. These forces may be identified as the business community, labor community, liberal community, educational community, medical community, southern community, and Negro, Jewish, Catholic and Protestant communities. They are often rivals and bitter opponents, fighting for some special program and status from the major political power centers, such as the municipal, state and federal areas of government.

But, in these times of world-shaking events, only those communities or movements that possess the power and know-how to register an effective impact upon the public consciousness and the agencies of the government, so as to constitute a threat to their image, stability and power, will ever get any public or government attention.

Our American society only makes a response of approval or disapproval on a moral issue when faced by a sharp, positive challenge. In other words, the chief motivation necessary to the achievement of a public consensus favorable to a great moral issue, such as first-class citizenship for the Negro, is not only that the cause be morally right but that sufficient leverage of pressure be developed through both organization and dramatization.

The dramatization of a social or racial issue can best be achieved by the thrust of masses of people into motion, in the form of various types of demonstrations - marches, sit-ins, boycotts and all-night vigils.

Explosive and sharpening racial conflicts between Negro civil rights movements and the South are inevitable and will most likely grow worse before getting better if no basic solution of the problem is soon effected.

But while violent Negro and white racial confrontations lie ahead, that may give rise to grave interracial troubles, if not bloodshed, they will tend to tear away the racial shams and hypocrisies and serve as the midwife of a new, fresh, frank and creative understanding upon which, alone, sound interracial progress can be built.

Unleashing police dogs upon Negroes in Birmingham, Alabama, who were only marching for the privilege of exercising their constitutional rights as free American citizens; the arrest of thousands of Negroes, including children; and turning floods of water from fire hoses upon peaceful people is a spectacle of incredible barbarism and racial sadism which has precipitated a grave crisis of confidence between the races, not only in backward Alabama but in all America.

Obviously, the world is witnessing the end of an era; the era of the vicious and indefensible doctrine and practice of white supremacy based upon the false concept of the hereditary inferiority of the Negro.

It is a fact of history that no social order surrenders power, control and status without a struggle; thus it is natural that the Old South with its dying color-caste culture, like a wounded beast in its death throes of frustration and fear, strikes out with deadly violence against the Negro, its imagined foe.

This wound upon the soul of Black America will not soon be healed!

Every Negro who watched, on television, Negro men, women and children struggle to carry on their peaceful demonstrations against Jim Crow in all of its manifestations must have been compelled to exclaim, "There, but for the grace of God, go I."

This unspeakable attack upon Dr. Martin Luther King, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, and Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, their co-workers, and the thousands of awakened and aroused Negro masses, is considered as an attack upon every Negro in America.

Negroes must march in massive array in order that every Negro may have an opportunity to strike a blow for more, and better, jobs.

A million and a half Negro workers are unemployed.

While Negroes constitute about 11 percent of the workforce, they represent 22 percent of the jobless.

Negro workers also represent 36 percent of the long-term unemployed.

Black workers, because of race, and being largely unskilled, are the first fired and the last hired.

Negro teenagers constitute a disproportionately large number, probably a quarter of a million, of the one million unemployed workers.

Negroes have been barred from the opportunity to Learn through apprenticeship and training in order to Earn.

A massive march will help wake up the Negro who, in turn, will help to wake up President Kennedy's administration, and serve to shake the public conscience out of its complacency about the tragedy of Negro joblessness.

Sick and tired of being insulted, humiliated, exploited and oppressed, the Negro in the South, under courageous, honest and brilliant leadership, stands face to face with the white South, unafraid and undismayed by prison or death. He is certain to win his struggle for racial and social justice and human dignity.

Let us help keep the lamps of freedom burning in the land, through revolutionary racial protest and nonviolent, direct mass action, for if they go out they may not be relighted for a hundred years!

This can effectively be done by a nationwide, massive, monumental Emancipation March on Washington for Jobs.

LET THE NEGRO LABORING MASSES SPEAK!

SUMMARY OF CCD MASS MEDIA COMMITTEE MEETING, JUNE 14, 1963

Among those present: Whitney Young, Guichard Parris, Edith Macy, Evelyn Broide, National Urban League; Bernice Bridges, National Social Welfare Assembly; Louisa Hager, Young Women's Christian Association; Father Philip Hurley, Catholic Interracial Council; Sonya Kaufer, American Jewish Committee; Jean Luckey, American Baptist Convention; Carrie Meares, United Church Women; Risa Pollack, National Council of Jewish Women; Marvin Rich, Congress of Racial Equality; Henry Schwartzchild and Stanley Wexler, Anti-Defamation League; Jac Wasserman, National Sharecroppers Fund; Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union; Amram Nowack, American Jewish Congress; Harry Fleischman and Evelyn Kirshner, National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee.

1. With his legislative effort sputtering and with Negro revolution increasing in its impetus, President Kennedy's speech on national television ringingly raised the moral issues involved. All agreed that the soundest reason why whites should want to get rid of race discrimination is not that Negroes are protesting, but that bias violates justice and morality.

Suggestions were made that we try to get the three major TV networks to simultaneously present a broadcast in support of the President's program. National organizations are asked to urge their local affiliates to call on local radio-TV stations to editorialize in support of that program. It was hoped that such activity might influence local organizations and citizens to take a more active role in support of civil rights.

2. Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, discussed with the Committee a massive domestic Marshall Plan to help ready Negroes for acceptance of their legal rights. The plan would include the elimination of Negro ghettos, provisions for better schools and teachers, assurance to qualified Negroes of all types of employment and job advancement and guarantees of "first-class citizenship."

The concept of equal opportunity is not enough. Something must be done about the despair and hopelessness that has been plaguing the Negro for 300 years. Negroes should be given preferential treatment to help them catch up to their fellow whites. There must be tangible evidence that things will be better, people must realize its reality. The Negro today is impatient, he wants his due. He wants to feel that he is capable of making a major contribution to his community. Mr. Young called for a special national effort to overcome the damaging effects of generations of denial, and urged that both public and private social agencies cooperate in this massive program.

Mr. Young felt that the Black Muslim were being built up by the mass media, which gave them too much favorable publicity, thus painting a distorted picture of what the Negro is really fighting for. They do not help the civil rights movement. He urged the mass media to expose the racist character of the Black Muslims rather than play them up. He suggested that Negro organizations ignore the Black Muslims, and refuse to appear on TV or radio with any Black Muslim people.

3. The problem of unfair reporting by magazines and newspapers of the Negro situation was discussed. It was felt that predictions of inevitable violence are getting too much publicity. It was suggested that a seminar be held for the press stressing the importance of improving the reporting of the racial crisis. It was suggested that Fisk University or the Columbia School of Journalism might be willing to hold such a conference with the Southern Regional Council. It was

also felt that individual visits by top leaders in the civil rights movement to top leaders of the press stressing this need for fair reporting would be very helpful to civil rights progress.

It was suggested that a fact sheet on the Black Muslims should be prepared for distribution to the mass media giving them background, numbers, reasons for opposition and other material. Editors would appreciate such information. The press should encourage reports of progress, the non-violent demonstrations and the importance of bi-racial discussions and actions.

4. Three proposed constitutional amendments that would radically change the United States system of government are moving quickly but quietly through the nation's state legislatures. (See attached article from The Machinist, June 20, 1963.)

During the six months since the campaign began, the amendments have been introduced in as many as 40 states. Although several legislatures have rejected the proposals, others still have them under consideration. A survey has shown that one, two and even all three of the proposals have been pushed through one or both legislative bodies in 26 states, often with little or no debate.

The members of the Committee were urged to encourage their local chapters to call upon their members and other citizens, bar associations, civic groups, religious bodies to join in an effort to inform the nation about these proposals and to urge state legislatures to defeat them. In New Jersey, the State Senate passed two of the amendments, but later rescinded its actions because of the strong pressure exerted by the New Jersey Bar Association.

5. The Civil Rights Story; a Year's Review, by Theodore Leskes, covers the period October 1, 1961 to September 30, 1962. It highlights the provisions of civil rights laws enacted by state legislatures during 1962; the Meredith case; federal civil rights activities; developments in the Federal legislative, executive and judicial branches and recommendations of the Civil Rights Commission regarding higher education, voting, employment, public education, housing and the administration of justice; desegregation in public schools; the status of desegregation in the 17 southern and border states; and actions against de facto segregation in the north. Copies are available from the National Labor Service, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y., at 25¢ per copy, $20.00 per hundred.

6. Apprenticeship Training in New York, a handbook to help young people secure training for skilled trades in existing apprenticeship programs. This handbook is a compilation of apprenticeship opportunities in New York at the present time. Copies are available free of charge from the Workers Defense League, Committee on Minority Employment Rights, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York.

7. Letter from Birmingham City Jail, by Martin Luther King, Jr. Eight of Alabama's ranking white religious leaders issued a formal statement terming the Negro protest action "unwise and untimely." They commended the white community, the local dailies and "law enforcement officers, in particular, on the calm manner in which these demonstrations had been handled," and ended by saying: "We further strongly urge our own Negro community to withdraw support from these demonstrations, and to unite locally in working peacefully for a better Birmingham." From his cell in the Birmingham jail, Dr. King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, answered the white religious leaders. Copies are available

-more-from the American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania, at 10¢ per copy. Quantity prices on request.

8. The North and West Have Problems, Too, by G. W. Foster, Jr. Reprinted from the April 20, 1963 issue of Saturday Review. This article deals with school segregation arising from residential patterns, the concepts of the neighborhood school, and the problem of the slum school. Professor Foster reviews the methods now employed to overcome de facto segregation. Placed in the hands of school boards, administrators, teachers and concerned citizens, this article can help to raise the level of understanding and practical action to cope with one of the most serious problems facing America today. Copies are available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, or the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, at 10¢ each, $7.50 per hundred

9. Business - Next Target for Integration, by John Perry. Reprinted from Harvard Business Review, March-April 1963. Until now business has been left pretty much alone, and for the most part management has followed a do-nothing policy; but forces are gathering which may well develop into active conflict. Copies are available from Harvard Business Review, Soldiers Field, Boston 63, Massachusetts, at $1.00 per copy, quantity prices on request.

10. North Cautioned by Urban League; Broad Plan Offered to Close Gap Between Races and Avert Negro Violence, reprinted from The New York Times, June 10, 1963. Article on the speech made by Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League at the Commodore Hotel. Copies are available from the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York 17, N. Y., without charge.

11. A statement by the Board of Trustees of the National Urban League, urging a crash program of special effort to close the gap between the conditions of Negro and white citizens. Copies are available from the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York 17, at 10¢ per copy.

12. Federal Programs to Promote Employment and Development in Rural Communities, by M. Hayes Mizell. This report is the outgrowth of a conference held at Penn Community Center in the winter of 1963. Copies are available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

13. Businessmen Point the Way, contains texts of statements made by business groups in a number of Southern cities calling on all businesses serving the public to desegregate. Copies are available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

14. The Great Question, a guide for community action for human rights, sponsored by 34 national organizations. Copies are available from the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, at 50¢ per copy, $35.00 per hundred. (See attached brochure.)

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman, Chairman
Mass Media Committee, CCD

STATEMENT OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS,
[redacted] AT HEARINGS of Emergency Board ON DISPUTES BETWEEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, PULLMAN COMPANY, CHICAGO,
ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY, NEW YORK CENTRAL SYSTEM,
AND SOO LINE RAILROAD COMPANY, Chicago, Ill, July 22, 1963

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Introduction

STATEMENT ON CASE OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS BEFORE NATIONAL EMERGENCY BOARD.

in the railroad industry

1 Let me make it clear to the honorable members of this National Emergency Board that the chief, if not the only, reason we are here seeking the statutory 40-hour week, or 173-hour workmonth for sleeping car porters is that we are Negroes. All but a very small ~~portion~~ number of white workers already have the 40 hour week, and those white workers that don't have supervise Negro workers.

Following the end of the Civil War, the Freedmen, inheritors of a legacy of a quarter thousand years of slavery - a labor system with no wage and a workday from sunup to sundown - were easily recruited by the Pullman Company for a low wage, with a workmonth of thirty days and thirty nights.

With a virtually unlimited labor supply of the newly emancipated slaves who exhibited a ready mastery of the technology of the sleeping car porters' occupation, together with the economic fact of the major value product of these workmen being greater than the major cost, the Pullman Company wrote its own ticket with respect to wage, worktime and working conditions of the Freedmen for practically ~~three quarters of~~ a century. During the greater part of this economic history, the Pullman Company enjoyed the status of a blue chip corporation.

Being ethnic victims of a pattern of skilled-craft occupational deprivation which results in low wage income levels, Pullman porters have enjoyed little, if any, inter-occupational mobility, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ captured, as it were, in a blind alley marginal job opportunity trap.

Because of the prevailing concept of the ~~Negxx~~ hereditary racial inferiority of the Negro, black workers have not been able to close the wage, hours of work, and working conditions dichotomy between white and non-white workers in the railroad industry, as shown by the fact that non-white train service employees is the one significant segment of railroad workers ~~that~~ which lacks the 40-hour week, or 173-hour workmonth and is at the bottom wage and working-conditions totem-pole.

Being unequal in the race of the American wage earners to earn a living, beginning, as it were, with the handicap of bondage, and despite the noble and morally valid statement of the Declaration of Independence that it is a "self-evident" truth that "all men are created equal," all Negro laborers, including sleeping car porters, face the difficult problem of catching up in opportunities, wage rates and working conditions, with our white brothers.

With some racially closed unions and racially closed jobs, and entry into classes, for the right to learn in order to earn, being racially conditioned, in an increasingly and rapidly automated society, black labor is involved in a desperate struggle for economic survival.

It is such stark, forbidding economic realities that caused President Kennedy to make the following timely, though shocking, description of our segregated American society in his epoch-making civil rights message to the Congress:

> "The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section or state in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day; one-third as much chance of completing college; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man; twice as much chance of becoming unemployed; about one-seventh as much chance of earning ten thousand dollars a year; a life expectancy which is seven years less; and the prospect of earning half as much."

This economic plight of black America is the inevitable outcome of a long and hapless historical background, including a plantation labor system of servitude, under which not only were few economic functions differentiated and the number of specific handicrafts skills required, small, but the slave labor force was deliberately and systematically denied, by custom, practice and law, any form of skilled training except that which was necessary for the maintenance of a profitable plantation.

Thus, with the march of industrialization and urbanization of the South following the end of the Civil War in 1865, Negro workers never became the beneficiaries of the proliferation and specialization of occupations and the differentiation and compartmentalization of handicraft skills with economic growth and the development of the unionization of workers.

This racially exclusionary process of placing a roadblock to highly wage-rated skilled jobs resulted in the disproportionate concentration of Negro labor into the unskilled and semi-skilled categories which now causes them to be the chief victims of the progress of tecnology and automation since mere muscle power is no longer in great demand in the labor market.

Inequality in the utilization of manpower because of race or color is not only the cause of racial frustration, discontent and discord among one-tenth of the population, but it is uneconomic.

According to Elmo Roper, noted public relations analyst, racial discrimination and segregation represent a cost or loss of thirty billion dollars annually since, with similar educational and job opportunities, it is logical to assume that Negroes would develop comparable productive capabilities and purchasing power.

Because of the aforementioned economic conditions ~~Why should~~ a recession among white workers represents a depression among black ~~Negro~~ workers?

But such is the case which sets up a sort of racial pattern of disequilibrium with White labor.

Just as there is a wide gap in the work time of sleeping car porters, now ~~work~~ 51 hours a week while 95 percent of railroad workers have the 40-hour week, so the rate of unemployment of Negro workers, according to the U. S. Department of Labor, is twice the rate of unemployment of white workers.

Under-utilization of the physical and human resources of the nation, white or black, does not make for a sound rate of economic growth.

The Organization here seeks a solution to the familiar, if not perplexing, problems arising from the rapid porters' jobs abolition. To the individual sleeping car porter the decline in the number of jobs means not only insecurity in employment, but also, very frequently, loss of employment opportunity. Especially is this true of a large number of porters whose ages range above 50 years.

Job abolition among sleeping car porters may be primarily traceable to discontinuance of passenger operations, abandonment of Pullman and ~~[illegible]~~ districts, op~~erations~~, elimination ~~abandonment~~ of districts and agencies, and management's apparent indifference to the promotion and maintenance of passenger business, as shown by the shocking deterioration in equipment and service, including the unattractive appearance of terminals, dirty windows of parlor cars and coaches, lack of convenient train schedules, etcetera.

The Organization seeks a reduction in the workmonth and job protection to achieve more jobs, jobs' stabilization and protection in order to ameliorate the economic distress which plagues our members.

In the main, the Organization seeks increase in jobs to provide the means of living to porters ~~and their families~~, who have given their lives to the development and progress of the sleeping car business and employment stabilization, by arresting the rate of position abolition through penalization of the high rate or volume of disemployment.

~~Negroes~~ Just as Negroes have finished with the status of second-class citizenship in a first-class nation, porters ~~are~~ have finished with second-class economic ~~citizen~~ship in a first-class industry.

5

Occupations:

The classes of employees involved in the disputes with the Pullman Company and railway carriers are Sleeping Car Porters. Other classes of employees included in the membership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are Parlor Car and Coach Attendants, Train Porters and Dining Car Employees.

The Sleeping Car Porter's job requires: a)

(a) Preparation of sleeping cars for the reception of passengers which involves some preparatory work before departure of the train. This includes making ready the berths and furnishing the roomette, single room, compartment or ~~drawing room~~ drawing room with towels, drinking water, hat bag and coat hangers.

(b) A central factor to the efficient performance of the service of a sleeping car porter on a car with passengers with varying temperaments and tensions is the possession of a body of experience, which tends to make of him a practical WALKING psychologist. The average porter measures up to this difficult requirement.

(c) When all of the cars of a train cannot be accommodated on a terminal station platform, porters have the problem of carrying heavy luggage through, sometimes, several cars to a car convenient for detraining, which usually involves risk of back injury to the porter.

(d) A major responsibility of the sleeping car porter is the protection and safeguarding of the passengers's person and property and, especially, women and children. A sleeping or parlor car serves the function of a home on wheels, and requires continuous policing to insure security of person and property.

Working Conditions

Doubling Out:

Doubling out imposes a hardship upon a porter in an operation, for instance, such as that between New York City and Chicago. Doubling out on this run involves a porter arriving from New York City in Chicago at 9:30 A.M., leaving Chicago the same day at 5:00 p.m. on the return trip to New York City, without proper rest to rebuild his reserves of energy.

Sleep Period

When all sleeping space is sold on a train, which happens at times, a porter, on a trip comparable to the New York-Chicago run, is deprived of a night's sleep. Although he is paid for the loss of the sleep period, the physical impairment resulting from the loss of sleep period cannot be equated with ~~the~~ compensation for same.

Start here In the interest of reducing cost of operation, Pullman built ~~a~~ sleeping space or, more accurately described, a hole, at the end of sleeping cars, which was both too short and too narrow for comfort, FOR THE AVERAGE PORTER, as well as too cold in winter and too hot in summer for any human being. But porters were required to sleep in it. Although a few of these hot and cold boxes still exist, on account of the vigorous opposition by the Organization to them ~~the~~ Management no longer requires porters to sleep in them. They are now used for cleaning utensils and excess baggage.

A long-standing grievance of porters is inadequate pay for the performance of the combination job known as in-charge assignments, which includes both the work of a porter and a conductor. The rate of pay is ____________.
In-charge assignments usually exist on trains hauling only one Pullman car.

Agreements

Since the Brotherhood signed an agreement with the Pullman Company in 1937 it has negotiated agreements at various times with the following railway carriers:

Alton Railway Company
Atlantic Coast Line Railway Company
Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company
Canadian Pacific Railway Company
Central of Georgia Railroad Company
Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company
Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railway Company
Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railway Company
Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad Company
Chicago and North Western Railway Company
Cotton Belt Railroad Company
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company
Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company
Erie Railroad Company
Fort Worth and Denver Railroad Company
Gulf, Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company

XXXXX

Illinois Central Railroad Company
International Great Northern Railroad Company
Kansas City Southern Railroad Company
Lehigh Valley Railroad Company
Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad Company
Missouri Pacific Railroad Company
Northern Alberta Railways
New York Central System
New York, New Haven and Hartford Railway Company
Santa Fe Railroad Company
Santa Fe and Gulf Coast Railroad Company
Seaboard Air Line Company
Soo Line Railroad Company
Southern Pacific Railroad Company
Texas and Pacific Railroad Company
Texas and New Orleans Railroad Company
Union Pacific Railroad Company
Wabash Railroad Company
Western Pacific Railroad Company
Pennsylvania Railroad Company

Distribution of Porters geographically.

From the birth of the Brotherhood in New York City in 1925, to 1963, the largest concentration of porters was in New York City and Chicago. When the National Mediation Board ordered a certification vote for Pullman porters in 1935 it was revealed that 1,952 porters lived in Chicago; 1,496 in New York City; 245 in Boston; 200 in Pittsburgh; 212 in Jacksonville; 318 in Washington D. C. and 386 in St. Louis.

Structure of Brotherhood

The Constitution and General Rules of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as revised in various conventions, contain provisions that constitute the basis of the organization's structure.

Delegates elected to triennial conventions are based upon the financial membership of Local Divisions. For the first one hundred members, or a fraction thereof, a Local Division is allowed one delegate. For each additional hundred or fraction thereof exceeding twenty-five, an additional delegate is allowed, with each Local Division having at least one vote.

These delegates, a majority of whom form a quorum, complete the formation of the international organization by electing the international officers and and members of the International Executive Board who serve for three years.

The Convention's enactment of legislation, revision and repeal of laws and decisions are final and Local Divisions, officers and members are subject to its authority.

The International President and International Secretary-Treasurer, along with the four regional Vice Presidents and seven lay portersmembers, compose the International Executive Board. The International President is ex-officio chairman of the Board which elects its own chairman and secretary. The International Executive Board is required to meet at least twice a year. It serves in an advisory capacity to the International President and is required to interpret the constitution and consider matters referred to it by the Convention.

Any appointment made by the International President to fill a vacancy on the International Executive Board must be approved by the Board, which has the authority upon its own vote to call the International President into consultation on any matter pertaining to the order.

In addition to these functions, the International Executive Board is required to make a report of its activities to the National Convention, have the books of the International Secretary Treasurer audited at least once a year, or when directed to do so by the International President.

All surety bonds required of officials are subject to approval by the International Executive Board, which also has the power to hold trials of officers or members of the Union against whom charges are preferred for violation of obligation or neglect of duty. Provision is also made for a minority report and appeal. Notice of appeal must be filed in writing within thirty days after date of decision. It must be made to the International President who determines whether the member merits a retrial. If a retrial is granted, the appeal is filed with the International Executive Board where it remains until it is settled by the Convention.

The International President is the official head of the Organization and as such devotes his whole time to its interests and affairs. ~~He is the general chairman of all grievance committees.~~

He presides at all sessions of the International Organization and performs his executive duties when the same is not in session and exercises general supervision over the affairs of the Brotherhood.

He appoints all committees and has authority to convene any or all boards or committees when, in his judgment, it is deemed necessary.

He has authority to call a special session of the International Organization at any time, or upon a request of a two-thirds vote of the International Executive Board.

In the event of death, resignation or removal of an International Organization offiers, he shall appoint a successor for the unexpired term, with the approval of the International Executive Board.

He is jointly responsible, with the International Secretary Treasurer, for all funds of the International Organization. He gives bond to be made payable to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in an amount which shall be determined by the International Executive Board.

It is his responsibility to organize, or cause to be organized, all local divisions.

He has the power to suspend or remove any local division officer for a sufficient cuase, and conducts or directs the prosecution of such officer or deputize an international officer to act in his stead.

He shall call upon two or more members of the International Executive Board, or any operating porter, to assist in all conferencesor negotiations with management of Sleeping car companies or railway carriers.

The ~~Constitution provides that the International Secretary Treasurer of the Brotherhood shall succeed the International President of the Organization, until the International Executive Board elects a successor, if for any reason he is no longer able to serve~~. The International Secretary-Treasurer is a bonded custodian of all funds and must report on the activities of his office and membership of the International union at every Brotherhood convention, presenting a full and complete certified audit of all the funds and financial status of the Brotherhood, with bank books and vouchers.

The membership of sleeping car porters of the Organization covers the entire nation, ~~including Montreal~~ and includes Montreal and Toronto, Canada . The geographical area of membership is divided into five zones : Eastern, Detroit-Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis-Southwestern, and Pacific Coast. Over each zone is assigned an International Vice-President by the International President, with the approval of the International Executive Board. The function of these international vice-presidents, with the International Secretary-Treasurer, is to assist the International President in operating, building, maintaining, and controlling the international organization.

Each zone is designed to include several relatively large metropolitan Pullman districts and is a contiguous geographical area, worked out with a view to covering, if not paralleling, as nearly as practically possible the operating districts of the Pullman Company.

DUES

The international organization, which has the responsibility of bearing the major expenses of the international order, controls a major portion of the monthly dues which began at one dollar and is now five dollars, three dollars and fifty cents of which is allocated and sent to the international office. No member is required to pay dues if furloughed or sick or on leave of absence.

LOCAL DIVISIONS

Each local division is required to have a membership of seven or more persons and must have at least one meeting a month. Local division officers include a president, one or two vice-presidents, and a secretary-treasurer who are elected; a chaplain, sentinel and porter, who are appointed. Each local division has an executive board, grievance and auditing ~~committees~~, and Education and organization Committees. Compensation to local officers depends upon the consent and approval of the International President and the financial condition of the local division.

The president of each local division is chairman of the local grievance committee and his other two colleagues on the committee are appointed by the international vice president who supervises the zone, with recommendations being made by the local division.

The international union controls the local divisions as well as the national mechanism by means of which grievances and claims are taken up with the Pullman Company and railway carriers and carried to the National Railroad Adjustment Board.

Each local secretary treasurer is bonded and authorized to collect dues and assessments as directed by the International Secretary-Treasurer and as concurred in by the International President and the International Executive Board. The International Executive Board may order a local secretary-treasurer's books audited at any time. Financial records of local secretary treasurers must tally with those of the International Secretary-Treasurer and vice versa. Local secretary-treasurers are immediately removed whenever charges of mishandling funds are brought and sustained. This same procedure would obtain with any interanational officer against whom charges were made and sustained for mishandling funds.

RACE - RELIGION - POLITICS

The organization is racially integrated, nonreligious and nonpartisan. But individual members and officers are free to follow any religion or political party they choose. However, the organization has ~~AND now~~ consistently opposed AND NOW Communists and Communism.

MEMBERSHIP QUALIFICATIONS

Membership in the Brotherhood is open to sleeping car, dining car and chair car employees, attendants, bus boys, train porters, and all employees performing the work on sleeping cars, parlor cars or composite cars and dining cars on which food and drinks are sold and beds made, without regard to race, sex, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.

CONVENTION

The Convention which is held triennially is the supreme Authority of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Convention is composed of the elected delegates and the international officers. It functions through the following committees: (1) Committee on Credentials; (2) Committee on Rules; (3) Auditing Committee; (4) Committee on Resolutions and Constitution; (5) Committee on Claims and Grievances; (6) Train Porters' Committee; (7) Committee on Scientific Service and Safety Efficiency; (8) Committee on Education and Organization.

LADIES AUXILIARY

There is a Ladies Auxiliary with local branches in practically all of the local divisions of the international organization, the purpose of which is to make the porter's home a union home to support the union porter and the philosophy and program of the trade union movement in general, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in particular.

AFFILIATIONS

The Brotherhood is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Railway Labor Executives' Association and the Canadian Labour Congress, and its International President is a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

TESTIMONY OF

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

President, Negro American Labor Council

President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Vice-President AFL-CIO

Before the Committee on Employment and Manpower

July 25, 1963

My name is A. Philip Randolph. I appreciate the opportunity to appear before your Committee on behalf of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO and the Negro American Labor Council to testify in favor of the enactment of Fair-Employment Practices legislation.

If legislation for a permanent, federal FEPC had not been killed by filibuster in 1946[1] and again in 1950[2], our economy, our democracy and our internal peace would not be in the same crisis that confronts them today. If this renewed attempt should suffer a similar fate, no responsible Negro leader can safely predict or control the ultimate consequences.

Fair Employment Practices Legislation would not, of course, have solved all of our crucial problems of employment and civil rights. But it might have established a sound basis on which steady progress towards equality could have been made.

The urgency of the accelerating pressures across the country for Equality NOW can best be understood against the background of such past defeats. There is usually a time when gradual, if sustained, change is desireable and possible. But there is also another time in which a vacuum created by the lack of action explodes when needs which will no longer wait press into it. This summer we have

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1. Jan. 18-Feb. 7, 1946.

2. Cloture votes, May 19, July 12, 1950

reached that hour.

A superficial look at the national scene might indicate that the civil rights struggle has recently begun to move from the area of intellectual needs (such as education and status in public accommodations) to economic needs: jobs and a decent standard of living. In actual fact, large masses of Negroes were first involved almost spontaneously in a political struggle for their own rights more than twenty years ago in the intial drive for FEPC. Economic and civil rights are inseparable. The economic gains for the opressed Negro workers made that time are the basis on which the larger struggle for democracy was built. All of our minority groups have benefitted from and now support the executive orders and state legislation which partially embody the FEPC idea. But it is important to remember that when the national drive toward fair employment practices began it was essentially and in leadership a movement of Negroes. The March on Washington Movement was a march of Negroes, of a Negro community united as never before around a common goal. And the unfilled hopes which filibusters could thwart but could not kill are today the goal of a united Negro community.

History clarifies current events. As always, Negroes had been harder hit by the depression of the thirties than their fellow white Americans. Still, all had suffered together. It was with the beginning of defense industry, when No Help Wanted signs changed to Help Wanted -- White that the indignant organization of Negroes to gain a fairer share in the nation's reviving economy spurted.

It took the combination of a wartime manpower shortage and the threat of a March on Washington to secure Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941, and the establishment of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. But as soon as the national war emergency was over -- and democracy safe! -- the old national pattern of "last hired, first fired" crept back. Fair practices were filibustered away, and even the Korean emergency brought no permanent change.

Further executive orders, particularly in the field of government contracts, have shown that the nation's conscience could never again be completely quieted in the face of discrimination; and party platforms of both major parties have been better than the voting record of either in the Congress. But from the fifties until today, efforts to secure for Negroes and other minorities the same right to work as other Americans have progressed slowly and inadequately, state by state. In more than twenty years, twenty-three states (including Hawaii and Alaska) have adopted some form of fair employment legislation. But the long and arduous road of investigation of individual complaints has not been good enough; and a majority of states still lack even that.

The result has been that, economically, the Negro appears to stand today in the same relative economic position he occupied in the depths of the depression. The unemployment relief census of October, 1933 showed about twice as high a proportion of Negroes on public relief rolls as of whites: 18 per cent contrasted with 9.5 per cent. The President's broadcast to the nation on June 11th indicated about twice the proportion of Negroes in the work force unemployed as of whites: 10 per cent contrasted with 5 per cent. (When momentum for the MOW campaign began to gather, October 1940 statistics showed that after eight years of the New Deal, one fourth of the Negro work force was unemployed in contrast to 13 per cent of the white.)

The two-to-one proportion seems a constant. But in some ways the relative position of Negroes is worsening, and there are discernible trends of a still worse future. Whites take home about twice as much in wages as Negroes do. The average American Negro income is $3233, 54 per cent of the white family's $5835. But ten years ago, it was 57 per cent.

This has a great deal to do with FEPC. The percentage of Negroes in professional, clerical, sales and skilled labor jobs has doubled in twenty years, and anyone who remembers the first Negro sales women in a famous department store and many other firsts knows that state legislation has helped. But where does this enormous gain leave us?

1955 government figures have shown 12 per cent of the Negro work force and 42 per cent of the white in professional, technical, managerial and white collar, clerical and sales positions. Forty-seven per cent of the Negro work force is still in service and other nonskilled and nonfarm jobs.

Even though segregated and inferior education and lack of training opportunities have much to do with the lower earning capacities of Negro workers, the full responsibility does not rest there. A report of a conference sponsored by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity held May 19, 1962 revealed that 22 per cent of white college men were reported as becoming proprietors, managers or officials, compared with 5 per cent of Negro college men. Negroes with some college training were found in service and laborers jobs in numbers five times greater than whites with similar training. Of those who had not completed high school, 34 per cent of the nonwhites were nonfarm laborers, against 10 per cent of the whites with similar training. The situation of women was similar. Ten per cent of the Negro women who finish college end up as domestic workers, but oneper cent of the whites. Two-thirds of the Negro group with some high school are in domestic and other service jobs, but 17 per cent of the white.

All this is bad enough. The changing nature of the economy is making it worse. The relatively high-wage heavy industries into which Negroes have been moving since World War I, where union organization has benefitted them along with other workers, have failed to grow in the last five years; in some cases there are less employed today. In manufacturing industries, the shift of numbers from plant to office is displacing minority-group workers. It is estimated that three million jobs have been eliminated by automation since 1953, and various different estimates indicate that about a two-million a year displacement of lesser and unskilled workers. Because most Negro workers are still in un and semi-skilled trades, more of them will be displaced each year. A specific example out of many possibilities may bring this home: within four years, 30,000 elevators operators in New York City were displaced by self-service elevators. Within a very few years, this job category will have disappeared completely. Nearly all of these operators are Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

But displacement is by no means confined to the cities. Mechanisation of agriculture is adding to the changes that have driven millions of farm families off the land within a generation. The hardest hit in the last two years -- and in the next two also -- are southern Negro hired farm workers and tenants displaced by mechanization of the cotton harvest. This is unemployment concealed as under-employment, and unemployment normally not registered because workers are not covered by unemployment insuracnce. But the work time of a quarter of a million workers is no longer needed, and an equal number will be replaced in the near future.

Along with other rural pressures, this means a strong likelihood of an exodus off the land and into urban centers in search of work comparable only to that of the 1870s and the World War I period. Thus as the great city minorities feel the pressures of increasing unemployment and poverty themselves, their numbers may well be swelled by other unskilled workers from the country.

Lack of skill and a diminishing number of jobs are crucial factors here, but so is FEPC. For although the number of unskilled jobs is declining, the need of the nation for skilled workers is increasing. There is no single craft in which Negroes form even two per cent of the total number of workers. And although figure on apprenticeship are hard to get, estimates place the number of Negro apprentices also as something under two per cent. Unless action is taken at once, "no jobs today" will be perpetuated as "no jobs tomorrow." The Negro community rejects such a future for its children.

It is easy, endless, and perhaps repetitious, to belabor the meaning of poverty. It starts with birth. Four Negro women die in childbirth to each white; and infant mortality is five times greater. It means childhood in slums -- cultural deprivation is one way to say it; disproportional criminal statistics and the horror of dope addiction are a few of the byproducts. Inferior education, lack of incentive -- or the closed door to those with better education and higher aspirations. The cycle must be broken. It must be broken now. And it must be broken at its start with the right to a decent livelihood.

All civil rights are built on this. It is not enough to outlaw discrimination in housing unless the Negro earns sufficient income to pay the rent or to buy the land. It is not enough to permit him to stay at a hotel or eat in a restaurant, to attend a movie or play on a golf course, unless he has the price of admission. Segregation and discrimination in education must go. But the child must have a break in environment so that he is ready for the school just as the school is ready for him. The right to vote is inherent in democracy and depends on nothing but humanity; but citizens who participate as equals in the economic life of the country would vote more wisely than those whose just grievance against society begins with inability to support their families.

The rising tide of discontent in both our northern cities and our southern cities is related to the number of adults without jobs and youth without futures. It is no accident that the greatest outburst in the civil rights struggle to date has taken place in an industrial city plagued with unemployment. It is not a coincidence that in the large northern centers where civil rights legislation is on the books demonstrations directed towards equal employment opportunity are growing daily in size and militancy.

Yet so long as we are trying to share more equally in jobs of which there are not enough to go around, we have not tackled a major problem. We cannot have fair employment until we have full employment. Nor will we have full employment until we have fair employment. National planning for jobs for all Americans is an urgent need of the hour. Government must take leadership in investment policies, tax policies, public works policies. Management and labor have their part to play. I realize that a program for full employment is not the immediate focus of this committee. But it would be dangerous and misleading to call for Fair Employment Practices enforcement without at the same time calling attention to the declining number of employment opportunities in many fields. Our insistence upon jobs for Negroes and other minorities in accordance with ability is not a program to replace white workers, but rather for the opportunity to share equally with them in the building of the nation's future and in the fruits of that greater abundance which only the contribution of all can make possible.

Summary of Testimony on FEPC

1. The defeat of federal FEPC legislation by filibuster in past years has left a scar on the Negro community which was united behind it and has suffered increasingly from economic discrimination which it would have helped to rectify.

2. Executive orders and state legislation which have been secured over the last decade have not been adequate, as continuing statistics on the relative economic positions of white and Negro workers demonstrate.

3. Figures from the depth of the depression in 1933, up to the President's message in June, 1963, show that Negro unemployment is twice that of white unemployment.

4. The relative income position of Negro families has worsened in relation to to that of whites. Ten years ago it averaged 57 per cent of white income; today it is only 54 per cent.

5. Only 12 per cent of the Negro work force as contrasted to 42 per cent of the white are in professional and other white collar positions. FEPC has helped make gains on a state and local basis, but not nearly enough. Lack of education and training is not responsible, discrimination is obvious. For instance, Negroes with somecollege training are found in service and laborer jobs five times as often as whites with similar training.

6. Automation is also worsening the condition of Negro workers. The number of unskilled and semiskilled jobs in which they predominate is diminishing. The need for skilled workers in increasing but no skilled craft has as much as 2 per cent Negroes employed in it.

7. Mechanization of agriculture, particularly of cotton harvesting, is increasing the number of of un- and underemployed Negroes by the hundreds of thousands. They can be expected to swell the ranks of the urban unemployed.

8. The cumulative effect of this economic deprivation and discrimination is carried over in the lack of opportunities of the younger generation, creating a cycle which must be broken.

9. Other civil rights are dependent upon the right of the Negro to earn a better standard of living. For instance, to be able to benefit from an end to discrimination in housing, he must be able to pay adequate rent or buy himself a house.

10. Because the number of jobs is diminishing in important areas, fair employment cannot be permanently realized without full employment for all Americans regardless of race.

JOBS AND FREEDOM

A. Philip Randolph
August 12, 1963

for the ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH

JOBS AND FREEDOM

In the great March on Washington that takes place this August 28 the Negro people's demand for full freedom now is linked with the demand for federal action to secure the basic human right to jobs and bread. This is significant, for it marks the recognition of a fundamental truth. The great social revolution now taking place underlines the fact, for the first time, that full economic equality as well as full civil rights are equally and together the objectives of our movement.

The Negro people have not only been deprived of the basic rights guaranteed by our democracy and our Constitution -- the right to vote, to equal treatment in public accomodations, to respect and dignity as human beings; they have been deprivd also of all the good things of life which have fallen so abundantly to the lot of other Americans -- decent housing, green spaces for their children to play in, wholesome and sufficient nourishment, vacations in the country or by the sea. Negroes have born more, far more, than their fair share of unemployment, and of low paying, distasteful jobs. They have been afflicted, far more than , in proportion, than other Americans, by the paralyzing fear of economic insecurity. They have known the blight of poverty. In a rapidly changing world they have been denied access to those skills which alone can ensure economic survival.

This picture finds its proper focus in the situation of the Negro unemployed. The rate of unemployment among Negro workers is twice that among white workers. this moment, nearly one out of every six Negro wage earners across the nation without work. In our big cities the proportion is far higher, since Negro leyment is concentrated in the urban areas. In some places this rate ris as one out of every five Negro workers unemployed. Unemployment, again among younger people. In the city of Chicago this summer 70% of Negro youth who sought jobs have failed to find them. Among the younger workers roughly one out of every four is without work.

The problem of Negro unemployment would be a relatively simple one to solve if it were simply a matter of providing the skills necessary for effective competition in the labor market. If it were only a question of providing new skills the current civil rights revolution might well succeed in changing the Negro's economic status in a short period of time. This could be accomplished by properly enforced FEP legislation combined with a massive retraining program for Negro workers. Unfortunately the problem will not yield to so straightforward a solution.

The reason for this lies in the advance of automation. Automation imposes a severe crisis on our entire economy. Insofar as Negroes are concerned its impact has already made itself felt with great force. Automation is a technological revolution that knows no bounds. As a result of its operation the employment gains which Negro workers made in American industry during World War II have been largely wiped out. More highly paid Negro workers from auto or steel, lacking alternative skills, now walk the streets seeking any kind of job, whatever the pay. Nor have we yet felt the full impact of this technological revolution. Workers in heavy industry, office workers, even engineering and other highly specialised personnel are being laid off. None is exempt from the inexorable march of th far reaching type of change.

Prospects in the building trades and construction industry do not offer us very great grounds for hope. To be sure, significant break throughs being registered today by civil rights groups struggling to batter dow that exist in the building trade unions. But the market for new luxury housing is glutted; commercial and downtown renewal programs have been carried to completion in many big cities. Barring new, publicly financed work programs on a huge scale, the freedom forces will, at best, registér no more than token gains in the construction field. At worst they will succeed only in pitting Negro against white workers in a futile struggle for non-existent jobs.

Defense industry, again, provides no answer to the problem of Negro unemployment. In this field, as in most others, a technological and scientific revolution has been under way with gathering momentum. The days have gone by when the construction of giant battleships could employ thousands, indeed tens of thousands of workers. Such weapons have become obsolete. Automation is replacing workers with machines in national defense industries as in all others. We must look elsewhere if we are to find the expanding markets which we need -- to provide jobs, to set the wheels of industry turning, to convert a stagnant into a healthy and thriving economy.

The fate of the Negro masses is linked in the last resort to the fate of the American economy. Our great freedom movement must address itself to the problems of this economy
of this economy if it wishes to find a way out of the swamp of unemployment, poverty, and despair.

For this reason, therefore, the March on Washington raises the demand for ne ures to increase the number of jobs available in addition to the demand for end to discrimination in hiring Negro workers. Of course the struggle for f equality of job opportunity must be relentlessly pursued. But it must be with the insistence that more jobs must be made available through specis measures. We ask, too, that a massive retraining program for Negro wo youth be instituted. This will enable our people to catch up to their white brothers and to take full advantage of the opportunities that an expanding job market will offer to them.

These three demands -- for equal access to jobs, for the creation of millions of new jobs, and for a job retraining program -- are intimately and purposefully linked together. Only by winning all of these demands will the Negro people succeed in emancipating themselves from the blight of poverty and deprivation.

Some voices in the Negro community, and they are strident ones, seek to convince the Negro that the white man is basically evil. They seek to convince him that the Negro worker cannot and should not cooperate with his white brothers; that Negro and white should not work together for the achievement of common goals. We feel that this is an evil doctrine. We do not believe that the Negro people , alone and by itself, will be able to win victory in this struggle. We believe that we must join hands with our white brothers in a common fight for security and for jobs. Automation is relentless in its advance, and it is color blind. It threatens the white worker no less than the black.

Therefore we are seeking to enlist our white brothers in the movement for full freedom. We have found that many trade unions are responsive to our initiative. They stand firm with us in our quest for full freedom; and they are joining us, in great numbers, in the March on Washington. And in the interest of an integrated and united trade union movement we take a firm stand against unions who maintain closed membership books; who forbid the enrolment of even highly qualified Negro workers. We insist that, whether they exist in the North or in the South, that these Jim Crow practices must be given up. And we are confident that our movement for interracial trade unions, for the full brotherhood of all American workers will be victorious.

In the March on Washington we are asking for federal action to create new jobs through a massive public works program. The jobs that we seek are not to be found in the manufacture of weapons of destruction nor in unproductive "make work" programs. Jobs must be fitted to our burning, pressing social needs. Hundreds of American communities are not only job-poor; they lack good houses, good schools, adequate hospitals and health facilities, recreational opportunities for youth. Hundreds of our communities lack the things essential to a secure and healthful environment -- trees, adequate parks, public gardens, public swimming pools, museums, ball parks, libraries and monuments. In all of these areas of welfare we have witnessed a steady and tragic retreat from federal responsibility since the end of World War II. In these areas, indeed, we are actually spending less money in proportion to total federal expenditures than was the case twenty years ago. But, as we all know, our population continues to explode by leaps and bounds; and our social fabric -- the fabric of our cities, the foundation of our cultural and spiritual life -- continues to decline. This is the area that the federal government must move into to provide the jobs and the human welfare which constitute the true defense of the American way of life.

A.Philip Randolph
August 12, 1963

STATEMENT OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT HEARINGS
OF EMERGENCY BOARD ON DISPUTES BETWEEN THE
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, THE PULLMAN
COMPANY, THE CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD
COMPANY, THE NEW YORK CENTRAL SYSTEM AND THE SOO LINE
RAILROAD COMPANY - CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AUGUST 20, 1963

My name is A. Philip Randolph. My address is 217 West 125 Street, New York City, N. Y. I am the International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. I have served in this office since 1929.

INTRODUCTION

Let me make it clear to the honorable members of this Emergency Board that the chief, if not the only reason we are here seeking the statutory 40-hour week, or 173-hour workmonth, at this time, for sleeping car porters is that we are Negroes. All but a very small number of white workers already have the 40-hour week; and those white workers that don't have it are those who supervise Negro workers.

Following the end of the Civil War, the freedmen, inheritors of a legacy of a quarter of a thousand years of slavery - a labor system with no wage, and a workday from sunup to sundown - were easily recruited by the Pullman Company for a low wage, with a workmonth of thirty days and thirty nights.

With a virtually unlimited labor supply of the newly emancipated slaves who exhibited a ready mastery of the technology of the sleeping car porters' occupation, the Pullman Company wrote its own ticket with respect to wages, worktime, and working conditions of the freedmen for practically a century. During the greater part of this economic history the Pullman Company enjoyed the status of a blue chip corporation.

Being ethnic victims of a pattern of skilled-craft occupational deprivation which results in low wage income levels, Pullman porters have enjoyed little, if any, inter-occupations' mobility, captured, as it were, in a blind alley marginal job opportunity trap.

Because of the prevailing concept of the hereditary racial inferiority of the Negro, black workers have not been able to close the wage, hours of work, and working conditions dichotomy between white and non-white workers in the railroad industry, as shown by the fact that non-white train service employees is the one significant segment of railroad workers which lacks the 40-hour week, or 173-hour workmonth, and is at the bottom wage and working conditions totem pole.

Being unequal in the race of the American wage earners to earn a living, beginning, as it were, with the handicap of bondage, and despite the noble and morally valid statement of the Declaration of Independence that it is a "self-evident" truth that "all men are created equal," all Negro laborers, including sleeping car porters, face the difficult problem of catching up in job opportunities, wage rates and working conditions with our white brothers.

With some racially closed unions and racially closed jobs, and entry into classes for the right to learn in order to earn being racially conditioned, in an increasingly and rapidly automated society black labor is involved in a desperate struggle for economic survival.

It is such stark, forbidding economic realities that caused President Kennedy to make the following timely, though shocking, despription of our segregated American society in his epoch-making civil rights message to the Congress:

> "The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section or state in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day; one-third as much chance of completing college; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man; twice as much change of becoming unemployed; about one-seventh as much chance of earning ten thousand dollars a year; a life expectancy which is seven years less; and the prospect of earning half as much."

This economic plight of black America is the inevitable outcome of a long and hapless historical background, including a plantation labor system of servitude, under which not only were few economic functions differentiated and the number of specific handicrafts skills required small, but the slave labor force was deliberately and systematically denied, by custom, practice and law, any form of skilled training except that which was necessary for the maintenance of a profitable plantation.

Thus, with the march of industrialization and urbanization of the South following the end of the Civil War in 1865, Negro workers never became the beneficiaries of the proliferation and specialization of occupations and the differentiation and compartmentalization of handicraft skills with economic growth and the development of the unionization of workers.

This racially exclusionary process of placing a roadblock to highly wage-rated skilled jobs resulted in the disproportionate concentration of Negro labor into the unskilled and semi-skilled categories which now causes them to be the chief victims of the progress of technology and automation since mere muscle power is no longer in great demand in the labor market.

Inequality in the utilization of manpower because of race or color is not only the cause of racial frustration, discontent and discord among one-tenth of the population, but it is uneconomic.

According to Elmo Roper, noted public relations analyst, racial discrimination and segregation represent a cost or loss of $30 billion annually since it is logical to assume that with similar educational and job opportunities Negroes would develop comparable productive capabilities and purchasing power.

Because of the aforementioned economic conditions a recession among white workers represents a depression among black workers. But such is the case which sets up a sort of racial pattern of disequilibrium with white labor.

Just as there is a wide gap in the worktime of sleeping car porters, now 51 hours a week, while 95 percent of railroad workers have the 40-hour week, so the rate of unemployment of Negro workers, according to the U. S. Department of Labor, is twice the rate of unemployment of white workers. Under-utilization of the physical and human resources of the nation, white or black, does not make for a sound rate of economic growth.

The Organization here seeks a solution to the familiar, if not perplexing, problems arising from the rapid porters' jobs abolition. To the individual sleeping car porter the decline in the number of jobs means not only insecurity in employment but, also very frequently, loss of employment opportunity; especially is this true of a large number of porters whose ages range above 50 years.

Job abolition among sleeping car porters may be primarily traceable to discontinuance of passenger operations, abandonment of Pullman and railroad districts, elimination of districts and agencies, and management's apparent indifference to the promotion and maintenance of passenger business, as shown by the shocking deterioration in equipment and service, including the unattractive appearance of terminals, dirty windows of parlor cars and coaches, and lack of convenient train schedules.

The Organization seeks a reduction in the workmonth and job protection,to achieve more jobs and stabilization of jobs, in order to ameliorate the economic distress which plagues our members.

In the main, the Organization seeks increase in jobs,to provide the means of living to porters who have given their lives to the development and progress of the sleeping car business, and job stabilization, by arresting the rate of position abolition through penalization of the high rate or volume of disemployment.

Just as Negroes have finished with the status of second-class citizenship in a first-class nation, porters have finished with second-class economic citizenship in a first-class industry.

HISTORY OF ORGANIZATION

Negro Pullman porters have become a firmly established institution in the history of American travel since the Pullman Company was incorporated in 1867 as a manufacturer and operator of railroad sleeping cars.

PIONEER UNION

Just as it was natural and proper to name the first standardized Pullman sleeper, "Pioneer", an innovation in passenger travel; so it was not incorrect to regard the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as a pioneer in the field of trade union organization among Negro workers, being the first labor union under Negro leadership to be recognized as an international trade union, as shown by international charter granted the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters by the American Federation of Labor in 1934

WINNING RECOGNITION A LONG STRUGGLE

While sleeping car service had been established for over a half century at the birth of the Brotherhood, it was one of the last of the railway unions to gain recognition as the duly authorized collective bargaining agent for a class of railway employees. Although the Brotherhood would have eventually won collective bargaining rights for sleeping car porters from the Pullman Company, it was twelve long, hard years before the Organization won the representation election in 1935, made possible by amendment of the Railw ay Labor Act, 1934, which gave protection to employee rights to bargain collectively.

Having been conditioned over fifty years by a workforce of submissive and uncomplaining Negro freedmen just emancipated from slavery - the most degrading, demoralizing and soul-shattering labor system ever conceived by man - Pullman management, profoundly shaken by the heirs of these ex-slaves demanding the right of collective bargaining as members of a labor union, reacted with formidable and fierce opposition, if not persecution.

Laboring under the fallacy that only southerners knew how to handle Negro labor, a disproportionately large segment of the supervisory personnel, district superintendents and Pullman conductors, came from the South, whose chief technique for utilizing black workers was harsh and cruel abuse and the treatment of grown men like irresponsible children, which was designed to keep them in a state of fear. Probably no group of workers in the country was as browbeaten, harassed and tormented by all sorts of petty charges, as well as penalized by being given days on the streets without pay, and often discharged, only to be taken back if, as, and when a porter sought mercy by crawling on his belly, which was expected by management and which was generally the case.

Porters were difficult to organize, not only because of fear in their hearts on account of reprisals by racial Pullmanism but they are widely distributed throughout the country, rendering continuous contact and communication exceedingly difficult.

RESISTANCE TO PORTERS' ORGANIZATION

When Federal control of railroads ended in 1920 and the Transportation Act was enacted, the Pullman Company set up probably the most formidable form of resistance to a porters' union, an Employee Representation Plan - a company union, under which the Pullman Company called a Wage Conference in 1924. Employee Representation Plans, Industrial Parliaments, and other euphemistic titles invented by industrial efficiency experts, designed to lure and mislead well-meaning but misguided workers, flourished throughout the country as an expression of an anti-trade union movement patriotically called the American Plan. Realizing that workers, as a result of exploitation, would eventually seek and develop self-organization to fight for increased wages, shorter hours of work and improved working conditions, the Pullman Company generously gave them an economic ________ pill, the Employees Plan of Representation, in the conferences of which representatives of management sat on both sides of the so-called bargaining table.

PETITIONS TO CURE ECONOMIC ILLS

Most movements have antecedents; they have parents and grandparents and their roots sink deep into the soil of the past. Porters, like other railroad workers, were restive. This was natural. They had grievances, grave grievances; wages were low; hours of work were long; treatment, bad. Frustrated, confused and afraid, porters for a long time balked at actual independent labor organization. They set up literary, social and athletic clubs and quasi-fraternal plans such as the Pullman Porters Benefit Association which provided sick and death benefits with the blessings and control of Pullman.

Thus, before any definitive crystallization of a bona fide organization emerged, petitions of diverse sorts had been timidly presented to Pullman officials for the resolution of grievances, and there were many.

The first serious efforts at organization by porters, along with various classes of railroad workers, began during World War I, 1914. When the United States government took over the control and operation of railroads in 1918, President Woodrow Wilson appointed William Gibbs McAdoo as Director-General, established the War Labor Conference Board and issued General Order 27 which gave sanction to the right of self-organization to railway employees, raised wages, improved working conditions. This galvanized porters to action and a number of fly-by-night, unstable organizations were hastily formed, which caused them to miss a golden opportunity to get together in one solid labor union. Pullman Conductors had seized the opportunity by organizing the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors in 1918. They were recognized by the Pullman Company in 1922.

ISOLATED FROM MAINSTREAM OF RAIL LABOR

Since practically every decision, unanimously agreed to by both representatives of management and the porter employees, was against the porters, they had no alternative to self-organization. Pullman had rejected unions of its employees since the famous Pullman Strike of 1893, which was broken and its leader, Eugene Debs, imprisoned.

Besides, the Big Four brotherhoods, organized between 1860 and 1893, and practically all of the non-operating railway unions subsequently organized, had color bars in their constitutions.

The Adamson Act of 1917 which regulated hours of work of railway workers did not apply to porters. They were not considered railway employees because they worked on carriers which were carried by trains. The fact is, the Pullman Company was classified as a carrier, but not a carrier by a railroad, whatever that means.

Even the Railway Act of 1926 didn't help porters until it was amended in 1934, under which amendments representations were provided for, as a rule, to determine the collective bargining agent. It is interesting to note in this connection that the said amendment included all classes of railway employees except sleeping car porters and dining car employees. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters corrected this error.

PORTERS CASE TO MEDIATION BOARD

Failing in the attempt at direct relations with the Pullman Company, application for the services of the National Mediation Board to investigate and settle the representation dispute was made, October 19, 1926. Mediator E. P. Morrow, former Governor of Kentucky, was assigned to the case. The Company called for the dismissal of the case on the ground that 85 percent of the porters and maids had voted under the Employee Representation Plan in 1926. Under the Railway Labor Act of 1926, Pullman's Employee Representation Plan was legal if there was no interference, influence or coercion.

Following an investigation, the Mediation Board announced that the parties involved had failed to reach an agreement through the process of mediation and in view of rejection of arbitration by the Pullman Company, though accepted by the Organization, the Board closed the case, July 12, 1928.

But while the Company rejected arbitration of the porters' case, it was at that time arbitrating a dispute with the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors (white).

The adverse action of the Mediation Board caused morale and membership of the Organization to decline.

Though not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, William Green, President, manifesting his concern about the struggles of the Organization to build a union, counselled cancellation of the proposed and scheduled strike for June 8, 1928, and concentration upon building membership. His advice was heeded.

In the light of the fact that the Railroad Commission of California in one of its decisions involving the Pullman Company and its car-service employees, in 1914, had held that "the salaries paid by the respondent to its employees are so low as to be nothing more than an inducement to such employees to solicit gratuities from the traveling public, and the Respondent Company was directed to take such steps as may be necessary to place its scale of salaries on a basis thereby enabling the public to give such gratuities as it may desire in a spirit of generosity and not with a feeling of necessity, as is now the case," the Brotherhood, on September 7, 1927, filed a brief with the Interstate Commerce Commission in which it maintained that Pullman porters' wages were not considered sufficient.

The Pullman Company challenged the Brotherhood's position by asserting that the Interstate Commerce Commission had no legal jurisdiction over tipping since its main function was to set rates for interstate carriers and not wages for workers engaged in interstate transportation.

On March 5, 1928 the Interstate Commerce Commission decided, by a vote of 4 to 3, that it did not have jurisdiction over the Brotherhood-Pullman dispute.

ALTERNATIVES TO A PORTERS' UNION

While the Pullman Company entered into an agreement with Unit No. 122 of the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor, September 15, 1921, covering 6,000 Pullman Shop Employees, and signed an agreement with the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, January 1, 1922, under the Transportation Act of 1920, it gave the Employee Representation Plan to its porters in 1920, and the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association, November 20, 1920, neither one of which was under the control of porters but were pure Company contrivances designed to lull the porters into a false sense of security and importance. Porters were obviously considered second-class employees of a first-class industry - Pullman. This attitude was systematically maintained toward Negro workers in every section of the railroad industry.

SEEKS TO DESTROY PLAN

Encouraged by injunction of the Federal District Court of Texas issued August 1927, ordering the Texas and New Orleans Railroad of the Southern Pacific Lines to cease operating its company union, as a result of efforts of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters filed a petition for a writ of injunction in the Federal District Court in Northern Illinois, to enjoin Pullman from continuing to hold elections or to operate and finance the Employee Representation Plan, October 14, 1930.

Judge Charles B. Woodward, on October 15, refused to uphold the petition on the ground that evidence had not been presented to show that the porters would suffer "irreparable damage" if elections were held under the Plan. His ruling asserted that the Brotherhood had been in existence five years despite the Employee Representation Plan, consequently there was no need for relief. Furthermore, the Court ruled that if elections were held and the Brotherhood could prove "interference, influence and coercion" it would halt such elections.

In 1932 the Brotherhood petitioned for a permanent injunction to restrain Pullman from operating its Employee Representation Plan in violation of the Railway Labor Act of 1926 and the Norris-LaGuardia Labor Injunction Act of 1932. Judge B. I. Johnson of the Federal District Court of Northern Illinois upheld the Brotherhood petition on November 12, 1932.

Finally, Judge Charles E. Woodward, who had ruled unfavorable on the Brotherhood's petition for a temporary injunction, handed down a decision, January 15, 1934, dismissing the Brotherhood's ____________ for want of equity.

Support of the Brotherhood's injunction fight against the Employee Representation Plan was given by the American Federation of Labor as a result of contributions from affiliated unions in the amount of $660, following a proposal by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, in the 1933 convention.

PORTERS AND ROOSEVELT'S NEW DEAL

Having been blocked at every turn to liquidate the Employee Representation Plan, the biggest obstacle to the Brotherhood's winning representation of the porters, leaders of the organization were greatly heartened with the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Emergency Railway Transportation Act of 1933, which appeared to outlaw company unions, only to be disillusioned when they were advised that Pullman porters did not come under the National Industrial Recovery Act because they were employees of a carrier engaged in interstate transportation; nor were they encompassed by the Emergency Railway Transportation Act of 1933 because the carrier for which they worked was not a railroad. For the nonce, this interpretation left the porters securely caught upon the horns of a dilemma.

Both Coordinator Joseph B. Eastman and the American Federation of Labor supported an amendment to the Emergency Transportation Act of 1933 which would cause it to apply to any sleeping car and express company. The amendment was opposed by the Pullman Company which contended that it rendered services comparable to that of an innkeeper, implying that Pullman car-service employees were not railroad workers and should not come under railroad law. However, this Act was short-lived, expiring in 1936.

RAILWAY LABOR ACT AMENDED

In 1934 the Railway Labor Act was amended and the Brotherhood fought for and won the right, over strong opposition from the Pullman Company, to have the titles Sleeping Car Porters and Dining Car Employees spelled out in the Act along with other classes of railway employees. The names sleeping car porters and dining car employees had been left out of the printed bill which was being considered by the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, of which Senator C. Dill was chairman.

BSCP WINS REPRESENTATION ELECTION

Because of the conflict in representation claims between the Brotherhood and the Pullman Porters Protective Association, which had been set up to take the place of the Employee Representation Plan, the Organization made application on October 5,1935 to invoke the services of the National Mediation Board to hold a representation election to settle the dispute. The election resulted in 5,931, or 79.1 percent votes for the Brotherhood and 1,422, or 19.11 percent votes for the Pullman Porters Protective Association. The Brotherhood was officially certified to be the representative of the Pullman porters and maids on July 1, 1935 by the National Mediation Board.

The Pullman Company signed its first contract with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on August 25, 1937.

BSCP AND AFL

President William Green of the AFL was friendly to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters from its birth in 1925. Federal charters were granted porters in 1929. The Brotherhood firmly rejected jurisdiction claimed by the International Hotel and Restaurant and Bartenders League and the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors. An international charter was presented to the Brotherhood in Chicago, June 7, 1936, by William Green.

BSCP AND NATIONAL RAILROAD ADJUSTMENT BOARD

But becoming the bargaining agent of employees of a certain class or industry is not enough in our complex industrial system; a labor union must also become an integral part of the appropriate agencies, legal and voluntary, that bear the effective functioning of the union. Thus, a railway labor organization, in the interest of serving its members constructively, should become a member of the AFL-CIO and, especially, the Railway Labor Executives' Association, as well as become eligible to participate in the selection of members of the National Railroad Adjustment Board.

While the Brotherhood fulfilled all of the conditions required under the Railway Labor Act to participate in the selection of members of the National Railroad Adjustment Board, the supreme court in the railroad industry for the adjustment of grievances and claims arising between the carriers and the employees, it was not until 1949 that the Brotherhood was recognized by the appropriate government agency and cooperating railway labor organizations as a bona fide participant in the selection of members of this Board.

This victory came only after a long and protracted battle, beginning with the Association of Railway Labor Executives, composed of the standard railway unions, which hedged, evaded, and dodged the issue to avoid taking a definite position on the question, even going to the extent of providing legal counsel to fight the petition of the Brotherhood before a hearing set up by the U. S. Department of Labor. At the hearing argument was made by the representatives of the white railway unions to show that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters should not participate with other railway unions in the selection of members of the National Railroad Adjustment Board.

All opposition was finally overcome and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is now one of the railway labor organizations with the right to participate in the selection of members of the Board, paying the same amount of money as other participating organizations to maintain the labor personnel of the Third Division of the Board.

PRE-BROTHERHOOD PORTERS' WAGES

After the Organization had established itself as the duly authorized collective bargaining agent of the porters it proceeded to build a wage structure for this class of employees. The wage structure planned and built by the Brotherhood had to rest upon a low wage base, as herein set forth:

In 1883 porters received a wage of $12.00 a month
In 1897 porters received a wage of $20.00 a month
In 1911 porters received a wage of $27.50 a month
In 1915 porters received a wage of $30.00 a month
In 1918 porters received a wage of $48.50 a month
In 1919 porters received a wage of $60.00 a month
In 1924 porters received a wage of $67.50 a month
In 1926 porters received a wage of $72.50 a month
In 1929 porters received a wage of $77.50 a month

In 1932 a wage decrease of five dollars was imposed upon the porters. Between 1933 and 1935 the deduction of five dollars was restored to the porters

PRE-BROTHERHOOD WORKMONTH

Under the Pullman Employee Representation Plan, 11,000 miles constituted a basic month's service. Overtime was paid at the rate of 60/100 of one cent per mile. In 1937 when the first contract was negotiated with the Pullman Company by the Brotherhood it was agreed that 240 hours would constitute a basic month's service. Overtime to be paid at the rate of time-and-one-half after 260 hours. In 1949 the Brotherhood negotiated an agreement providing that 205 hours shall constitute a basic workmonth. Overtime to be paid at the rate of time-and-one-half after 240 hours of service

Before the advent of the Brotherhood there was no such thing as vacation, with or without pay. In 1944 the Brotherhood negotiated an agreement with the Pullman Company providing for one week's vacation with pay. In 1950 the Brotherhood negotiated an agreement with the Pullman Company providing for six days vacation with pay for porters with less than five years in the service, and twelve days vacation with pay for porters with five or more years of service. It also provided that a porter on a round trip assignment involving more days than the twelve days vacation allowed shall be given the number of days in the round trip, with pay. Thus, porters on long cross-country trips covering fourteen, sixteen, eighteen and twenty days will receive a vacation of the said number of days in the round trip with pay, the vacation beginning at the end of his regular layover.

OCCUPATIONS

The classes of employees involved in the disputes with the Pullman Company and railway carriers are sleeping car porters. Other classes of employees included in the membership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are parlor car and coach attendants, train porters and dining car employees. The sleeping car porter's job requires:

(a) Preparation of sleeping cars for the reception of passengers before departure of the train. This includes making ready the berths and furnishing the roomette, single room, compartment or drawing room with towels, drinking water, hat bag and coat hangers.

(b) A central factor to the efficient performance of the service of a sleeping car porter on a car with passengers with varying temperaments and tensions is the possession of a body of experience, which tends to make of him a practical walking psychologist. The average porter measures up to this difficult requirement.

(c) When all of the cars of a train cannot be accommodated on a terminal station platform, porters have the problem of carrying heavy luggage through several cars to a car convenient for detraining, which usually involves risk of back injury to the porter.

(d) A major responsibility of the sleeping car porter is the protection and safeguarding of the passenger's person and property and, especially, women and children. A sleeping or parlor car serves the function of a home on wheels and requires continuous policing to insure security of person and property.

WORKING CONDITIONS

"Doubling Out"

Doubling out imposes a hardship upon a porter in an operation, for instance such as that between New York and Chicago. Doubling out on this run involves a porter arriving from New York in Chicago at 9:30 A.M., leaving Chicago the same day at 5:00 p.m. on a return trip to New York City, without proper rest to rebuild new reserves of energy.

SLEEP PERIOD

When all sleeping space is sold on a train, a porter on a trip comparable to the New York-Chicago run is deprived of a night's sleep. Although he is paid for the loss of the sleep period the physical impairment resulting from the loss of sleep period cannot be equated with compensation for same.

In the interest of reducing cost of operation, Pullman built sleeping space or, more accurately described, a hole at the end of sleeping cars which was both too short and too narrow for comfort for the average porter, as well as too cold in winter and too hot in summer for any human being. But porters were required to sleep in it. Although a few of these hot and cold boxes still exist, on account of the vigorous opposition by the Organization to them, Management no longer requires porters to sleep in them. They are now used for cleaning utensils and excess baggage.

IN-CHARGE ASSIGNMENTS

A long-standing grievance of porters is inadequate pay for the performance of the combination job known as in-charge assignments, which includes both the work of a porter and a conductor. The rate of pay is ________. In-charge assignments usually exist on trains hauling only one Pullman car.

AGREEMENTS

Since the Brotherhood signed an agreement with the Pullman Company in 1937 it has negotiated agreements at various times with the following railway carriers:

Alton Railway Company
Atlantic Coast Line Railway Company
Baltimore and Ohio Railway Company
Canadian Pacific Railway Company
Central of Georgia Railroad Company
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway
Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company
Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railway Company
Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company
Chicago,Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railway Company
Chicago and North Western Railway Company
Cotton Belt Railroad Company
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company
Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company
Erie Railroad Company
Fort Worth and Denver Railroad Company
Gulf, Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company
Illinois Central Railroad Company
International Great Northern Railroad Company
Kansas City Southern Railroad Company
Lehigh Valley Railroad Company

Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad Company
Missouri Pacific Railroad Company
Northern Alberta Railways
New York Central System
New York, New Haven and Hartford Railway Company
Santa Fe Railroad Company
Santa Fe and Gulf Coast Railroad Company
Seaboard Air Line Railroad Company
Soo Line Railroad Company
Southern Pacific Railroad Company
Texas and Pacific Railroad Company
Texas and New Orleans Railroad Company
Union Pacific Railroad Company
Wabash Railroad Company
Western Pacific Railroad Company
Pennsylvania Railroad Company

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PORTERS

From the birth of the Brotherhood in New York City in 1925 to the present date the largest concentration of porters was in New York City and Chicago. When the National Mediation Board ordered a certification vote for Pullman porters in 1935 it was revealed that 1,952 porters lived in Chicago; 1,496 in New York City; 245 in Boston; 200 in Pittsburgh; 212 in Jacksonville; 318 in Washington, D. C. and 386 in St. Louis.

STRUCTURE OF BROTHERHOOD

The Constitution and General Rules of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as revised in various conventions, contain provisions that constitute the basis of the organization's structure.

Delegates elected to triennial conventions are based upon the financial membership of Local Divisions. For the first one hundred members, or a fraction thereof, a Local Division is allowed one delegate. For each additional one hundred members, or fraction thereof exceeding twenty-five, an additional delegate is allowed, with each Local Division having at least one vote.

These delegates, a majority of whom form a quorum, complete the formation of the international organization by electing the international officers and members of the International Executive Board who serve for three years.

The Convention's enactment of legislation and revision and repeal of laws and decisions are final, and Local Divisions, officers, and members are subject to its authority.

The International President and International Secretary-Treasurer along with the four regional Vice Presidents and seven porter lay members compose the International Executive Board. The International President is ex-officio chairman of the Board which elects its own chairman and secretary. The International Executive Board is required to meet at least twice a year. It serves in an advisory capacity to the International President and is required to interpret the constitution and consider matters referred to it by the Convention.

Any appointment made by the International President to fill a vacancy on the International Executive Board must be approved by the Board, which has the authority upon its own vote to call the International President into consultation on any matter pertaining to the order.

In addition to these functions the International Executive Board is required to make a report of its activities to the Convention, and have the books of the International Secretary-Treasurer audited at least once each year, or when directed to do so by the International President.

All surety bonds required of officials are subject to approval by the International Executive Board, which also has the power to hold trials of officers or members of the Union against whom charges are preferred for violation of obligation or neglect of duty. Provision is also made for a minority report an appeal. Notice of appeal must be filed in writing within thirty days after date of decision. It must be made to the International President who determines whether the member merits a retrial. If a retrial is granted, the appeal is filed with the International Executive Board where it remains until it is settled by the Convention.

The International President is the official head of the Organization and as such devotes his whole time to its interests and affairs.

In the event of death, resignation, or removal of an international officer, the International President shall appoint a successor for the unexpired term with the approval of the International Executive Board. The International President is jointly responsible, with the International Secretary-Treasurer, for all funds of the international organization; he gives bond, to be made payable to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in an amount which shall be determined by the International Executive Board.

He shall call upon two or more members of the International Executive Board, or any operating porter, to assist in all conferences or negotiations with management of sleeping car companies or railway carriers.

The International Secretary-Treasurer is a bonded custodian of all funds and must report on the activities of his office and membership of the international union at every Brotherhood convention, presenting a full and complete certified audit of the funds and financial status of the Brotherhood, with bank books and vouchers.

The membership of sleeping car porters of the Organization covers the entire nation and includes Montreal and Toronto, Canada. The geographical area of membership is divided into five zones - Eastern Zone, Detroit-Pittsburgh Zone, Chicago Zone, St. Louis-Southwestern Zone, and Pacific Coast Zone. An International Vice President is assigned to each zone. The function of the International Vice Presidents, with the International Secretary-Treasurer, is to assist the International President in operating, building, maintaining and controlling the international organization.

Each zone is designed to include several relatively large metropolitan Pullman districts and is a contiguous geographical area worked out with a view to covering, if not paralleling, as nearly as practically possible the operating districts of the Pullman Company.

DUES

The international organization, which has the responsibility of bearing the major expenses of the international order, controls a major portion of the monthly dues which began at one dollar and is now five dollars; three dollars and fifty cents of which is allocated and sent to the international office. No member is required to pay dues if furloughed, or sick, or on leave of absence.

LOCAL DIVISIONS

Each local division is required to have a membership of seven or more persons and must have at least one meeting a month. Local division officers include a president, one or two vice-presidents and a secretary-treasurer who are elected; a chaplain, sentinel and porter, who are appointed. Each local division has an executive board, and grievance, auditing, education and organization committees. Compensation to local officers depends upon the consent and approval of the International President and the financial condition of the local division.

The president of each local division is chairman of the local grievance committee and his other two colleagues on the committee are appointed by the international vice president who supervises the zone, with recommendations being made by the local division.

The international union controls the local divisions as well as the national mechanism by means of which grievances and claims are taken up with the Pullman Company and railway carriers and carried to the National Railroad Adjustment Board.

Each local secretary-treasurer is bonded and authorized to collect dues and assessments as directed by the International Secretary-Treasurer and concurred in by the International President and International Executive Board. The International Executive Board may order a local secretary-treasurer's books audited at any time. Financial records of local secretary-treasurers must tally with those of the International Secretary-Treasurer and vice versa. Local secretary-treasurers are immediately removed whenever charges of mishandling funds are brought and sustained.

This same procedure would obtain with any international officer against whom charges were made and sustained for mishandling funds.

The Organization is racially integrated, nonreligious and nonpartisan, but individual members and officers are free to follow any religion or political party they choose. However, the Organization has consistently opposed Communists and Communism.

MEMBERSHIP QUALIFICATIONS

Membership in the Brotherhood is open to sleeping car, dining car and chair car employees, attendants, bus boys, train porters, and all employees performing the work on sleeping cars, parlor cars or composite cars, and dining cars on which food and drinks are sold and beds made, without regard to race, sex, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.

CONVENTION

The Convention which is held triennially is the supreme authority of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Convention is composed of the elected delegates and the international officers. It functions through the following committees: (1) Committee on Credentials; (2) Committee on Rules; (3) Auditing Committee; (4) Committee on Resolutions and Constitution; (5) Committee on Claims and Grievances; (6) Train Porters' Committee; (7) Committee on Scientific Service and Safety Efficiency; (8) Committee on Education and Organization.

LADIES AUXILIARY

There is a Ladies Auxiliary, with local branches in practically all of the local divisions of the international organization, the purpose of which is to make the porter's home a union home to support the union porter and the philosophy and program of the trade union movement in general, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in particular.

AFFILIATIONS

The Brotherhood is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Railway Labor Executives' Association,

and the Canadian Labour Congress, and its International President is a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

OK as corrected

STATEMENT OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT HEARINGS OF EMERGENCY
BOARD ON DISPUTES BETWEEN THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING
CAR PORTERS, THE PULLMAN COMPANY, THE CHICAGO, ROCK IS-
LAND AND PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY, THE NEW YORK CENTRAL
SYSTEM AND THE SOO LINE RAILROAD COMPANY - CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS, AUGUST 20, 1963

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(1) My name is A. Philip Randolph. My address is 217 West 125 Street, New York City, N. Y. I am the International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. I have served in this office since 1929.

INTRODUCTION

(2) (A) Let me make it clear to the honorable members of this Emergency Board that the chief, if not the only reason we are here seeking the statutory 40-hour week, or 173-hour workmonth, at this time, for sleeping car porters is their historical socio-economic-ethnic-political background. All but a very small number of white workers already have the 40-hour week; and those white workers that don't have it are those who supervise ~~Negro workers~~.

~~(B)~~ ~~(C)~~ ~~(D)~~ ~~(E)~~ ~~(F)~~ ~~(G)~~ ~~(H)~~ (I)

Following the end of the Civil War, the freedmen, inheritors of a legacy of a quarter of a thousand years of slavery - a labor system with no wage, and a workday from sunup to sundown - were easily recruited by the Pullman Company for a low wage, with a workmonth of thirty days and thirty nights.

With a virtually unlimited labor supply of the newly emancipated slaves who exhibited a ready mastery of the technology of the sleeping car porters' occupation, The Pullman Company wrote its own ticket with respect to wages, worktime, and working conditions of the freedmen for practically a century. During the greater part of this economic history The Pullman Company enjoyed the status of a blue chip corporation.

Being ethnic victims of a pattern of skilled-craft occupational deprivation which results in low wage income levels, Pullman porters have enjoyed little, if any, inter-occupations' mobility, captured, as it were, in a blind alley marginal job opportunity trap.

Because of the prevailing concept of the hereditary racial inferiority of the Negro, black workers have not been able to close the wage, hours of work, and working conditions dichotomy between white and non-white workers in the railroad industry, as shown by the fact that non-white train service employees ~~is~~ ARE the one significant segment of railroad workers which lacks the 40-hour week, or 173-hour workmonth, and is at the bottom of the wage and working conditions totem pole.

Being unequal in the race of the American wage earners to earn a living, beginning, as it were, with the handicap of bondage, and despite the noble and morally valid statement of the Declaration of Independence that it is a "self-evident" truth that "all men are created equal," all Negro ~~laborers~~ WORKERS, including sleeping car porters, face the difficult problem of catching up in job opportunities, wage rates and working conditions with our white brothers.

With some racially closed unions and racially closed jobs, and entry into classes for the right to learn in order to earn being racially conditioned, in an increasingly and rapidly automated society black labor is involved in a desperate struggle for economic survival.

It is such stark, forbidding economic realities that caused President Kennedy to make the following timely, though shocking, description of our segregated American society in his epoch-making civil rights message to the Congress:

> "The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section or state in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man; twice as much chance of becoming unemployed; about one-seventh as much chance of earning ten thousand dollars a year; a life expectancy which is seven years less; and the prospect of earning half as much."

This economic plight of black America is the inevitable outcome of a long and hapless historical background, including a plantation labor system of servitude, under which not only were few economic functions differentiated and the number of specific handicrafts skills required, small, but the slave labor force was deliberately and ~~un~~systematically denied, by custom, practice, and law, any form of skilled training

(7)

except that which was necessary for the maintenance of a self sufficient profitable plantation.

Thus, with the march of industrialization and urbanization of the South following the end of the Civil Way in 1865, Negro workers never became the beneficiaries of the proliferation and specialization of occupations and the differentiation and compartmentalization of handicraft skills with economic growth and the development of the unionization of workers.

This racially exclusionary process of placing a roadblock to highly wagerated skilled jobs resulted in the disproportionate concentration of Negro labor into the unskilled and semi-skilled categories which now causes them to be the chief victims of the progress of technology and automation since mere muscle power is no longer in great demand in the national job market.

Inequality in the utilization of manpower because of race or color is not only the cause of racial frustration, discontent and discord among one-tenth of the population, but it is uneconomic.

According to Elmo Roper, noted public relations analyst, racial discrimination and segregation represent a cost or loss of $30 billion annually since it is logical to assume that with similar educational and job opportunities Negroes would develop comparable productive capabilities and purchasing power.

X Because of the aforementioned economic conditions a recession among white workers represents a depression among black workers. Such are the conditions that set up a sort of racial pattern of disequilibrium with white labor.

(6) Just ~~so~~ AS there is a wide gap in the worktime of sleeping car porters, now ~~[illegible]~~ 48 hours a week, while 95 percent of railroad workers have the 40-hour week, so the rate of unemployment of Negro workers, according to the U. S. Department of Labor, is twice the rate of unemployment of white workers. Under-utilization of the physical and human resources of the nation, white or black, does not make for a sound rate of economic growth.

Insert after The Brotherhood work month and add ~~[illegible]~~ Paragraph on Page (5)

I

C

The Organization here seeks a solution to the familiar, if not perplexing, problems arising from the rapid porters' jobs abolition. To the individual sleeping car porter the decline in the number of jobs means not only insecurity in employment but, also very frequently, loss of employment opportunity; especially is this true of a large number of porters whose ages range above 50 years.

Job abolition among sleeping car porters may be primarily traceable to discontinuance of passenger operations, abandonment of Pullman and railroad districts, elimination of districts and agencies, and management's apparent indifference to the promotion and maintenance of passenger business, as shown by the shocking deterioration in equipment and service, including the unattractive appearance of terminals, dirty windows of parlor cars and coaches, and lack of convenient train schedules.

The Organization seeks a reduction in the workmonth and job protections, to achieve more jobs and stabilization of jobs, in order to ameliorate the economic distress which plagues our members.

In the main, the Organization seeks increase in jobs, to provide the means of living to porters who have given their lives to the development and progress of the sleeping car business, and job stabilization, by arresting the rate of position abolition through penalization of the high rate or volume of disemployment.

Just as Negroes have finished with the status of second-class citizenship in a first-class nation, porters have finished with second-class economic citizenship in a first-class industry.

Insert after arguments

F HISTORY OF ORGANIZATION

Here middle pg 14

Negro Pullman porters have become a firmly established institution in the history of American RAILWAY travel since the Pullman Company was incorporated in 1867 as a manufacturer and operator of railroad sleeping cars.

PIONEER UNION

Just as it was natural and proper to name the first standardized Pullman sleeper, "Pioneer," an innovation in passenger travel; so it ~~was~~ is not incorrect to regard the

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as a pioneer in the field of trade union organization among Negro workers, being the first labor union under Negro leadership to be recognized as an international trade union, as shown by international charter granted the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters by the American Federation of Labor in 1934.

WINNING RECOGNITION A LONG STRUGGLE

While sleeping car service had been established for over a half century at the birth of the Brotherhood, it was one of the last of the railway unions to gain recognition as the duly authorized collective bargaining agent for a class of railway employees. Although the Brotherhood would have eventually won collective bargaining rights for sleeping car porters from the Pullman Company, it was twelve long, hard years before the Organization won the representation election in 1935, made possible by amendment of the Railway Labor Act, 1934, which gave protection to employee rights to bargain collectively.

Having been conditioned over fifty years by a workforce of submissive and uncomplaining Negro freedmen just emancipated from slavery - the most degrading, demoralizing and soul-shattering labor system ever conceived by man - Pullman management, profoundly shaken by the heirs of these ex-slaves demanding the right of collective bargaining as members of a labor union, reacted with formidable and fierce opposition, if not persecution.

Laboring under the fallacy that only southerners knew how to handle Negro labor, a disproportionately large segment of the supervisory personnel, district superintendents and Pullman conductors, came from the South, whose chief technique for utilizing black workers was harsh and cruel abuse and the treatment of grown men like irresponsible children, which was designed to keep them in a state of fear. Probably no group of workers in the country was as browbeaten, harassed and tormented by all sorts of petty charges, as well as penalized by being given days on the streets without pay, and often discharged, only to be taken back if, as, and when a porter sought mercy by crawling on his belly, ~~which was~~ NORMALLY expected by management, and which was generally the case.

Porters were difficult to organize, not only because of fear in their hearts on account of reprisals by racial Pullmanism but they ~~are~~ WERE widely distributed throughout the country, rendering continuous contact and communication exceedingly difficult.

RESISTANCE TO PORTERS' ORGANIZATION

When Federal control of railroads ended in 1920 and the Transportation Act was enacted, the Pullman Company set up probably the most formidable form of resistance to a Legimitate porters' union, an Employee Representation Plan - a company DOMINATED union, ~~under~~ UNDER [illegible] which the Pullman Company called ~~a~~ Wage Conferences in 1924, 1926, and 1929. Employee Representation Plans, Industrial Parliaments, and other euphemistic titles invented by industrial efficiency experts, designed to lure and mislead well-meaning but misguided worders, flourished throughout the country as an expression of an anti-trade union movement ~~patriotically~~ Hypocritically AND SEMANTICALLY called the American Plan. Realizing that workers, as a result of exploitation, would eventually seek and develop self-organization to fight for increased wages, shorter hours of work and improved working conditions, the Pullman Company generously ~~gave~~ IMPOSED the Employees Plan of Representation ~~to~~ upon the porters.

PETITIONS TO CURE ECONOMIC ILLS

Most movements have antecedents; they have parents and grandparents and their roots sink deep into the soil of the past. Porters, like other railroad workers, were restive. This was natural. They had grievances, grave grievances; wages were low; hours of work were long, treatment, bad. Frustrated, confused and afraid, porters for a long time balked at acutal independent labor organization. They set up literary, social and athletic clubs and quasi-fraternal plans such as the Pullman Porters Benefit Association which provided sick and death benefits with the blessings and control of Pullman.

Thus, before any definitive crystallization of a bona fide organization emerged, petitions of diverse sorts had been timidly presented to Pullman officials for the resolution of grievances, and there were many.

The first serious efforts at organization by porters, along with various classes of railroad workers, began during World War I, 1914. When the United States government took over the control and operation of railroads in 1918, President Woodrow Wilson appointed William Gibbs McAdoo as Director-General, established the War Labor Conference Board and issued General Order 27 which gave sanction to the right of self-organization to railway employees, raised wages, and improved working conditions. This galvanized porters to action and a number of TRANSITORY ~~fly-by-night~~, unstable organizations were hastily formed, which caused them to miss a golden opportunity to get together in one solid labor union. Pullman Conductors had seized the opportunity by organizing the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors in 1918. They were recognized by the Pullman Company in 1922.

ISOLATED FROM MAINSTREAM OF RAIL LABOR

Since practically every decision, unanimously agreed to by both representatives of management and the porter employees, was against the porters, they had no alternative to self-organization. Pullman had rejected Bona fide unions of its employees since the famous Pullman Strike of 1893, which was broken and its leader, Eugene Debs, imprisoned.

Besides, the Big Four Brotherhoods, organized between 1860 and 1893, and practically all of the non-operating railway unions subsequently organized, had color bars in their constitutions.

The Adamson Act of 1917 which regulated hours of work of railway workers did not apply to porters. They were not considered railway employees because they worked on cars FOR ~~on~~ carriers which were ~~carried~~ HAULED by trains. The fact is, the Pullman Company was classified as a carrier, but not a carrier by a railroad, whatever that means.

Even the Railway Act of 1926 did't help porters until it was amended in 1934, under which amendments representation~~s~~ ELECTIONS were provided for, as a rule, to determine the collective bargaining agent. It is interesting to note in this connection that the said amendment included all classes of railway employees except sleeping car porters and dining car employees. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters corrected this error.

PORTERS CASE TO MEDIATION BOARD

Failing in the attempt at direct ~~relations~~ negotiations with the Pullman Company, application for the services of the National Mediation Board to investigate and settle the resprsentation dispute was made, October 19, 1926. Mediator E. P. Morrow, former Governor of Kentucky, was assigned to the case. The Company called for the dismissal of the case on the ground that 85 percent of the porters and maids had voted under the Employee Representation Plan in 1926. Under the Railway Labor Act of 1926, Pullman's Employee Representation Plan was construed to be legal if there was no interference with, influence or coercion, of the porters and maids in their efforts at self-organization.

Following an investigation, the Mediation Board announced that the parties involved had failed to reach an agreement through the process of mediation and in view of rejection of arbitration by the Pullman Company, though accepted by the Organization, the Board closed the case, July 12, 1928.

But while the Company rejected arbitration of the porters' case, it was at that time arbitrating a dispute with the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors (white).

The adverse action of the Mediation Board caused morale and membership of the Organization to decline.

Though not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, William Green, President, manifesting his concern about the struggles of the Organization to build a union, counselled cancellation of the proposed and scheduled strike for June 8, 1928, and concentration upon building membership. His advice was heeded.

In the light of the fact that the Railroad Commission of California in one of its decisions involving the Pullman Company and its car-service employees, in 1914, had held that "the salaries paid by the respondent to its employees are so low as to be nothing more than an inducement to such employees to solicit gratuities from the traveling public, and the Respondent Company was directed to take such steps as may be necessary to place its scale of salaries on a basis thereby enabling the public to give such gratuities as it may desire in a spirit of generosity and not with a feeling of necessity, as is now the case," the Brotherhood, on September 7, 1927, filed a brief with the Interstate Commerce Commission in which it maintained that Pullman porters' wages were not considered sufficient.

The Pullman Company challenged the Brotherhood's position by asserting that the Interstate Commerce Commission had no legal jurisdiction over tipping since its main function was to set rates for interstate carriers and not wages for workers engaged in interstate transportation.

On March 5, 1928 the Interstate Commerce Commission decided, by a vote of 4 to 3, that it did not have jurisdiction over the Brotherhood-Pullman dispute.

ALTERNATIVES TO A PORTERS' UNION

While the Pullman Company entered into an agreement with Unit No. 122 of the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor, September 15, 1921, covering 6,000 Pullman Shop Employees, and signed an agreement with the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, January 1, 1922, under the Transportation Act of 1920, it gave the Employee Representation Plan to its porters in 1920, and the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association, November 20, 1920, neither one of which was under the control of porters but were pure Company contrivances designed to lull the porters into a false sense of security and importance. Porters were obviously considered second-class employees of a first-class industry - Pullman. This attitude was systematically maintained toward Negro workers in every section of the railroad industry.

SEEKS TO DESTROY PLAN

Encouraged by injunction of the Federal District Court of Texas issued August, 1927, ordering the Texas and New Orleans Railroad of the Southern Pacific Lines to cease operating its company union, as a result of efforts of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters filed a petition for a writ of of injunction in the Federal District Court in Northern Illinois, to enjoin Pullman from continuing to hold elections or to operate and finance the Employee Representation

Plan, October 14, 1930.

Judge Charles E. Woodward, on October 15, refused to uphold the petition on the ground that evidence had not been presented to show that the porters would suffer "irreparable damage" if elections were held under the Plan. His ruling asserted that the Brotherhood had been in existence five years despite the Employee Representation Plan, consequently there was no need for relief. Furthermore, the Court ruled that if elections were held and the Brotherhood could prove "interference, influence and coercion" it would halt such elections.

In 1932 the Brotherhood petitioned for a permanent injunction to restrain Pullman from operating its Employee Representation Plan in violation of the Railway Labor Act of 1926 and the Norris-LaGuardia Labor Injunction Act of 1932. Judge GEORGE E. ~~F~~Q. Johnson of the Federal District Court of Northern Illinois upheld the Brotherhood petition on November 12, 1932.

Finally, Judge Charles E. Woodward, who had ruled unfavorabl~~e~~y on the Brotherhood's petition for a temporary injunction, handed down a decision, January 15, 1934, dismissing the Brotherhood's petition for lack of equity.

Support of the Brotherhood's injunction fight against the Employee Representation Plan was given by the American Federation of Labor as a result of contributions from affiliated unions in the amount of $660, following a proposal by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, in the 1933 Convention.

PORTERS AND ROOSEVELT'S NEW DEAL

Having been blocked at every turn to liquidate the Employee Representation Plan, the biggest obstacle to the Brotherhood's winning representation of the porters, leaders of the organization were greatly heartened with the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Emergency Railway Transportation Act of 1933, which appeared to outlaw company unions, only to be disillusioned when they were advised that Pullman porters did not come under the National Industrial Recovery Act because they were not employees of a carrier engaged in interstate transportation; nor were they encompassed by the Emergency Railway Transportation Act of 1933 because the carrier for which they worked was not a railroad. For the nonce, this interpretation left the porters securely caught upon the horns of a dilemma.

Borth Coordinator Joseph B. Eastman and the American Federation of Labor supported an amendment to the Emergency Transportation Act of 1933 which would cause it to apply to any sleeping car and express company. The amendment was opposed by the Pullman Company which contended that it rendered services comparable to that of an innkeeper, implying that Pullman car-service employees were not railroad workers and should not come under railroad law. However, this Act was short-lived, expiring in 1936.

RAILWAY LABOR ACT AMENDED

In 1934 the Railway Labor Act was amended and the Brotherhood fought for and won the right, over strong opposition from the Pullman Company, to have the titles Sleeping Car Porters and Dining Car Employees spelled out in the Act along with other classes of railway employees. The names sleeping car porters and dining car employees had been left out of the printed bill which was being considered by the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, of which Senator C. Dill of the State of Washington was chairman.

BSCP WINS REPRESENTATION ELECTION

Because of the conflict in representation claims between the Brotherhood and the Pullman Porters Protective Association, which had been set up to take the place of the Employee Representation Plan, the Organization made application on October 5, 193~~5~~4 to invoke the services of the National Mediation Board to hold a representation election to settle the dispute. The election resulted in 5,931, or 79.1 percent votes for the Brotherhood and 1,422 or 19.11 percent votes for the Pullman Porters Protective Association. The Brotherhood was officially certified to be the representative of the Pullman porters and maids on July 1, 1935 by the National Mediation Board.

The Pullman Company signed its first contract with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on August 25, 1937.

BSCP AND AFL

President William Green of the AFL was friendly to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters from its birth in 1925. Federal charters were granted porters in 1929. The Brotherhood firmly rejected jurisdiction claimed by the International Hotel and Restaurant and Bartenders League and the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors. An international charter was presented to the Brotherhood in Chicago, June 7, 1936, by William Green.

BSCP AND NATIONAL RAILROAD ADJUSTMENT BOARD

But becoming the bargaining agent of employees of a certain class or industry is not enough in our complex industrial system; a labor union must also become an integral part of the appropriate agencies, legal and voluntary, that bear upon the effective functioning of the union. Thus, a railway labor organization, in the interest of serving its members constructively, should become a member of the AFL-CIO and, especially, the Railway Labor Executives' Association, as well as become eligible to participate in the selection of members of the National Railroad Adjustment Board.

~~While the Brotherhood fulfilled all of the conditions required under the Railway Labor Act to participate in the selection of members of the National Railroad Adjustment Board.~~

While the Brotherhood fulfilled all of the conditions required under the Railway Labor Act to participate in the selection of members of the National Railroad Adjustment Board, the supreme court in the railroad industry for the adjustment of grievances and claims arising between the carriers and the employees, it was not until 1949 that the Brotherhood was recognized by the appropriate government agency and cooperating railway labor organizations as a bona fide LABOR UNION ELIGIBLE TO participate in the selection of members of ~~this~~ THE NATIONAL RAILROAD ADJUSTMENT Board.

This victory came only after a long and protracted battle, beginning with the ~~Association of~~ Railway Labor Executives Association, composed of the standard railway unions, which hedged, evaded, and dodged the issue to avoid taking a definite position on the question, even going to the extent of providing legal counsel to fight the petition of the Brotherhood before a hearing set up by the U. S. Department of Labor. At the hearing argument was made by the representatives of the ~~white~~ STANDARD railway unions to show that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters should not participate with other railway unions in the selection of members of the National Railroad Adjustment Board.

All opposition was finally overcome and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is now one of the STANDARD railway labor organizations with the right to participate in the selection of members of the Board, paying the same amount of money as other participating organizations to maintain the labor personnel of the Third Division of the Board.

PRE-BROTHERHOOD PORTERS' WAGES

After the Organization had established itself as the duly authorized collective bargaining agent of the porters it proceeded to build a wage structure for this class of employees. The wage structure planned and built by the Brotherhood had to rest upon a low wage base, as herein set forth.

In 1883 porters received a wage of $12.00 a month.

In 1897 porters received a wage of $20.00 a month.

In 1911 porters received a wage of $27.50 a month.

In 1915 porters received a wage of $30.00 a month.

In 1918 porters received a wage of $48.50 a month.

In 1919 porters received a wage of $60.00 a month.

In 1924 porters received a wage of $67.50 a month.

In 1926 porters received a wage of $72.50 a month.

In 1929 porters received a wage of $77.50 a month.

In 1932 a wage decrease of five dollars was imposed upon the porters. Between 1933 and 1935 the deduction of five dollars was restored to the porters.

PRE-BROTHERHOOD WORKMONTH

Under the Pullman Employee Representation Plan, 11,000 miles constituted a basic month's service. Overtime was paid at the rate of 60/100 of one cent per mile.

In 1937 when the first contract was negotiated with the Pullman Company by the Brotherhood it was agreed that 240 hours would constitute a basic month's service. Overtime to be paid at the rate of time-and-one-half after 260 hours. In 1949 the Brotherhood negotiated an agreement providing that 205 hours shall constitute a basic workmonth. Overtime ~~to be~~ WOULD BE paid at the rate of time-and-one-half after 240 hours of service.

Before the advent of the Brotherhood there was no such thing as vacation, with or without pay. In 1944 the Brotherhood negotiated an agreement with the Pullman Company providing for one week's vacation with pay. In 1950 the Brotherhood negotiated an agreement with the Pullman Company providing for six days vacation with pay for porters with less than five years in the service, and twelve days vacation with pay for porters with five or more years of service. It also provided that a porter on a round trip assignment involving more days than the twelve days vacation allowed shall be given the number of days in the round trip, with pay. Thus, porters on long cross-country trips covering fourteen, sixteen, eighteen and twenty days will receive a vacation of the said number of days in the round trip with pay, the vacation beginning at the end of his regular layover.

Ⓑ OCCUPATIONS

Insert after three lines in page 11 =

The classes of employees involved in the disputes with the Pullman Company and railway carriers are sleeping car porters. Other classes of employees included in the membership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are parlor car and coach attendants, train porters and dining car employees. THE NUMBER OF PULLMAN AND RAILWAY EMPLOYEES INVOLVED IN THIS CASE IS 5000 MORE OR LESS. The sleeping car porter's job requires:

(a) Preparation of sleeping cars for the reception of passengers before departure of the train. This includes making ready the berths and furnishing the roomette, single room, compartment or drawing room with towels, drinking water, hat bag and coat hangers.

(b) A central factor to the efficient performance of the service of a sleeping car porter on a car with passengers with varying temperaments and tensions is the possession of a body of experience, which tends to make of him a practical walking psychologist. The average porter measures up to this difficult requirement.

(c) When all of the cars of a train cannot be accommodated on a terminal station platform, porters have the problem of carrying heavy luggage through several cars to a car convenient for detraining, which usually involves risk of a back injury to the porter.

(d) A major responsibility of the sleeping car porter is the protection and safeguarding of the passenger's person and property and, especially, women and children. A sleeping or parlor car serves the function of a home on wheels and requires continuous policing to insure security of person and property.

WORKING CONDITIONS

"Doubling Out"

Doubling out imposes a hardship upon a porter in an operation, for instance such as that between New York and Chicago. Doubling out on this run involves a porter arriving from New York in Chicago at 9:30 A.M., leaving Chicago the same day at 5:00 p.m. on a return trip to New York City, without proper rest to rebuild new reserves of energy.

SLEEP PERIOD

When all sleeping space is sold on a train, a porter on a trip comparable to the New York-Chicago run is deprived of a night's sleep. Although he is paid for the loss of the sleep period the physical impairment resulting from the loss of sleep period cannot be equated with compensation for same.

In the interest of reducing cost of operation, Pullman built sleeping space or, more accurately described, a hole at the end of sleeping cars which was both too short and too narrow for comfort for the average porter, as well as too cold in winter and too hot in summer for any human being. But porters were required to sleep in it. Although a few of these hot and cold boxes still exist, on account of the vigorous opposition by the Organization to them, Management no longer requires porters to sleep in them. They are now used for cleaning utensils and excess baggage.

IN-CHARGE ASSIGNMENTS

A long-standing grievance of porters is inadequate pay for the performance of the combination job known as in-charge assignments, which include both the work of a porter and a conductor. The rate of pay is $ 462 86/xx

Stop
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Geographical distribution

(E) AGREEMENTS

Since the Brotherhood signed an agreement with the Pullman Company in 1937 it has negotiated agreements at various times with the following railway carriers:

Alton Railway Company
Atlantic Coast Line Railway Company
Baltimore and Ohio Railway Company
Canadian Pacific Railway Company
Central of Georgia Railroad Company
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway
Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company
Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railway Company
Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company
Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railway Company
Chicago and North Western Railway Company
Cotton Belt Railroad Company
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company
Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company
Erie Railroad Company
Fort Worth and Denver Railroad Company
Gulf, Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company
Illinois Central Railroad Company
International Great Northern Railroad Company
Kansas City Southern Railroad Company
Lehigh Vallen Railroad Company
Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad Company
Missouri Pacific Railroad Company
Northern Alberta Railways
New York Central System
New Yor, New Haven and Hartford Railway Company
Santa Fe Railroad Company
Santa Fe and Gulf Coast Railroad Company
Seaboard Air Line Railroad Company
Soo Line Railroad Company
Southern Pacific Railroad Company
Texas and Pacific Railroad Company
Texas and New Orleans Railroad Company
Union Pacific Railroad Company
Wabash Railroad Company
Western Pacific Railroad Company
Pennsylvania Railroad Company

(D) GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PORTERS

Insert after occupations

From the birth of the Brotherhood in New York City in 1925 to the present date the largest concentration of porters was in New York City and Chicago. When the

Continuing effect of early inequities, in wages and hours.

(a) Wide variations in wage rates, which existed prior to Government operation of the railways in World War I, were brought into better relationship by the fixing of minimum rates by the Director General of Railroads, in 1919. Subsequently, however, unorganized workers in the industry were not given the increases, and in many cases were compelled to suffer greater wage decreases. The classes now represented by the Brotherhood received only "length of service" increases between 1919 and 1924; by 1929, the minimum rated porters had received approximately one third less than was given to the well organized Pullman conductors.

(b) From 1929 to 1935, wages of all railway employees were reduced, and then restored, so that the same relationship existed in 1935 as in 1929.

(c) From 1935 to July 1, 1960, wage rates of sleeping car porters increased in exactly the same amount per hour as those of non-operating railway employees during these years.

(d) Consequently, wages of these employees are today lagging by the amount of the early inequity, plus the increases gained since 1960 by the non-operating employees. The precise measurement of this total inequity will be presented in later testimony, but it is significant that the organizations representing non-operating railway employees have served notice on the carriers asking for wage increases ranging from 29¢ to 40¢ per hour, to be effective July 1, 1963.

(e) Basic hours of all non-operating railway employees were fixed at 48 per week, under the U. S. Railroad Administration; Pullman conductors and porters, however, were continued on a 240 hour month. Wages of non-operating employees had been maintained with the reduction in their hours to 48.

(f) Subsequently, the work week of non-operating employees has been reduced to 40 hours, with maintenance of take home pay, and with overtime rates paid after eight hours in the day or 40 in the week. The work month of sleeping car porters was, at the same time, reduced to a basic 205 hours -- the equivalent of ~~48~~ 47 in the week -- but only straight time rates are being paid for hours worked beyond 205. Premium overtime is paid only after 240 hours.

(g) The original inequity in work hours has thus been perpetuated, and the requirement of extra hours at straight time pay has aggravated that inequity.

Brotherhood members have been adversely affected by conditions for which other railway employees have sought and received partial relief, and are now asking improved protection.

(a) Drastic force reductions have resulted from railway consolidations, and other kinds of technological and organizational change. These changes have affected all classes of railway employees; groups other than the Brotherhood were parties to the Washington Agreement of May, 1936, assuring various kinds of protection to those employees involved in railway mergers. Some of these organizations have since negotiated similar protection for employees affected by changes in a single railway system. Other agreements, covering railway mergers and single railway changes, have given substantially greater protection than the original Washington Agreement. All of the operating and non-operating railway employee organizations, in disputes now in progress, are asking for even better protection for those affected by technological and organizational change.

(b) The Pullman Company was not a party, nor was the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to the Washington Agreement. The Railways rejected the Brotherhood's request to be included as a party to that agreement.

(c) Recent changes in control of sleeping car service have affected members of the Brotherhood; other similar changes are to be expected.

(d) There can be no just reason for failing to give to the Brotherhood membership the same security as has been gained by other railway employees; that is the purpose of the request by the Brotherhood, in its notice of March 8, 1962.

Discontent caused by these many serious injustices has been growing in the membership of the Brotherhood; they have never accepted the idea that they are second-class citizens of the railway industry, and have strongly resented the grave disparity between their working conditions and those of all other organized workers.

(a) That discontent and resentment found expression in resolutions, convention action, etc., urging Brotherhood action to correct the injustices from which our members suffer.

(b) The Brotherhood served upon the Pullman Company (and other companies) two notices, the first in September, 1961, asking for a wage increase of $51.25 per month, with six months' advance notice of lay-off, and the second, in March of 1962, asking for a reduction of the basic work month to 173 hours, with maintenance of monthly rates, and for protection to employees adversely affected by mergers or other technological change.

There have been only two strike votes taken by the Brotherhood, and this is the first appearance of its representatives before a Presidential Emergency Board. I feel confident that when the evidence has been presented to this Board it will find that the Brotherhood's requests are fully justified, and that there should be no further delay in correcting the many serious inequities under which its members are working.

ADDRESS OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

AUGUST 28, 1963

Fellow Americans, we are gathered here in the largest demonstration in the history of this nation. Let the nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group. We are not an organization or a group of organizations. We are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom.

This revolution reverberates throughout the land touching every city, every town, every village where black men are segregated, oppressed and exploited. But this Civil Rights Revolution is not confined to the Negro nor is it confined to civil rights, for our white allies know that they cannot be free while we are not and we know that we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions more live in poverty. Nor is the goal of our Civil Rights Revolution merely the passage of civil rights legislation.

Yes, we want all public accommodations open to all citizens but these accommodations will mean little to those who cannot afford to use them. Yes, we want a Fair Employment Practices Act, but what good will it do if profit-geared automation destroys the jobs of millions of workers, black and white. We want integrated public schools but that means we also want federal aid to education--all forms of education. We want a free democratic society dedicated to the political, economic and social advancement of man along moral lines.

Now, we know that real freedom will require many changes in the nation's political and social philosophies and institutions. For one thing we must destroy the notion that Mrs. Murphy's property rights include the right to humiliate me because of the color of my skin. The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality.

It falls to the Negro to reassert this profit priority of values because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls to us to demand new forms of social planning, to create full employment and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits--for we are the worse victims of unemployment. Negroes are in the forefront of today's movement for social and racial justice because we know we cannot expect the realization of our aspirations through the same old anti-democratic social institutions and philosophies that have all along frustrated our aspirations.

And so we have taken our struggle into the streets as the labor movement took its struggle into the streets, as Jesus Christ led the multitudes through the streets of Judea. The plain and simple fact is that until we went into the streets the Federal Government was indifferent to our demands. It was not until the streets and jails of Birmingham were filled that Congress began to think about civil rights legislation. It was not until thousands demonstrated in the South that lunch counters and other public accommodations were integrated. It was not until the Freedom Riders were brutalized in Alabama that the 1946 Supreme Court Decision banning discrimination in interstate travel was enforced and it was not until construction sites were picketed in the North that Negro workers were hired.

Those who deplore our militancy, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace, are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice. They are more concerned with easing racial tensions than enforcing racial democracy. The months and years ahead will bring new evidence of masses in motion for freedom. The March On Washington is not the climax of our struggle but a new beginning not only for the Negro but for all Americans who thirst for freedom and a better life.

Look for the enemies of Medicare, of higher minimum wages, of social security, of federal aid to education and there you will find the enemy of the Negro--the coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans that seeks to dominate the Congress. We must develop strength in order that we may be able to back and support the civil rights program of President Kennedy. In the struggle against these forces all of us should be prepared to take to the streets. The spirit and technique that built the labor movement, founded churches and now guide the Civil Rights Revolution must be a massive crusade, must be launched against the unholy coalition of Dixiecrats and the racists that seek to strangle Congress.

We here today are only the first wave. When we leave it will be to carry the Civil Rights Revolution home with us into every nook and cranny of the land, and we shall return again and again to Washington in ever growing numbers until total freedom is ours. We shall settle for nothing less and may God grant that we may have the courage, the strength and faith in this hour of trial by fire never to falter.

Sept. 10, 1963

Prepared for
N.Y. Times
Sunday Magazine

STATEMENT ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION
by A. Philip Randolph

Where do you go from here? What are the next steps?

These are questions that naturally and inevitably flow from an event of the magnitude, drama and challenge of the August 28th March on Washington.

What are the answers?

It is possible for the March to be construed as an end in itself, after which there is nothing further to be done.

It is also possible for it to be viewed as a means to an end, after which it is necessary to determine where do you go from here and what are the next steps.

Whichever of the two constructions is placed upon the March depends upon the motivation which caused the quarter of a million Negro and white Americans to foregather from practically every state in the United States, with a few artists from Europe, in the capital of the nation.

Obviously, Negroes and their white allies did not journey to Washington merely to march to the Lincoln Memorial monument to listen to a program on civil rights. They came to Washington to involve themselves in a mighty demonstration with their fellow Americans to bear witness to their commitment to the crusade for legislation represented in the package of proposals for civil rights presented to the Congress by President Kennedy.

Indeed, the objective was more than civil rights legislation; it was a challenge to the conscience of the country and a creative dialogue by Negroes and their white church and labor co-workers with the President, the Congress and our American democratic society, with a view to achieving a national consensus for civil rights legislation with its implementation.

The birth of this new life force, the black civil rights revolution abroad in the land, will and must grow and expand until it breaks through and sweeps into the ashcan of history the barriers, restrictions, myths and fictions of race bias.

But, albeit, this is not an automatic process. Historically, social forces of revolutions have been expressed through social agents, and human beings are those agents. Hence, the leadership of the civil rights revolution cannot escape the moral responsibility for the maintenance of the highest order of unselfish, courageous and uncompromising fidelity to the ideals, values, hopes and faith of this sacred crusade for the recognition of, and respect for, the God-given human rights of Americans of color.

What, then, is to be done?

First, Negro civil rights leadership united behind the March must maintain unity, without uniformity.

Second, the coalition of the Negro community with the labor and church communities that supported the March must be preserved, broadened and deepened.

If freedom is indivisible then the fight for freedom by those forces devoted to freedom should be indivisible. Negroes, not unlike labor, women and other minorities, cannot win their rights alone. The coalition of moral forces represented by the civil rights, labor and church groups is unquestionably one of the most powerful instrumentalities yet devised to help create a national consensus for the cause of civil rights legislation and an ethical basis for interracial brotherhood which is imperative to give reality, integrity and meaningfulness to civil rights laws.

Third, since when oppressed people are once awakened and aroused they disturb their oppressors and tend to cause them to move to abolish oppression, demonstrations by Negroes and their fellow white allies in the streets, a recognized American tradition, must continue without relaxation until basic, tangible, concrete and objective progress in the acquisition of jobs and apprenticeship training for jobs in industry, unions and government and the abolition of race bias in public accommodations, schools and housing, is made.

Had it not been for demonstrations in the streets of Birmingham, Alabama and other cities in the North and South, it is quite unlikely that President Kennedy would have submitted his package of proposals for civil rights legislation to the Congress.

If street demonstrations were necessary to secure action by the President for civil rights legislation in this Congress, it is reasonable to assume that continuous street demonstrations are indispensable to bring about the enactment of the proposals into laws, without emasculation.

Fourth, major interest and emphasis must and will be placed upon building the unity of Negro leadership in the civil rights revolution in every state and city together with the coalition of the Negro, labor and church communities, to the end of achieving a state and city consensus for civil rights legislation. This, of course, is the job of existing civil rights organizations. No new movement is necessary.

Central to the strategy and tactics of the civil rights revolution following the March--which was the big push, the great thrust, to challenge and shake the conscience of the nation--is the confrontation of the filibuster in the Senate by a filibuster of the people in Negro and white churches in Washington, by a roster of notable, dedicated Americans to a free society from all walks of life--educators, church leaders, leaders of labor, members of the bar, the Senate and House, state and city legislative bodies, women's clubs, governors and mayors--for the exposition of the history, principles and processes of democratic government.

In addition to inviting various states and cities to send representatives to Washington to participate in a forum of a filibuster of the people to advance the frontiers of freedom, democracy and human dignity, local forums to conduct filibusters of the people, against the filibuster to kill civil rights legislation, will be encouraged and developed.

Civil rights leaders have no choice but ceaselessly and vigorously to work and fight for civil rights legislation for if the filibuster should halt civil rights legislation dead in its tracks joblessness continues to worsen and humiliation in places of accommodation goes on unabated. Frustration, if not desperation, sharpening in the black ghettos, may burst into fires of violent interracial conflict which will damage the cause of the civil rights crusade and the image of American democracy.

Indeed, if the civil rights revolution is aborted by a counterrevolution, symbolized by the filibuster, it may not only turn against white America but move to devour its own children.

September 10, 1963

apprenticeship training in new york

openings in 1963

introduction by **A. PHILIP RANDOLPH**
JOSEPH MONSERRAT

A WDL PUBLICATION

apprenticeship training in new york

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prepared by

the workers defense league

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the workers defense league

. . . a human rights organization devoted to full equality before the courts, on the job and in the union. Founded 25 years ago, WDL has steadily fought racial, economic and political exploitation. From Negro sharecroppers to British West Indian migrants and the Freedom Fighters of Hungary, WDL has stood for the rights of free men everywhere.

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 2

INTRODUCTION 3

A. Philip Randolph
Joseph Monserrat

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES 4

The AFL-CIO
The State of New York
The City of New York
The United States

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

BOILERMAKER (Field and Repair) 5
BOOKBINDER 5
BREWER 6
BRICKLAYER 6
CARPENTER 7
COMPOSITOR 8
ELECTRICIAN 8
ELECTRIC MOTOR REPAIRMAN 9
ENGRAVER 9
FOLDING BOX ADJUSTER 10
GLAZIER 11
IRON WORKER 11
JEWELER - DIAMOND SETTER 12
LITHOGRAPHER 13
MARBLE SETTER 13
MILLWRIGHT 14
PAINTER - PAPERHANGER 14
PHOTOENGRAVER 15
PLASTERER-CEMENT FINISHER 16
PLUMBER 16
PRESSMAN (Assistant) 17
PRESSMAN (Book & Job) 18
PRESSMAN (Newspaper) 18
REFRIGERATION & AIR CONDITIONING MECHANIC 19
ROOFER 19
SHEETMETAL WORKER 20
STEAM FITTER 21
STONE SETTER (Mason) 21
UPHOLSTERER (Custom) 22
WIRE, WOOD & METAL WORKER 22

APPENDIX 24

Page 1, Standards of Apprenticeship Labor Bargaining Agreement

READERS RETURN FORM........ Inside Back Cover

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Workers Defense League is glad to acknowledge the cooperation of the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training in the Department of Labor of the State of New York in providing the information upon which this handbook is based. The League has also drawn heavily from materials of the United States Department of Labor, particularly from its *Occupational Outlook Handbook.*

As a check upon factual accuracy, the pertinent pages in the handbook were sent to the various unions listed as having apprenticeship programs in their respective trades. We are grateful to those who replied and enabled us to correct or update our material. In other cases we assumed, as stated in our letter requesting assistance, that the information was correct if no indication of change was received.

In nearly all cases, and unless otherwise indicated, the number of job openings is that as of September, 1962, the latest figure available.

INTRODUCTION

THIS HANDBOOK is a compilation of apprenticeship opportunities in our city and state at the present time. It lists some three thousand openings for apprentices needed to train for skilled jobs, mainly in the building trades. It tells where to apply and what qualifications are needed. It also cites New York State law making discrimination illegal in appreticeship and on-the-job training. We quote the strong stand against discrimination taken by the AFL-CIO at its last convention.

One out of five young people will be jobless in the sixties. But minority youth are the hardest hit: Department of Labor figures for 1960 showed 17.8 per cent of the nonwhites in the 14-19 age group were unemployed as against 8.4 per cent of whites in the same group. The situation is worse today. The Mayor has reported that 77,000 young people are now seeking work in our city. At the same time, our national need for skilled workers is growing. It is estimated that present training programs to fill growth and replacement needs in the skilled trades fall short by as much as a million men.

This handbook is the beginning of an answer. But in addition, government contracts should do more than guarantee nondiscrimination; they should insist on a certain proportion of apprentices to each journeyman employed. Other industries and other unions not listed here should be urged and encouraged to undertake programs. Vocational guidance and other youth counselors must steer young people towards and not away from the skilled trades. And youngsters should be encouraged to seek jobs in those trades (indicated in the handbook) where apprentices are selected from those already on the job. Information about new opportunities should be publicized as soon as they open. This handbook will be updated and reissued.

But above all, the opportunities we now know to exist, listed here, must be followed up. It is a task that demands the cooperation of youth-serving agencies, educators, industry and labor, and every citizen who is committed to equal opportunity as provided by law. We want to know what happens when Negro and Puerto Rican boys apply for apprenticeships, and we want to know why. The Workers Defense League has begun the effort; its success depends upon broad community action.

—A. Philip Randolph

—Joseph Monserrat

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

The *AFL-CIO* (the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations) in their 1961 Civil Rights Resolution say this:

We are for non-discrimination clauses on account of race, creed, color or national origin as a standard to be observed in all apprenticeship training programs.

We ask our affiliates to take initiative in a sustained effort to expand apprenticeship and training opportunities for all workers and, through joint apprenticeship committees in which they take part, insure that qualified applicants be accepted without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

The State of New York has provided since 1945 that:

The opportunity to obtain employment without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin is hereby recognized and declared to be a civil right.

It shall be an unlawful employment practice:

1. For an employer, because of the race, creed, color or national origin of any individual, to refuse to hire or employ or to bar or to discharge from employment such individual or to discriminate against such individual in compensation or in terms, conditions or privileges of employment.
2. For a labor organization, because of the race, creed, color or national origin of any individual, to exclude or expel from its membership such individual or to discriminate in any way against any of its members or against any employer or any individual employed by an employer.

The law covers apprentices specifically:

1. It shall be an unlawful discriminatory practice for an employer, labor organization, employment agency or any joint labor-management committee controlling apprentice-training programs:
   a) To deny or to withhold from any qualified person because of his race, creed, color or national origin the right to be admitted to or participate in a guidance program, an apprenticeship training program, on-the-job training program, or other occupational training or retraining program;
   b) To discriminate against any qualified person in his pursuit of such programs or to discriminate against such a person in the terms, conditions or privileges of such programs because of race, creed, color or national origin.

The City of New York is, of course, included under the New York State law against discrimination and its specific provisions on apprenticeship.

The city has also taken steps to prevent discrimination in any public contracts in provisions:

a) That in the hiring of employees for the performance of work under this contract or any subcontract hereunder, neither the Contractor, Subcontractor, nor any person acting on behalf of such Contractor or Subcontractor, shall by reason of race, creed, color or national origin discriminate against any citizen of the State of New York who is qualified and available to perform the work to which the employment relates;

b) That neither the Contractor, Subcontractor, nor any person on his behalf shall in any manner discriminate against or intimidate any employee hired for the performance of work under this contract on account of race, creed, color, or national origin.

The United States insists on Equal Employment Opportunity in the Federal Government and on Federal Contracts.

Executive Order No. 10590 of January 18, 1955, prohibits discrimination against any employee or applicant for employment in the Federal Government because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, provides:

The contractor will not discriminate because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include but shall not be limited to . . . selection for training, including apprenticeship.

The order states that: Discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin is contrary to the constitutional principles and policies of the United States.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

BOILERMAKER (*Field and Repair*)

Some rise in the number of job opportunities for boilermakers can be expected in the 1960's, but most openings will result from replacement needs.

Boilermakers, layout men, and fitup men specialize in the repairing, fabricating, and assembling of boilers, tanks, vats, and similar vessels made of metal plate. Boilermakers are primarily engaged in the repairing and erecting of vessels. This repair work requires workers who are all-around craftsmen; fitup and layout men are more specialized.

Boilermakers doing repair work in the field first determine the cause of trouble. They may then dismantle the boilers, vessels or other units, and make repairs such as patching weak spots with metal stock, replacing defective sections with new parts, or strengthening joints. The repair and installation work performed by boilermakers must often meet standards set by state and local boiler-and-pressure-vessel laws.

The union minimum wage scale in the trade averaged $4.11 in July, 1960, with a range from $3.75 to $4.81.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

In apprenticeship, the trainee works under the close supervision of a journeyman who instructs him in the skills of the trade, starting with how to use its tools and machines. Programs usually provide for about four years of on-the-job training and about 600 hours of instruction in blueprint reading, shop mathematics, welding techniques, and shop metalurgical science covering stress and strain of metals.

Qualifications

1. An apprentice must be at least 18 years of age and preferably not older than 26. The Committee may waive the age limitation for veterans, men with special qualifications, or reasons they feel will benefit the program.
2. Applicants must satisfy the Committee that they have sufficient education to warrant indenture. They may be requested to submit a transcript of their courses and grades.
3. Applicants must possess the ability, aptitude and physical capacity to perform and master the work of the trade.
4. Applicants must be American citizens or in the process of being naturalized.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 6.

Where to Apply

Local Lodge No. 5 of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers
5-31 50th Avenue, Long Island City, N.Y.

BOOKBINDER

Printed items such as books, magazines, pamphlets and small calendars must be folded, sewed, stapled or bound after they leave the printing shop. Much of this work is done by skilled bookbinders. There were about 23,000 bookbinders nationally in 1960; most of them were employed in shops whose chief business was bookbinding. However, a considerable number were employed in the bindery departments of large book and commercial printing plants and large libraries.

There are several different kinds of binders: edition and pamphlet binders bind books and magazines printed in large quantities; trade or job binders do binding work on contract for printers, publishers or other customers; looseleaf binders bind ledgers for bookkeeping and accounting volumes. Skilled bookbinders seldom perform all the different bindery tasks.

A July 1960 survey showed that the union minimum hourly wage was generally more than $2.60 an hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

A four- or five-year apprenticeship, which includes on-the-job training as well as related classroom instruction, is generally required. Apprenticeship programs may vary considerably among the various types of bookbinding shops. Sometimes the emphasis will be on modern machine methods or sometimes on artistic designing of leather covers. For the less skilled binding occupations the training period may last from several months to two years.

Qualifications

To be an apprentice the applicant must be 18 years of age or more; he must be of sound mind and in good physical health. He must bring a doctor's certificate obtained as a result of a medical examination taken within three months of application for apprenticeship. He must have completed at least two years of high school education or its equivalent. He will also have to pass a qualifying examination given by the New York School of Printing. Preference is given to boys who have worked in the trade for six months.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 11. Due to the present unemployment situation, the union is not contemplating any new apprentices in the industry at the present time. [March, 1963].

WHERE TO APPLY

Paper Cutters & Bookbinders Local Union
No. 119
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders
27 Union Square, New York 7, N.Y.

BREWER

Brewing has been a steadily growing industry since the relegalization of beer and ale in 1933, although the number of plants has leveled off considerably, making for greater stability.

The brewing process begins with grinding malt in a specially designed mill. Ground malt is then mashed in water at exact temperatures to make wort. The wort is then boiled with hops and other ingredients. The next process is cooling and aeration, then fermentation. Extraction of numerous important byproducts makes the process more complicated and the need for scientific exactitude paramount. Brewing is composed of many highly skilled crafts.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprentice learns to maintain the machinery of the trade. The program consists of four years of on-the-job training with two years of evening vocational school training in machine shop mathematics.

Qualifications

1. Applicants for apprenticeship by individuals unconnected with the trade shall be between the ages of 18 and 23 years. Honorably discharged veterans who entered service prior to their 23rd birthday shall be excluded from these provisions; other exceptions may be made by the Apprenticeship Training Committee.
2. Preference shall be given to applicants having a high school education or its equivalent.
3. Applicants should possess the physical fitness necessary to achieve a machinist skill.
4. Credit may be given to present employees, or others who become apprentices (if their experience and education meet the requirements of these standards) by action of the Apprenticeship Training Committee.

Wages

The apprentices earn 50 per cent of the journeyman salary with a 5 per cent increase every six months. On the average, a brewer earns $4.19 an hour.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 1 (but there are continued efforts to enlarge the program).

WHERE TO APPLY

Mr. Sid Fisher
Brewers Board of Trade, Inc. and
International Association of Machinists,
District No. 15
7 East 15th Street, New York, N.Y.

BRICKLAYER

Employment opportunities for bricklayers are expected to rise rapidly with increased construction work in the 1960s. Including vacancies due to death or retirement, about 100,000 new bricklayers will be needed nationally between 1960 and 1970.

A bricklayer builds walls, partitions, fireplaces and other structures of brick. He is also called on to work with other materials, such as concrete, cinder and gypsum blocks, structural tile and terra cotta (a decorative tile).

In his work, the bricklayer first spreads a layer or "bed" of soft mortar. He then sets the brick down, working it into the right position by hand, and cuts off the excess mortar. The line of bricks is kept even by a tightly stretched cord level with the bricks, and is checked with a mason's level. At the end of a row, the bricklayer trims the mortar with the point of a trowel to give the job a neat appearance.

Being a bricklayer calls for careful, neat, accurate work. Most often hand tools are used, including chisels, trowels, bricklayers' hammers and masons' levels, but power saws are sometimes used to cut the bricks. Journeymen bricklayers are helped by hod carriers, who keep them supplied with bricks and other materials, mix the mortar, and move scaffolding.

The average union wage for bricklayers as of July, 1960 was $4.17 an hour and $4.89 in New York City. The yearly wage of a bricklayer is not as large as these rates indicate, however, due to lay-offs in bad weather.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program generally consists of three to four years of on-the-job training. The apprentice learns, among other things, to use, care for, and handle safely the tools, machinery and equipment of the trade. In addition he receives related classroom instruction in blueprint reading, layout work and measurement.

Qualifications

The applicant should be between the ages of 17 and 24, but this age requirement may be waived for veterans. He should also have a high-school diploma.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices usually start at half of the journeyman's rate. They increase by about 5 per cent in each six-month period until a rate of 85 to 90 per cent is reached. Allowances are made for veterans and people with on-the-job training.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 351.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Apprenticeship Committee,
Building Contractors and Mason Builders
Association of New York and Bricklayers,
Masons & Plasterers Union of America
178 East 85th Street, New York 28, N.Y.

CARPENTER

Carpenters comprise the largest single group of skilled workers in the country and account for approximately two-thirds of all building craftsmen. (More than one million carpenters were employed in 1960.) They are employed in almost every type of construction activity. Work is usually divided into two broad categories, "rough carpentry" and "finish carpentry."

In rough work, carpenters erect the wood framework in buildings including subflooring, sheathing, partitioning. They install heavy timbers used in the building of docks, railroad trestles and heavy instruments. Rough carpentry also includes the building of forms to enclose concrete until it has hardened, and the erection of scaffolding and temporary buildings. After rough carpentry is completed, finish carpenters install moldings, wood paneling, cabinets and window sashes, door frames and hardware. They also build stairs and lay floors.

Union minimum hourly wage rates, as of July 1, 1960, averaged $3.78 nationally and $4.35 in New York City. Young men who obtain the all-around training given under apprenticeship programs will have especially favorable long-range job prospects.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program usually consists of four years of on-the-job training, in addition to a minimum of 144 hours a year of related classroom instruction. During this period an apprentice learns elementary structural design and becomes familiar with the common systems of frame and form construction. He learns to use, care for, and handle safely the tools, machines, equipment and materials in the trade. He learns how to build forms for holding cement and rough framing, outside and inside finishing work, and how to fit hardware and lay out doors, windows and partitions. He also receives related classroom instruction in drafting and blueprint reading, and mathematics applicable to layout work.

Qualifications

The applicant should be between the ages of 17 and 25 and he should have a high school diploma or its equivalent. He should be of good moral character and physical condition; have a good sense of balance and no fear of working on structures high off the ground.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices usually start at half the journeymen's rate and increase by about 5 per cent in each six-month period until a rate of 85 to 90 per cent is reached. Allowances will be made for veterans and people with on-the-job training.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 938.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Apprenticeship Committee of the Woodworking Trades—The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in cooperation with the Building Trades Apprenticeship Commission of the City of New York
204 East 23rd Street, New York 10, N.Y.

COMPOSITOR *(Newspaper)*

Skilled composing-room workers are employed in newspaper plants, commercial printing shops, in periodical and book-printing establishments, and in typographical composition shops which specialize in typesetting. Job opportunities are expected to increase, as in other branches of the printing trades nationally.

Hand compositors make up the oldest composing-room occupation. Compositors set type by hand for fine printing—for advertisements, for the title pages of books and, in some cases, the text of books. The work requires highly skilled craftsmen with artistic ability because the type must be arranged and spaced to produce a well-balanced and pleasing effect. Typesetting machine operators are craftsmen who operate semi-automatic machines which set type much more rapidly than the hand compositor.

In setting type by hand, the compositor, reading from the manuscript copy, first sets each line of type in a "composing stick" (which holds type in place) letter by letter and line by line. When this stick is full, he slides the completed lines onto a shallow metal tray called a "galley." Then he assembles and arranges machine and hand-set type and any needed engravings into pages. The pages are put into proper sequence for folding in the bindery and locked into forms.

The union minimum hourly wage for newspaper compositors averaged $3.37 on July 1, 1960.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually covers a six-year period unless the apprentice has previous training or schooling. Progressively advanced training is supplemented by classroom instruction. The apprentice learns elementary hand composition, page makeup, lockup and lineup and proofreading. After basic training as a hand compositor, the apprentice receives intensive training in one or more specialized fields, such as the operation of typesetting machines, including phototypesetting and teletypesetting machines, as well as hand composition and photocomposition.

Qualifications

An applicant must be between 16 and 23 years of age and must submit a birth certificate. Allowance will be made for time served in the armed forces. He must have at least a high school education. He must be in good health and must submit a record of physical examination. He must also pass an examination as to educational qualifications to enter the industry.

Wages

Apprentices are paid according to a predetermined wage scale which increases as the apprenticeship period advances.

Approximate Number of Openings

In 1961: 132. In 1962: none reported.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Apprenticeship Committee of the
New York Typographical Union No. 6
62 West 14th Street, New York, N.Y.

ELECTRICIAN

During the 1960's the number of construction electricians is expected to rise rapidly at a faster rate than employment in most of the other skilled building trades. Many jobs will result from large increases in construction activity. There will also be greater requirements for electrical outlets and switches in homes to accomodate the growing use of appliances.

Construction electricians lay out, install and test electrical fixtures, and install and wire electrical systems — systems used to provide heat, light, power, air conditioning and refrigeration in residences, office buildings, factories, hospitals and schools. They also install and connect electrical machinery, equipment and controls.

An experienced construction electrician who has learned all aspects of the craft through an apprenticeship program can transfer readily to other types of electrical work. Much of the work is outdoors; it is somewhat dangerous and requires considerable physical strength.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program requires five years of on-the-job training in addition to a minimum of 144 hours of related classroom instruction in each year. In a typical training program the apprentice learns to use and care for the tools of his trade. He is also taught drafting, electric layout, blueprint reading, mathematics and electrical theory.

Qualifications

An applicant not previously connected with the trade must be 18 years of age and have a high school diploma. Exceptions may be made by the Committee for those beyond the age limit who have engaged in the trade or who have college credits in engineering or other unusual qualifications. Photocopies of birth certificate and high school diploma should be brought to the Joint Committee by each applicant.

Wages

First 6 months, $1.80; second 6 months, $1.95; third 6 months, $2.15; fourth 6 months, $2.30; fifth 6 months, $2.50; sixth 6 months, $2.70; fourth year, $2.90; fifth year, $3.50.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 1175.

WHERE TO APPLY

Mr. Robert McCormick
Joint Industry Board of the Electrical Industry
New York, N.Y., and
Local No. 3, International Brotherhood
of Electrical Workers
130 East 25th Street, New York 10, N.Y.

Sign Electricians

Local No. 3, IBEW also has an apprenticeship training program for sign electricians. Applicants for apprenticeship must meet the requirements of the employer and the union. They are subject to the specific provisions as noted in the Labor Bargaining Agreement, Page 1 of the Standards of Apprenticeship. (Page 1 is appended.) Provision 1 applies directly to the applicant —it determines his starting age. Provisions 2 through 7 apply to the employer and apprentice —they set down wages, hours, number of apprentices hired in proportion to journeymen and the responsibility of the employer. Provision 8 requires that graduate apprentices be given a Certificate of Completion, and Provision 9 prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 21.
Apply at above address.

ELECTRIC MOTOR REPAIRMAN

The long-term trend toward greater use of electrical and electronic equipment means that employment opportunities in this field are good and will continue to increase. One great advantage that skilled workers in this trade have is that of being able to transfer to different types of electric maintenance jobs in various industries with little or no retraining.

A large part of the electric repairman's job consists of periodically inspecting equipment to detect and repair defects before breakdown occurs. In large plants, workers may specialize in the maintenance and repair of particular electrical equipment such as transformers, motors or welding machines. In small plants, or in large office buildings or apartment houses, the skilled electrician is usually responsible for all types of electrical work.

Straight-time hourly earnings for maintenance electricians are generally $2.50 to $3.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually lasts about four years. It includes on-the-job training and related classroom instruction in such subjects as mathematics, electrical and electronic theory, and blueprint reading. Training may include: motor repair; wire splicing; commercial and industrial wiring; installation of light and power equipment; installation and repair of electronic controls and circuits; welding, brazing and burning.

Qualifications

Applicants for apprenticeship shall meet the requirements of the Joint Apprenticeship Committee and be at least 18 years of age, in good physical condition, and have a high school education or its equivalent. The Committee may make exceptions for those connected with the trade or those who have special qualifications.

Wages

Apprentices usually start at about 60 percent of the journeyman's basic hourly pay rate. They receive increases every six months until in the last year of training they are receiving 85 to 90 percent of the journeyman's rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 6.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Industry Board of the Electrical Industry
and Local Union No. 3, International
Brotherhood of Electrical Workers,
Motor Repair Division
130 East 25th Street, New York, N.Y.

ENGRAVER

Opportunities to enter the skilled printing trades are expected to rise in the sixties, even though technological changes are affecting printing methods and the number of workers employed. Some openings always occur because of the need to replace craftsmen who retire or die. But a continued rise in the volume of printed material is expected because of population growth, the rising level of education, and the trend toward greater use of printed material for industrial and commercial purposes.

Among the most highly skilled of the printing craftsmen are the steel- and copper-plate engravers who cut or etch lettering and designs into plates by hand or machine. They are employed in small engraving shops.

The annual earnings of printing craftsmen depend not only on hourly rates of pay but also on how regularly they are employed. Printing has fewer seasonal fluctuations than most manufacturing industries, however. In January, 1961, production workers in the industry averaged $2.81 an hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Printing apprenticeships usually last from four to six years. Basically it is on-the-job training although classwork in related technical subjects is included. Most employers require a high school education or its equivalent, and knowledge of the basic principles of chemistry and physics is becoming more important. Artistic sense or training is an asset.

Qualifications

An apprentice must be at least 18 years old. In the beginning his duties will acquaint him with the nature of the work in general and allow judgment as to his qualifications after the probationary period.

After this, the process of learning followed is flexible, taking into account the wide variety of kinds of dies and designs required of the trade.

Wages

Apprentices start at 40 to 50 per cent of the basic rate for journeymen in the shop. Wages are increased periodically, usually every six months, until by the final six months the apprentice is receiving 80 to 95 per cent.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 6.

WHERE TO APPLY

Engravers J.C.C. (Lodge No. 2136)
of New York City
7 East 15th Street, New York 11, N.Y.

FOLDING BOX ADJUSTER

Employment in the paper products industry is expected to rise about 15 per cent in the decade 1960-1970, as it did from 1950 to 1960. This makes the outlook for those able to enter the industry good. Folding boxes are a specialized part of that industry and pressmen a highly skilled craft within it. As noted under qualifications below, it is often possible and desirable to take an unskilled job within the industry as an initial step toward securing skilled training. There are at least four different types of skilled work associated with this industry: maintenance mechanics (folding-box machine adjusters), die makers, cutting and creasing pressmen, letter press pressman.

The maintenance mechanic keeps machinery and equipment in good working order; when breakdowns occur he determines the cause of the trouble and makes the necessary repairs.

Die makers have a broad knowledge of machinery operation; they are highly skilled and creative workers. They construct metal forms (dies) which are used in stamping and forging operations.

Cutting and creasing pressmen also operate all types of machinery. They prepare work, lock up machinery, set grippers and feeders, maintain quality and production control.

The letterpress pressmen's basic duties are to "make ready" and tend the presses while they are in operation. The object of "make ready" is to insure printing impressions that are distinct and uniform. They do this by placing pieces of paper of exactly the right thickness underneath low levels of press plates, and by attaching pieces of tissue paper to the surfaces of the cylinder which makes the impression.

The average wage of the journeyman is approximately $2.80 per hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprentice in all four areas learns to use and set up the tools of his trade. The four-to-five-year program consists of on-the-job and classroom training. Aside from learning procedures directly connected with their particular specialty, apprentices learn trade theory, mechanical drawing, shop mechanics, original and special layout, blueprints, economics and safety procedures.

Qualifications

1. Apprentices may be taken from present employees who have aptitude and desire

to train for a specific job.

2. Firms are to recruit trainees themselves with the help and advice of the Apprenticeship Committee.
3. Applicants should be from 18 to 28 years old, but veterans will be given special consideration.
4. Arrangements are made with the U.S. Employment Service for aptitude tests for prospective trainees.
5. Applicants are given a thorough physical examination.
6. Names, addresses, ages, dates of birth, veteran status and previous experience in the industry should be sent to the Apprenticeship Committee.

Wages

First 6 months, $1.95; second 6 months, $2.00; finally in the last period, $2.59.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 15.

WHERE TO APPLY

Greater New York Folding Box and Display
Manufacturers Association, Inc.
1 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y., and the
Folding Box, Corrugated Box and Display
Workers Local 381
853 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

GLAZIER

There are not many glaziers in the United States. The work is highly specialized, and those employed work mostly in the big cities. Nationwide, there may be several thousand openings for new glaziers in the sixties.

A glazier's job is to cut and install glass. He first cuts the sheet of glass to size and lays a bed of soft putty. The glass is then pressed into place and held by metal clips while more putty is put around the edges to keep out moisture. On special jobs, such as stained-glass windows, other materials, like lead, are used instead of putty. Often, if the sheets are not cut to size beforehand, the glazier has to shape them exactly to size.

A glazier uses hand tools, such as glass cutters and putty knives, as well as power-cutting tools.

Wages for glaziers are slightly below average for the construction industry. The national average in July 1960 was $3.58 an hour; in New York City, $4.25. The annual income is less than it might seem, however, since there are many layoffs due to bad weather.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program for glaziers usually runs for three years. This includes on-the-job training and at least 144 hours a year of classroom work. The apprentice is taught how to use the tools and materials of the trade, and is trained in the glazing of wood- and metal-framed doors, windows and other openings, installing store windows, structural glass, mirrors, showcases, automobile glass and shower doors, replacing glass, and proper scaffolding.

Qualifications

An applicant for the apprenticeship program must be between 18 and 21 years old, preferably with a high-school education.

Wages

A glazier apprentice usually starts at half of the journeyman rate and is given raises until he reaches the full journeyman rate at the end of the three years of training. Applicants who have had experience usually start higher and finish the program earlier.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 23.

WHERE TO APPLY

The Window and Plate Glass Dealers Association
711 Third Avenue, New York
Glaziers Union, Local 1087
83 E. 4th St., New York, N. Y.
If you wish to work with Stained Glass you may apply at New York Stained and Lead Glass Association and Decorative Glass Protective Association of New York and Vicinity, Local Union #520
711 Third Avenue, New York

The requirements are the same as above, but exceptions will be made for veterans of World War II or those who have unusual qualifications.

IRON WORKER

Employment is expected to increase substantially by 1970. In addition to job openings resulting from the growth of this trade, the need to replace experienced workers who retire or leave the trade for other reasons will provide several thousand job opportunities for new workers each year.

Structural and ornamental iron workers and reinforcing iron workers (rodmen) erect, assemble, or install fabricated structural metal products in the construction of industrial, commercial, and large residential buildings. Although these are distinct trades, many craftsmen are skilled in, and do the work of, two or all three trades.

Structural iron workers erect the steel framework of bridges, buildings, and other structures including metal storage tanks and overhead crane runways that support heavy equipment. They install steel floor decking and the doors and frames of vaults.

Ornamental iron workers install metal stairways, catwalks, floor gratings, iron ladders, metal window sashes and doors, grilles and screens, metal cabinets, safety deposit boxes; lampposts, gates and fences, and decorative ironwork on balconies.

Reinforcing iron workers set steel bars in concrete forms to reinforce concrete structures. Although most of these workers are employed on new construction, they also do some alteration work.

Union minimum hourly wage rates for structural iron workers and rodmen averaged $3.96 and $3.86 as of July 1, 1960; the rates for ornamental iron workers are generally about the same. Much working time is lost through weather conditions but, on the other hand, earnings are increased by considerable overtime.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship programs are under the supervision of local joint union-management Apprenticeship Committees. They usually include three years of on-the-job training and a minimum of 144 hours a year of related classroom work in subjects such as drafting, blueprint reading, and mathematics applicable to layout work.

On-the-job instruction is given either by the foreman or an experienced journeyman. The apprentice learns to use, care for and handle safely the tools, machines, equipment, and materials commonly used in the trade; read blueprints and work drawings; form, shape, drill, tap, and erect and assemble various metal structures; lay out and assemble steel stairs, fire escapes, grilles, railings, fences, doors, and related metal structures. He also learns arc and gas welding; gas cutting, bolting, and riveting; and how to repair and alter metal structures.

Qualifications

1. Applicants should be American citizens.
2. They should be at least 18 years of age.
3. They must fill in an application form furnished by the Committee (veterans must attach their service records).
4. They must be physically fit for the work of the trade.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices start at not less than 60 per cent of the journeyman rate and are increased regularly until the journeyman's wage is reached at the end of the apprenticeship.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 183.

For stone derrickman:	1*
Ornamental (a)	36
Ornamental (b)	93
Structural	53

WHERE TO APPLY

International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, Local Unions Nos. 40 and 361, AFL, I.A.B.S.O.—IW
Local 361—530 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Local 40—673 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

JEWELER—DIAMOND SETTER

A jeweler works with precious stones and metals, such as diamonds, emeralds, silver, gold, and platinum; he makes rings, bracelets and other precious jewelry by hand. Often jewelers follow their own design; at other times they follow a prepared design. They work with both hand and power tools, including drills, files, soldering equipment and jewelers' lathes. Their work is very delicate, and calls for great precision since very expensive materials are used.

Although it is a small craft, there are often openings for skilled jewelers, especially in New York, the center for jewelry manufacturing in America.

The union contract as of July 1960 calls for a minimum of $2.80 an hour for diamond setters. Jewelers work a 35-hour week with time and a half for overtime. Often they are called upon to put in many hours of overtime during the Christmas and Easter seasons.

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*Applicants for stone derrickman must appear before the Joint Apprenticeship Committee accompanied by a sponsor. Applications should be made to the Stone Derrickman & Riggers Joint Committee, c/o Building Trades Employers Association, 711 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program for diamond setters runs about four years; for other jewelers, two to four years, depending on the skills required. During this time, the apprentice is given on-the-job training in the techniques of the trade, as well as classroom work in design, the quality of stones, the chemistry of metals, and other subjects. On the job, he starts at simple tasks such as soldering, and works up to the more complicated skills. Mechanical aptitude is needed and, because of the close work, good finger dexterity and excellent eyesight.

Qualifications

The applicant must be at least 18 years old, with a high-school education. It is helpful if high school work includes some physics or chemistry, mechanical drawing and art. Because jewelers work with precious materials, the apprentice is bonded, which requires an investigation of personal background and character.

Wages

According to the union contract for 1960-63, apprentices start at $1.25 an hour and receive a 5 cent an hour raise every three months for the first nine months of the program. After that, they get 10 cents more every three months until they reach the minimum wage for a journeyman jeweler in their job classification.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 45.

WHERE TO APPLY

Jewelry Industry Joint Apprenticeship Committee, International Jewelry Workers Union #1
133 W. 44th St., New York 36, N. Y.

LITHOGRAPHER

Lithography is a rapidly growing industry and offers good job opportunities. Nearly everything printed by letterpress can also be done by lithography: books, calendars, maps, posters, labels, office forms, sheet music and even newspapers. It has particular advantages for material containing any type of illustrations.

Several processes are involved in lithography and there is a specialized group of workers for each: cameramen, artists and letterers, strippers, platemakers, and pressmen.

Wage rates vary considerably within the industry depending on the particular craft and degree of skill required, and the type and size equipment used. The range goes from $2.74 to $5.15 an hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

A four- or five-year apprenticeship is required. Although emphasis is upon the particular craft favored by the applicant, an attempt is made to make the apprentice familiar with all the lithographic occupations. Background in photography or art is helpful.

Qualifications

Applicants must be at least 18 years of age and not more than 25. Exceptions may be made by the employer in the case of World War II veterans. An applicant must be physically able to perform the work of the trade.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 7.

WHERE TO APPLY

The Independent Employers of New York City and Vicinity and Amalgamated Lithographers of America, Local #1
113 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

MARBLE SETTER *(Carver, Cutter)*

Although there are relatively few marble setters, job opportunities are expected to be good due to the present construction boom. Marble work is relatively expensive, but the demand for its unusual qualities will remain high in large cities.

A marble setter's job is to set and fix in place blocks of marble, which are used either for decoration or for structural support. In decoration, pre-cut slabs of marble are put in place, with plaster on the back. The worker then plasters and "points up" (finishes smoothly) the joints and braces the marble until the plaster dries. In structural work, he must often cut the blocks to size; they are then lowered into place and set, much like bricks. Where the blocks are pre-cut, they are usually numbered and must be set in order. The union wages for marble setters averaged $3.91 in July 1960. They varied from city to city from $3 to $4.28.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program for marble setters lasts three years. It includes 6,000 hours of on-the-job training, where the worker is taught to use the tools of the trade, such as hand and power cutters and polishers, and proper selection of materials. There is also classroom instruction in such subjects as blueprint reading, layout, practical mathematics and measurement sketching.

Qualifications

The applicant must be at least 18 years old. Usually, a high school education is required. In addition, he must be in good physical condition and have an eye for quick alignment of the materials.

Wages

An apprentice starts at between 50 and 60 per cent of the skilled worker's wage. This is increased throughout the program until in the last part of his apprenticeship, the worker gets 95 per cent of the journeyman's wage.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 17.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Marble Industry Apprenticeship Committee
c/o Marble Workers Union No. 4
321 East 73rd Street, New York 21, N.Y.

MILLWRIGHT

Millwrights are skilled workers who move and install heavy industrial machinery and other equipment. These workers must have a thorough knowledge of the complex industrial equipment on which they work because they frequently take apart, move together and align equipment. More than 70,000 millwrights were at work in 1960 in the automobile, paper and woodworking, chemical and construction industries.

In addition to moving and installing equipment, millwrights often repair and maintain conveyors, cranes, hoists, scaffolds, pumps and other industrial equipment. Such work may include oiling and greasing machinery, replacing worn and broken belts, and wielding metal parts.

The earnings of millwrights depend upon the city where they are employed as well as the type of business in which their employer is engaged. Average hourly earnings of millwrights employed in large metropolitan areas range from $2.16 to $3.10.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program generally lasts four years. Apprentices are given shop training in dismantling, moving, erecting and repairing machinery and other equipment. They are also trained in floor layout and installation of other equipment.

Qualifications

The applicant must be between 18 and 26 years of age. Exceptions may be made in the case of veterans of World War II and preference will be given to them. The applicant must have graduated from high school and be physically able to perform the work. Applicants must also meet the employment requirements of the employing company.

Wages

The wages of the apprentice start at about half those of the skilled worker and progress to the full rate by the end of the training period.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 15.

WHERE TO APPLY

Millwright Employers Association
Millwright and Machinery Erectors and Joint
Apprenticeship Committee, Woodworking
Trades of New York City
175 S. Oxford St. & 484 12th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

PAINTER—PAPERHANGER

The demand for painters and paperhangers is expected to increase slowly during the sixties. Developments such as the use of spray guns cut down on the need for these skills, as does the smaller use of wallpaper, but these trends are offset by the increase in construction. About 10,000 new jobs are expected nationally in these trades each year.

The painter's job is first to prepare the surface that is to be painted. To do this, he removes loose paint and fills nail holes and other holes, and sands down rough spots. In many jobs, a prime or sealer coat of paint must be applied before the finish coat. The worker then applies the paint, using a brush, roller or spray gun. He must be able to handle his tools quickly and accurately, as well as know the characteristics of the different types of paint.

The paperhanger installs wallpaper. Before the paper can be applied old coats must be removed. Often, to get a smooth surface, the paperhanger must do minor plaster work. When the surface is ready, he measures and cuts the paper, spreads paste on the back, and hangs it in strips. In patterned wallpaper, he must make sure that the patterns match where the strips meet. He then smoothes the paper and cuts off the excess.

Painters and paperhangers make a little less than the average for the building trades. In July 1960, the average for painters was $3.55 an hour; for paperhangers, it was $3.52. The range across the country for painters was from $2.45 to $4.55, for paperhangers from $2.55 to $3.98. Both trades lose time due to bad weather.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program for painters and paperhangers lasts for three years. It includes on-the-job training, covering the care and use of tools, such as brushes and spray guns; preparing surfaces, matching and mixing paints, and erecting scaffolding. In the classroom, the apprentice is taught color harmony, paint chemistry, how to estimate costs, and the techniques of mixing and matching paints and papers.

Qualifications

An apprentice must be at least 18 years old. He is subject to the specific provisions as noted in the Labor Bargaining Agreement, Page 1 of the Standards of Apprenticeship. (Page 1 is appended.) Provision 1 applies directly to the applicant—it determines his starting age. Provisions 2 through 7 apply to the employer and the apprentice, setting down wages, hours, number of apprentices hired in proportion to journeymen and the responsibility of the employer. Provision 8 requires that graduate apprentices be given a Certificate of Completion, and Provision 9 prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, creed, or color.

Wages

Apprentices start at half the wage of a skilled worker in the field. This rate is gradually increased so that, at the end of the training program, he is earning the full journeyman's wage.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 158, all in Manhattan.

WHERE TO APPLY

Association of Master Painters and Paperhangers of the City of New York and Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers
District Council #9, AFL-CIO
45 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers Joint Apprenticeship Committee of Queens County
188-02 Northern Blvd., Flushing, L. I., N. Y.

Associated Painting Employers of Brooklyn and Joint Executive Committee of Local Unions 1507, 1511 and 645 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America
102 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

PHOTOENGRAVER

The expected expansion in printing output as well as normal replacement needs will create job openings for photoengravers in the sixties. However, the need may be limited by the introduction of labor-saving devices.

Photoengravers make metal printing plates of illustrations and other copy that cannot be set up in type. Sometimes the entire job of making a photoengraving plate is done by one man but in large shops the work is usually divided among a number of specialists. These may include: cameramen, printers, etchers, finishers, routers, blockers, and provers. Gravure photoengraving is a specialized type of photoengraving. In gravure plates the image is etched below the surface for use in reproducing pictures and type.

The cameraman starts by photographing the material through a crosslined screen, which breaks down the copy into thousands of tiny dots. Plates made from line drawings are called line plates and those from photographs are called half-tone plates. After the cameraman develops the negative, the printer prints the image on a metal plate by coating the plate with a solution sensitive to light and then exposing it and the negative to arc lights. The image areas are protected by chemical means so that when the plate is placed in an acid bath by the etcher, the non-image material is etched away and the image stands out in relief. The finisher carefully inspects and touches up the plate with hand tools. The router cuts away metal from the nonprinting part of the plate to prevent it from touching the inking rollers during printing. The blocker mounts the engraving on a suitable base to make it reach the right height. The prover prints a sample copy on a proof press.

Photoengravers are among the highest paid printing craftsmen. The union minimum hourly wage ranged from $2.98 to $4.50 on July 1, 1960.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually takes five to six years and includes at least 800 hours of related classroom instruction. In addition to the care and use of his tools, the apprentice learns to cut and square negatives, make combination plates, inspect negatives for defects, mix chemicals, sensitize metal, and to operate machines used in the photoengraving process.

Qualifications

Applicants for apprenticeship must meet the employment requirements of the company and

1. Applicants for a photoengraving or gravure apprenticeship not heretofore connected with the trade must be at least 18 years of age.
2. Each applicant must furnish evidence of having passed an examination for physical fitness.

Wages

The apprentice usually starts at 40 to 50 per cent of the full journeyman's rate and receives increases every six months until he reaches 80 to 95 per cent of the full rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 8.

The union states that due to business conditions, the ratio of apprentices to journeymen does not allow of indenturing apprentices.

WHERE TO APPLY

Photo Engravers' Board of Trade Inc.
Employing Gravure Printers
Publishers Association, N.Y.C. and
New York Photo-Engravers' Union No. 1,
Representing Employees, City of New York
853 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

PLASTERER—CEMENT FINISHER

The plasterer is the building craftsman who applies plaster to interior walls and ceilings to form fire-resistant and somewhat soundproof surfaces which may then be decorated. Applying the plaster is the last operation before painting or paperhanging.

In recent years plasterers have been making increasing use of machinery which sprays plaster on walls and have worked on new building construction. Plasterers also work on buildings that are being modernized, but they do little repair and maintenance work.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The recommended apprenticeship program is completed after three or four years of on-the-job training with 144 hours of classroom work. Many workers have acquired skills by working for many years as helpers or laborers. The plasterer-apprentice learns the tools of his trade and becomes familiar with the work of other trades so that he may determine whether work done prior to his is satisfactory.

Qualifications

The applicant must be between the ages of 18 and 21 years. Exceptions may be made in the case of World War II veterans. He must be a high-school graduate or the equivalent and he must be physically able to perform the work.

Wages

The union minimum hourly wage as of July 1, 1960 averaged $4.06. Plasterers, like other construction workers, are subject to lay-offs.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: Queens—1.
Brooklyn—10.

WHERE TO APPLY

Plastering Joint Committee and Representative Employers of the Trade and Local Union #408
Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Association
116-02 Jamaica Ave., Richmond Hill, Queens, N. Y., or
Plastering Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Brooklyn, New York and Plasterers Association and Local 30 Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Association
23 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

PLUMBER

Job opportunities for plumbers are expected to increase rapidly. More than 8,000 openings a year nationally will come just from retirements and deaths, in addition to many from the expansion of industries such as air-conditioning.

A plumber's work is to install pipe systems for water, steam, gas, sewage, and many specialized uses. In the course of his job, he must bend the pipe to the desired shape, install it and seal it. The joints are usually welded, brazed, soldered or threaded. After installing the pipe, he must test it for leaks. His work requires the use of many different hand tools, as well as power tools for bending and threading pipe, and welding and brazing equipment. This calls for many different skills.

The plumber is the highest paid of the building-trades workers and one of the best-paid skilled workers in any trade. The average wage in July 1960 was $4.01 an hour, with a high of $4.55 in New York City. In addition, because his work is mostly indoors, the plumber loses less time due to weather than other building tradesmen and so gets a greater yearly wage.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program for plumbers lasts five years. It includes on-the-job training, covering such subjects as proper use and care of tools and materials; welding techniques; the characteristics of different types of pipe; the handling of glass and plastic pipes; testing pipe systems and estimating time and costs of jobs. In addition, there are at least 144 hours each year of classroom instruction on these and related subjects.

Qualifications

The applicant must be between 17 and 21 years of age and an American citizen. He must submit a record of school work and be physically fit for the work of the trade. Preference may be given to veterans qualifying under Public Law 346 or 550.

Wages

Apprentices start at 50 per cent of the rate for the journeyman and get 5 per cent increases every six months until they reach 95 per cent of the skilled worker's wage.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: Brooklyn—85.
New York—179.
Staten Island—17.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Apprenticeship Committee of the Plumbing Trade, Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens
6 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

New York City Plumbers Joint Apprenticeship Committee
1622 Grand Central Terminal Building,
New York, N.Y., and
112 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Local 371, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry, Borough of Richmond
544 Vanderbilt Ave., Staten Island, N. Y.

PRESSMAN *(Assistant)*

Job opportunities for pressmen, as in other printing trades, are expected to increase moderately during the 1960s. Continued improvements in the speed and efficiency of presses will cut down somewhat on the number of employees needed, but normal replacement needs will result in some openings and an increase in the total amount of printing in others.

The ratio of assistants to pressmen varies from one shop to another, depending on the size of the plant, the type of press used, and other factors. Some shops are too small to have assistants. The duties of press assistants range from feeding sheets of paper into hand-fed presses to helping pressmen make ready and operate large and complicated rotary presses. Workers whose main responsibility is feeding are often called press feeders.

The national average minimum hourly wage for press assistants and feeders was $2.75 as of July 1, 1960.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship period is two years for press assistants and four years for pressmen in commercial shops. In newspaper establishments the apprenticeship period is five years; the period for pressmen operating web presses is generally five years. On-the-job training includes the care of pressroom equipment, makeready, running the job, press tending and maintenance, and working with various types of inks and papers. Classroom work in related subjects is involved.

Qualifications

All apprentices are selected by the specific employer.

All pressroom apprentices must be registered in the months designated.

Wages

Apprentices are usually paid a starting rate of 40 to 50 per cent of the regular wage with increases every six months until they reach 80 to 95 per cent of the full rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 19.

WHERE TO APPLY

Printers League Section
New York Employing Printers Association Inc.
and
New York Press Assistants' Union No. 23, Inter-

national Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America
212 W. 15th St., New York, N. Y.

PRESSMAN *(Book and Job)*

Employment opportunities for pressmen are expected to increase moderately during the 1960s. The increase in the total amount of printing and the normal need for replacements will compensate for the slowing rate of employment due to technological improvements.

The pressmen's basic duties are to "make-ready" and to tend the presses while they are in operation. The object of makeready is to insure printing impressions that are distinct and uniform. This is done by placing pieces of paper of exactly the right thickness underneath low areas of the press plates to make them level and by attaching pieces of tissue paper to the surface of the cylinder or flat platen which makes the impression. Pressmen also make other adjustments, such as those needed to control margins and the flow of ink to the inking roller. In some shops pressmen are responsible for oiling and cleaning the presses and making some minor repairs. Work differs greatly from one shop to another because of the different kinds and sizes of presses used.

The average minimum hourly rate for journeymen pressmen ranges from $3.37 to $3.67 as of July 1, 1960.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship period is four years for pressmen in commercial shops, five years in newspaper establishments or for operation of web presses. On-the-job training includes the care of pressroom equipment, makeready, running the job, press tending and maintenance, and working with various types of inks and papers. In addition, apprenticeship includes related classroom work.

Qualifications

Applicants for apprenticeship must be able to meet the following minimum requirements:

1. An aptitude for and interest in the art and craft of printing.
2. Elementary school graduate or its equivalent.
3. At least 20 years of age.
4. Physically and mentally fit for the work of the trade.

Wages

Apprentices are usually paid a starting rate of 40 to 50 per cent of the regular wage with increases every six months until they reach 80 to 95 per cent of the full rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 29.

WHERE TO APPLY

Printers League Section, New York Employing Printers Assn. and New York Printing Pressmen's Union, Local 51
100 E. 16th St., New York 3, N.Y.

PRESSMAN *(Newspaper)*

Employment opportunities are expected to increase during the 1960s. The increase in the total amount of printing and the normal need for replacements will compensate for any slowing in the rate of employment due to technological improvements.

The pressmen's basic duties are to "make-ready" and to tend the presses while they are in operation. The object of makeready is to insure printing impressions that are distinct and uniform. This is done by placing pieces of paper of exactly the right thickness underneath low areas of the press plates to make them level and by attaching pieces of tissue paper to the surface of the cylinder or flat platen which makes the impressions. Pressmen also make other adjustments, such as those needed to control margins and the flow of ink to the inking roller.

The average minimum hourly rate for journey pressmen ranges from $3.37 to $3.67 as of July 1, 1960.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship period for pressmen in newspaper establishments is five years. On-the-job training includes the care of pressroom equipment, makeready, running the job, press tending and maintenance, and working with various types of inks and papers. In addition, apprenticeship includes related classroom work.

Qualifications

Applicants for apprenticeship shall meet the employment requirements of the employer. They must:

1. Be at least 19 years of age.
2. Be of good character and physical health.
3. Have at least a grammar-school education.

4. File with their applications two references from persons other than parents or guardians as to their qualifications.

Wages

Apprentices are usually paid a starting rate of 40 to 50 per cent of the regular wage with increases every six months until they reach 80 to 95 per cent of the full rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 20.

WHERE TO APPLY

The Publishers Association of New York City
and
The New York Newspaper Printing Pressman's
Union No. 2, I.P.P.A.A.U. of N.A.
5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y.

REFRIGERATION AND AIR-CONDITIONING MECHANIC

The growing use of air-conditioning and refrigeration equipment is providing increasing job opportunities for skilled mechanics who install and repair such equipment. A demand for many thousands of additional workers is expected in the 1960's and openings will also arise to meet normal replacement needs.

In installing new air-conditioning or refrigeration equipment, the mechanic puts the motors, condensers, and humidifiers in proper position, following design specifications. He assembles and connects duct work, refrigerant lines and other piping, and connects the equipment to an electrical power source. He installs electric controls and checks the electric power entering the motors. The mechanic starts the unit and tests it for proper performance and for leaks; he also adjusts the pumps, humidifiers, filters, and other components in order to obtain the most efficient performance. On small installations, he may have to prepare his own working diagrams and do simple layout work such as measuring and cutting pipes. On large jobs he must read and interpret blueprints or drawings.

Mechanics engaged in maintenance work regularly lubricate machinery, replenish liquid refrigerant, adjust valves, and examine other parts of the equipment to detect leaks and other defects before trouble develops. When equipment breaks down, the mechanic must diagnose the trouble and make the necessary repairs.

Wage rates vary considerably, depending upon the size of equipment, the type of work, and the nature of the establishment where it takes place: the range is from $2 to $4 an hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually lasts four to five years and includes both on-the-job training and classroom instruction. Apprentices learn the installation and connecting of refrigeration equipment, gas lines, liquid lines, air-control lines, and other kinds of piping. They are taught to do layout and assembly work and to install and connect electrical circuits and controls. Classroom instruction includes mathematics, electrical controls, blueprint reading, compression refrigeration systems, heat transfer and insulation, and related subjects.

Qualifications

An applicant for apprenticeship must be at least 16 years of age.

Wages

Apprentices usually start at 50 per cent of the journeyman rate and receive increases each year until they reach 75 to 90 per cent of the full wage during the last year of apprenticeship.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 12.

WHERE TO APPLY

International Union of Operating Engineers,
Local 295, and
Association of Master Refrigeration and Air
Conditioning Contractors Inc.
92-32 Union Hall Street, Jamaica, L. I., and
702 Flushing Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

ROOFER

There will be a few thousand new job opportunities nationally for roofers each year during the sixties. These will result from the large expansion expected in the construction industry together with normal replacement needs.

Roofers apply composition roofing and other materials, such as tile and slate, to the roofs of buildings. They also waterproof and dampproof walls and other building surfaces.

In applying composition roofing, the roofer first places overlapping strips of asphalt and impregnated felt over the entire surface. He then applies a coating of tar, pitch or other bituminous material. This is repeated until at least three layers of felt are in place. A final surfacing of tar, pitch and gravel protects the roofing materials from the weather. Different application methods are used for roofing with asphalt shingles and the more expensive metal, tile and slate. Roofers also do waterproofing and dampproofing on masonry or concrete walls, swimming pools and other tanks.

Union minimum hourly wage rates for composition roofers averaged $3.61 as of July 1, 1960; for slate and tile roofers, $3.62. For the latter group New York City had the highest rate, $4.60. Considerable time is lost because of weather conditions, however.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The three-year apprenticeship program generally includes on-the-job training and related classroom instruction in subjects such as blueprint reading and mathematics applicable to layout work. The apprentice learns to use, care for and handle safely the tools, equipment, and materials used in the trade; to work with composition, tar, and asphalt; to prepare roof surfaces for covering; to apply pitch and other materials; to spread gravel; to do slate, tile, and terra cotta work, dampproofing and waterproofing.

Qualifications

The applicant must be 18 years of age.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices usually start at 65 per cent of the journeyman rate and increase until 90 per cent is reached in the last six months of training.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 15.

WHERE TO APPLY

Roofing, Waterproofing and Dampproofing Industry in Greater New York and Vicinity
467 Dean St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

SHEETMETAL WORKER

Employment opportunities for sheetmetal workers are expected to increase rapidly in the sixties, but since the trade is small the total number of openings will be only a few thousand nationally.

Sheetmetal workers fabricate and install ducts which are used in ventilating, air-conditioning and heating systems and a variety of other products made from thin metal sheets: roofing and siding, commercial stainless-steel kitchen equipment, partitions, sheetmetal shelves in industrial establishments, store fronts, metal framework for neon signs and chutes used for material movement.

In heating or air-conditioning duct work, the sheetmetal worker lays out and plans the job, determining the size and type of sheetmetal to be used. (The ducts are often fabricated at the sheetmetal shop.) The workers cut the metal with hand snips and power-driven shears, and other cutting tools. They form the metal with bending machines, hammers, and anvils; then weld, bolt, rivet, solder or cement the seams and joints. In the installation of ducts, the component parts are fitted together and assembled. Hangers and bracers are installed to support ducts, and joints may be soldered. Journeymen sometimes specialize in shop work or on-site installation work but they must know all aspects of the trade.

Union minimum hourly rates averaged $3.90 as of July 1, 1960; New York City had the highest rate, $4.65. Annual earnings are less than might be expected because many jobs are of brief duration and worktime is frequently lost to weather conditions.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually includes four or five years of on-the-job training in addition to related classroom instruction. The apprentice learns to use, care for and handle safely the tools, machines, equipment and materials of the trade; to solder, do air conditioning, heating and ventilating work; he learns also to do residential installations such as roofing gutters and downspouts and architectural and industrial sheetmetal work. He learns processes such as cutting, forming, folding, grooving metal material and bending edges, punching and drilling holes. Classroom instruction includes drafting, blueprint reading and mathematics applicable to layout work.

Qualifications

1. According to Joint Committee on Apprentices: the apprentice shall be at least 17 years of age, and shall be approved by the Joint Committee to work at and learn the sheetmetal trade.

2. According to Local 137: the applicant for apprenticeship shall be between the ages of 18 and 22 years; all applications shall, at all times, be acted upon by the Apprentice Committee and signed by them.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices generally start at 50 per cent of the journeyman rate and increase periodically until 90 per cent is reached during the final portion of training.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: Local 28, 114; Local 137, 10.

WHERE TO APPLY

Sheet Metal Joint Committee on Apprentices
Employers Association of Roofing and Sheetmetal
Workers of Greater New York and Vicinity,
Local 28
350 Broadway, New York 13, N.Y.
or
Sheet Metal Workers International Association
Local Union 137, New York City and Vicinity
673 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

STEAM FITTER

Job opportunities in this trade are expected to rise rapidly during the sixties as the result of increased construction activities as well as normal replacement needs.

Steamfitters are plumbers and pipefitters who specialize in assembling and installing steam or hot-water systems for commercial and industrial uses. A variety of skills are used in installing pipe systems. The workers bend pipe and make welded, brazed, calked, soldered, or threaded joints. After a pipe system is installed, the plumber or pipefitter tests for leaks by filling the pipes with liquid (or gas) under pressure. The fitters use wrenches, reamers, drills, braces and bits, hammers, chisels, saws and other hand tools. Power machines are often used to cut, bend and thread pipes. Hand-operated hydraulic pipe benders are also used.

Hourly wage rates for pipefitters averaged $4.00 as of July 1, 1960; New York City had the highest rate, at $4.65.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The program for plumbers or for pipefitters usually consists of five years of on-the-job training and at least 720 hours of related classroom instruction. In addition to care and use of tools, the pipefitter program includes training in the installation of radiators, pumps, boilers, stokers, oil burners, and gas furnaces; hot water, steam panel, and radiant-heating systems; air-conditioning and power-plant piping systems; and pneumatic control systems and instrumentation. They may also learn boiler replacement. Classroom instruction is in subjects such as drafting and blueprint reading, mathematics applicable to layout work, applied physics and chemistry, and local building codes and regulations which apply to the trade.

Qualifications

No one shall begin his apprenticeship before his 18th birthday or after his 24th birthday except by special dispensation of the Apprenticeship Committee.

Wages

Hourly wage rates of apprentices usually start at 50 per cent of the journeyman rate and increase by 5 per cent in each six-month period until a rate of 95 per cent is reached in the last period of apprenticeship.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 209.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Steamfitting Apprenticeship Committee
75 East 45th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

STONE SETTER *(Mason)*

Replacement needs will provide a small number of job opportunities in this craft during the sixties, but the general increase in construction will not greatly affect it since less use of stone masonry work is expected.

The stonemason works from a set of drawings in which each stone has been numbered for identification unless all pieces are identical. A helper, or in some cases a derrickman, locates the pieces needed and brings them to the mason; large stones are set in place with a hoist. The stonemason sets the stone in mortar and moves it into final position with a mallet, hammer, or crowbar. He aligns the stone with a plumb line and finishes the joints between the stones with a pointing trowel. He may fasten the stone to supports with metal ties, anchors, or by welding. Occasionally, the stonemason may have to cut stone to size. They also do some stone veneer work, in which a thin covering of cut stone is applied to the exterior faces of a building.

Union minimum hourly wage rates as of July 1, 1960, for stonemasons averaged $4.04; New York City was highest with $4.96. However, much work time is lost due to weather conditions and the brief duration of jobs.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually entails three years of on-the-job training in addition to related classroom instruction. The trainee learns to use, care for and handle safely the tools, machines, and materials of the trade, and to lay out and install walls, floors, stairs, and arches. Training is similar to that in bricklaying.

Qualifications

All apprentices are subject to a probationary period. Applications should be made or referred to the Board which informs the secretary of Union Local No. 84 of their acceptance or rejection. An apprentice must be at least 17 years of age and preferably not older than 24.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices usually start at 50 per cent of the journeyman wage and are increased periodically until the trainee is earning 95 per cent of the full rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 20.

WHERE TO APPLY

The Stone Setting Contractors Association
of New York and Journeymen Stone
Setter Masons' Subordinate Union No. 84
of Greater New York and Long Island
2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

UPHOLSTERER *(Custom)*

An upholsterer supplies coverings, cushions, padding and stuffing for chairs, sofas or beds; he also repairs them. Custom refers to hand craftsmanship as opposed to mass or machine production. Custom upholstery may include all steps from designing the furniture and color and pattern choice, for which highly trained artistry is needed.

The basic work in upholstery is this: Webbing is stretched and tacked to the wood frame of the furniture. Springs are sewed to them with cord and tied together firmly. Canvas is stretched over the springs and tacked to the frame. Stuffing is then placed and covered with light canvas. This is hand stitched with care, for it determines the final outline of the furniture; sometimes stuffing is in two layers for greater adaptability. Similar work is done on back, arms, or any additional part of the furniture. The final cover is then put on. Journeymen earn $3.30 per hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

There is a great need for apprentices because many new jobs are available. The apprentice receives four years of on-the-job training and learns all aspects of the manufacture of custom furniture.

Qualifications

Applicants for apprenticeship must meet the employment requirements of the company and be:

1. Between 16 and 21 years of age. Exceptions may be made in the case of veterans of World War II up to 25 years of age.
2. High school graduates or have equivalent education.
3. Physically able to perform the work of the trade.

Wages

Upholster apprentices earn $1.40 per hour, with a raise every 6 months according to ability.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 7.

WHERE TO APPLY

Mr. Thomas Guiliano
The Upholstery Employers Association and
Local No. 44, Upholsterers International Union
of N. A. of New York City and Vicinity
19 West 44th Street, New York, N.Y.

WIRE, WOOD AND METAL WORKER

Some increase in employment for lathers is expected in the 1960s as part of the general expansion in the construction industry. A growing need for specialized lathing work as in sound insulation and fireproofing will offset the loss of work due to increasing use of dry walls in residential building.

Lathers install the supporting backings on ceilings or walls on which plaster or other materials are applied. These supports are usually either metal laths or large pieces of perforated gypsum board.

The lathers first build a light metal framework (furring) which is fastened securely to the structural framework of the building. The laths are then attached to the furring by nailing, clipping, tying, or machine stapling. After the laths have been installed, the lathers cut openings in them for electrical outlets and heating and ventilating pipes. The method varies somewhat in other types of lath work, for instance, plaster cornices and stucco work. Some lathers are employed outside the construction industry; they make the lath backing for plaster display materials or scenery.

Union minimum hourly wage rates for lathers averaged $4 as of July 1, 1960; New York City had the highest rates, at $4.65.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

During the apprenticeship period of two to three years, the apprentice learns to handle the tools and materials of the trade. He installs gypsum and composition board, wall furring, and metal lathing. In addition, he usually receives instruction in subjects such as applied mathematics, geometry, reading of blueprints and sketches, welding, estimating, and safety practices.

Qualifications

Applicants, before being accepted for training, must meet the following requirements:

1. They must be citizens or have filed declaration of intent to become citizens.
2. They must be at least 16 years of age and not more than 25 except where an applicant has served in the armed forces. The service period may be deducted in figuring eligibility provided the time spent in the armed services does not exceed one enlistment period.
3. They must be mentally and physically capable of performing the work of the trade.
4. They must show satisfactory character and a desire to work in the trade.
5. No applicant for apprenticeship under this program will be discriminated against because of race, color, or national origin.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for lather apprentices usually start at 50 per cent of the journeyman rate. The rate is increased by 5 per cent every third or fourth month until a rate of 85 per cent is reached in the final quarter of the second year of training.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 110.

WHERE TO APPLY

Employing Furring and Lathing Contractors
of New York City
Local Union No. 46 of the Wood, Wire and
Metal Lathers' International Union, N. Y.
1322 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

APPENDIX –

Page 1 of the Standards of Apprenticeship, Labor Bargaining Agreement, New York State Dept. of Labor

State of New York
Department of Labor
Bureau of Apprentice Training
State Office Building
Albany, N.Y.

MASTER APPRENTICE TRAINING PROGRAM (GROUP)

Trade:..

Term of Apprenticeship:...

1. The starting age of an apprentice is to be:..........................
2. Attached is APPENDIX "A", the schedule of work processes in which an apprentice is to be given training and experience on the job as well as the outline of organized instruction designed to provide the apprentice with a knowledge in technical subjects related to his trade.
3. Schedule of wages: Minimum journeyman rate as of:.................................... is:............... per hour

Schedule for each 1,000 hours or 6 month period

First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth	Tenth	Eleventh	Twelfth

and.......................hours shall constitute a work week.

4. The ratio of apprentices to journeymen is:
5. Competent supervision of on-the-job instruction with adequate facilities to train apprentices will be maintained.
6. Periodic evaluation of the apprentice's progress, both in job performance and related instruction, and the maintenance of appropriate records will be kept by the employer.
7. Employee-employer cooperation is maintained through the formation of a joint apprenticeship committee equally represented by management and labor, where applicable.
8. Recognition for successful completion of apprenticeship will be given to graduate apprentices by a Certificate of Completion.
9. Apprentices shall be hired without any direct or indirect limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin.
10. Other provisions:

EMPLOYER OR JOINT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE

name:..

address:..

APPROVED FOR EMPLOYER:

by:...

title:..date:..................

APPROVED FOR THE UNION:

by:...

title:..date:..................

Registered with the New York State Bureau of Apprentice Training

....
Administrator of Apprentice Training Date

TO THE READER:

Our purpose in printing this handbook is to help young people secure training for skilled trades in existing apprenticeship programs.

We can do this only if we know what happens to those who apply. We want to know where you applied and what happened when you went there.

To help us do this, will you

(1) Please fill in the blank below and send it to the Workers Defense League.

(2) If you prefer, give the filled-in form to the person who gave you the Handbook. He will send it to us.

(3) Or simply telephone WDL, AL 4-4953.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

NAME ______________________________ AGE ________

ADDRESS ______________________ TELEPHONE ______________

I applied to become a ______________________ apprentice.

I spoke to ______________________________________

I was hired ________________ I start training ________________

I was not hired ________________ If not, were you told why?

SPONSORS

REV. C. ASAPANSA-JOHNSON	**President, Interdenominational Ministry of Greater New York**
LUCILLE BULGER	**President, Community League of West 159th Street**
REV. EUGENE CALLENDER	**Chairman, Harlem Neighborhoods Association (HANA)**
H. DANIEL CARPENTER	**Executive Director, Hudson Guild**
REV. RAFAEL COTTO	**Pastor, Good Neighbor Presbyterian Church**
JAMES FARMER	**National Director, Congress of Racial Equality**
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REV. RICHARD A. HILDEBRAND	**President, New York Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**
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REV. V. SIMPSON TURNER	**President, Brooklyn-Long Island Interdenominational Ministers Alliance**
CELIA VICE	**President, Consejo de Organizaciones de Brooklyn**
REV. JOSHUA WILLIAMS	**Pastor, Salem Methodist Church**

(Organizations listed for identification only)

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
THE FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVOCATION
THE SCHOOL OF RELIGION, HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 13, 1963

CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION - PROBLEM AND PURPOSE

The United States of America is in the throes of a Civil Rights Revolution.

It is a full-dress revolution. It seeks to effect a transition of the Negro from the status of second-class citizenship to first-class citizenship.

It would bring about a complete reversal in the relations between Negro and white peoples. It proposes to transform the relations from subordination to cooperation, from servility to dignity.

The revolution is the result of a breakdown of confidence of black America in white America.

Verily, the faith of the Negro in the morality of American government, in the American educational system, American industry, American labor unions, American Christianity and democracy, has been immeasurably shakened and weakened.

This has given rise to an intensification of a bitter and angry mood of black nationalism and anti-whiteism, expressed by the old Garveyism and the new Black Muslimism. While but a small segment of Negroes are committed to the ethnic ideology of Garveyism or Black Muslimism, which advocates racial separation instead of integration, the deepening passion of resentment to and hatred of white chauvinism is nation-wide and is on the upsurge.

WHAT ARE MANIFESTATIONS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION?

The manifestations of the Civil Rights Revolution are expressed in three forms: legal action in the Courts, demonstrations in the streets, and lobbying in the Congress. Legal action in the Courts, which has been brilliantly prosecuted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has pretty well succeeded in establishing the illegality of racial discrimination and segregation in the United States. But the illegality of racial bias is yet to be implemented and supplemented in the form of application in various areas of American life.

Demonstrations in the streets have taken many varied and variegated forms, such as the jim crow bus boycott, ably executed by Dr. Martin Luther King in Montgomery, Alabama; sit-ins in southern stores dramatically conducted by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; lie-downs before trucks and picketing to block the delivery of materials to construction sites of buildings and to advertise discrimination against the employment of Negro labor; the Birmingham demonstrations, against which police brutality reached a notorious peak in the ruthless use of dogs, electric cattle prods and fire hoses to break up peaceful protests against racial injustice, and the famous Freedom Rides to integrate southern railway, bus and airport terminals.

And there is the unforgettable March on Washington, August 28, to awaken, arouse, challenge and disturb the conscience of America on the vital issues of Jobs and Freedom.

Naturally, there are numerous variants, and properly so, in the manifestations, in the form of demonstrations, of the Civil

Rights Revolution. It must be understood that the varying types of demonstrations in the spectrum of the Civil Rights Revolution are tactics, not principles, and are therefore subject to revision and even possible elimination from time to time, in response to the demands of changing revolutionary situations.

In fact, it is conceivable that the Civil Rights Revolution may project, as all revolutions have projected, tactics, strategies, methodologies that appear to be utterly without rhyme or reason, reflecting, as it were, phases of excessive explosive emotionalism and irrationality, indicating the unpredictability of revolutionary behavior patterns.

But the general trend of the revolution, within the frame of reference of trial and error, is toward the universal moral truth of freedom and human dignity. However, it is important to note that this revolutionary trend is not automatic. There is no fatalistic determination of human action or human institutions. Revolutionary social forces express themselves through social agents, and human beings are those agents.

Thus, the value and necessity of dynamic, honest, knowledgeable, courageous leadership in the Civil Rights Revolution, a leadership which the revolution will create if nonexistent.

Finally, gains in civil rights legislation as a result of lobbying in the Congress have been more illusory than real, largely because of inadequate pressure. This is not to suggest that lobbying is futile. Not at all. Lobbying can be most useful and effective, especially if there is mass political power back of it, but southern die-hard congressmen have outgeneralled our lukewarm northern liberals in preventing the enactment of meaningful

civil rights legislation.

May we hope that this will not be the case in this Congress although the beginning of the fight for civil rights in this Congress is not the most reassuring, for to begin the fight for civil rights legislation by watering down the strength of the proposals is an evidence of a lack of faith in the cause of civil rights.

The Civil Rights Revolution has not come upon the stage of American history to achieve a fraction of first-class citizenship for Negroes, but complete, full-fledged, first-class citizenship without reservation or compromise.

THE ROLE OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Civil rights and civil liberties, the attributes of citizenship set forth in the Federal Constitution, are not the end of the Civil Rights Revolution but a means to the protection of the end, the end being human rights, namely life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Civil rights exist as a result of the enactment of legislation. Human rights are natural rights and exist as a result of an individual being human, black or white, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant. No state, constitution or law can give an individual his human rights of life and liberty and has no right to abridge or invade these rights. They existed prior to and independent of the state. Civil rights legislation is designed to require the recognition, acceptance and protection of the human rights of every human being. Civil rights legislation must prevent extra-legal racist or fascist movements, and even the state itself, from interfering with any individual in the exercise of his human rights, a condition which obtains with respect to Negroes in the South and other minorities in the country.

Since God made individual man human, all men are the children of God.

If all men are the children of God, then all men are brothers.

If all men are brothers, all men are equal.

If all men are equal, all men are entitled to equal treatment.

If all men are entitled to equal treatment, racial discrimination and segregation are a sin against God and a crime against man, for they demean, degrade and demoralize the dignity of the human personality.

Thus, under the Judeo-Christian traditions, a black baby bron in a hut upon the banks of the Congo is as precious and sacred as a white baby born in the royal chambers of Buckingham Palace.

PLIGHT OF NEGRO AMERICANS

But while all men are brothers, nevertheless black and white brothers are locked in a bitter cold racial warfare in the South, with intermittent eruptions of blazing guns and deadly exploding bombs leaving churches shattered and little innocent Negro children blown into eternity.

Well might the question be asked - how many human tragedies such as this can or will Negroes stand and remain nonviolent?

Certainly violence is no sound, rational answer to violence. But have the roots of the nonviolent philosophy sunk deep enough into the consciousness of the Negro masses as to constitute an adequate discipline and control of their emotional reactions when their homes are set afire and riddled with bullets by racists at the peril of their families, especially since they are aware of the fact that the police and F.B.I. will give little, if any protection? There is no instance when a white man or mob of white men who murdered Negroes in the South were ever apprehended, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment or death.

In the light of this condition how could the country become shocked were Negroes, in certain highly racially sensitive areas, to decide to patrol their own communities to protect their homes and churches from racist fanatics inflamed with hate propaganda by southern political demagogues?

As a matter of fact, not only do the police in the South fail to give protection to the Negro community but they are some of the worst offenders against the person and property of Negroes. Thus, Negro civil rights organizations should be uncompromising in demanding the inclusion of Part III in the civil rights legislation which will empower the Justice Department to initiate federal suits to protect the constitutional rights of citizens, including protection against police brutality and illegal arrests in civil rights cases. The entire country needs to be aroused to the menace of the reckless and ruthless brutality of the southern police to the ordinary defenseless Negro.

Of course a public accommodations section that will guarantee equal access to all businesses open to the general public, and a provision for a Fair Employment Practice Commission, with powers to issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the Courts, together with a measure providing protection of voting rights in federal, state and local elections, are indispensable.

There is also needed civil rights legislation providing for a mandatory cutoff of funds from Federally-assisted projects that discriminate on account of race or color, and would direct all government agencies to take steps to eliminate racial bias.

The civil rights package must also provide for a census of registration and voting statistics, including information on race, color and national origin, which could be used to obtain a proportionate decrease in the House of Representation of states that deny their citizens the franchise.

BLACK WORKER

Because the main source of income of the Negro is the sale of his labor power for wages that determine his standard of living, it is supremely important that his entry into all areas of the national job market be free from racial bias.

But this is not the case.

On account of the historical fact that the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed, the black slaves were never transformed into free workers or independent proprietors. On the contrary, the Freedmen were driven back upon the plantations as sharecroppers, tenant farmers and debt peons, the remnants, vestiges and survivals of which, together with the prevailing concept of the employer and white union labor of the hereditary racial inferiority of the Negro, prevent them from enjoying the right of free competition in the labor market. Negroes are structured in a pocket of poverty in the American economy.

If, suddenly, all the discriminatory laws in the United States were repealed and legislation enacted to provide equal opportunity, a majority of Negroes would not be able to take advantage of the change.

Automation, for instance, is creating structural unemployment throughout the American workforce, resulting in jobs' abolition chiefly in the unskilled category where Negro workers are the chief victims, being largely without skills.

Thus, with the march of science, technology, industrialism and automation creating higher productivity per man-hour, the continuous increase in the workforce as a result of the population explosion, the racial barriers set up by unions and industry, and often by government itself, the Negro faces an hour of grave crisis.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Negroes must not relax in the development of their demonstrations for jobs and freedom.

Negro civil rights leadership must remain united.

The coalition of the Negro community, Church community and Labor community which developed the March on Washington must be maintained.

The drive to rid the labor unions of race bias must be stepped up.

Federal legislation must be sought to increase the minimum wage to two dollars an hour, with unlimited coverage, to wipe out the blight of poverty which plagues the masses of Negro workers compelled to seek public relief.

NEGRO NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CONVENTION

Since the State, the most powerful force in our national community, being the only social entity which is coextensive, structurally and functionally, with the country and which represents all the people, is subject to pressure and tends to make concessions to groups in terms of the political leverage they possess and exercise, Negroes need, at this stage of our history, to reassess and reevaluate their political pressure potential, with a view to achieving economic, social and civil rights progress.

To this end, I am thinking of suggesting to our civil rights leadership, as well as leaders in other areas of service, the idea of calling a national non-partisan political convention, following the conventions of the Democratic and Republican Parties, for the purpose of discussing the role of Negro political power in helping to effect his complete emancipation.

Such a convention should be representative of all segments of Negro life.

Two things such a convention would not do; one, organize a Negro political party; and, two, endorse any candidate for office. But it would invite all of the candidates to present their platform to the convention.

The income to develop the convention must come solely from the Negro delegates to the convention or from Negro movements.

The convention finally would issue an address to the country, giving the record of the candidates on civil rights, as information.

The convention would also discuss and assess the significance of political liberalism and conservatism, states' rights and federal power, to the Negro.

Nov. 15, 1963

Enclosed is a copy of Mr. Randolph's opening remarks. Those delegates who speak following Mr. Randolph might well familiarize themselves with his major points--first to help amplify them in the debate and secondly to add additional points of their own.

There are certain questions that Mr. Randolph could not cover in his allotted time and others he could only touch upon. Certain of these questions follow:

1) Extension of Fair Labor Act to include all workers now not covered by minimum wage laws;

2) The fallacy of placing priority on the tax cut as opposed to civil rights legislation--assuming that a tax cut would give Negroes more money next year, they would not be free to spend it with dignity without civil rights legislation;

3) Point out the inadequacy of the present bill's FEPC section. We need restoration of the provision for Commission-enforcement as opposed to court enforcement. In the new version every individual case must be tried in court;

4) In order to implement the resolution, one might well call upon the building trades unions to open their apprenticeship programs and their membership roles to a substantial number of qualified Negroes and Negro youth, and that they remove the non-objective criteria for admitting youth into apprenticeship programs (such as the requirement for two sponsors);

5) Call for increase in labor's financial contributions to the civil rights organizations.

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LEGIBILITY IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

REMARKS TO THE FIFTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION
# of the
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR--CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

presented by

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Vice President, AFL-CIO

Opening Remarks: Civil Rights Session Monday, November 18, 1963, 11:00 a.m.

President Meany, Members of the Executive Council, Platform Guests, Fraternal Delegates, Brothers and sisters:

We are on the threshold of what may well be the most important discussion of this convention. The labor movement is now called upon to take a stand on the civil rights revolution that has gathered momentum during the past year. I do not propose to launch this discussion with a chapter-and-verse recital of labor's failure to keep pace with that revolution. Nor do I propose to rehash altercations that are better left to labor's past than projected into labor's future. I intend instead to analyze the plight in which the Negro finds himself in the year 1963, and to make concrete proposals for action by the labor movement.

Let me say that I have been very much encouraged by President Meany's discussion of civil rights in his opening remarks Thursday. Those remarks help to establish an atmosphere in which we can plan constructive action.

Let me also say that our deliberations today proceed under international scrutiny. I am delighted by the presence here of representatives from labor movements around the world, especially from the developing countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. They have first-hand knowledge of the American labor movement's unshakable commitment to the development of free, democratic institutions throughout the world. They know that the AFL-CIO has backed up this commitment with investments of millions of dollars, so that fledgling trade unions may achieve viability under difficult circumstances.

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But, while foreign observers are duly impressed with the achievements of the American labor movement, as with the achievements of American technology, they sometimes point to spiritual or moral deficiencies which we cannot defend or rationalize. Foremost among them is the persistence of racism in American institutions.

The labor movement cannot afford to measure its achievements in the field of racial justice by the standards of other institutions. As a force for social progress, we have always prided ourselves on being in the forefront. Similarly, in assessing labor's contribution to civil rights, it is not enough to measure how far we have come; it is not enough to compare ourselves favorably with government or management. We must measure our achievements against the needs of our time.

The Negro is caught in a severe economic crisis. The mass of black Americans stand today in the same relative economic position they occupied in the depths of the great depression. The destructive forces that have been at work on the American economy over the past decade have hit the Negro especially hard. Two out of three Negro families subsist on less than $4,000 a year. More important, the gap between Negro and white median incomes has actually grown wider in recent years. The same is true of the gap between Negro and white unemployment rates.

Thus, the Negro worker finds that, despite progress toward social and political equality, his relative economic position is deteriorating or stagnating. The desperation and frustration that this paradoxical situation engenders is responsible for much of the militance and impatience of the current civil rights revolution. And that militance will not abate. For long ago--during Reconstruction--the Negro learned the cruel lesson that social and political freedom cannot be sustained in the midst of economic insecurity and exploitation. Freedom requires a material foundation. Our recent civil rights gains are based largely on the economic progress the Negro registered, with labor's help, in the 1940's and early 1950's. We are fearful that these gains will be wiped out by the economic stagnation that

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has characterized the Negro community since 1953.

This is the economic background which gives rise to much of the apparently irrational and excessive behavior accompanying the revolution. But the labor movement must not ignore or ridicule those who lie down before delivery trucks, climb cranes, or engage in other allegedly "extremist" actions. These actions are frequently led by responsible and dedicated Negro ministers who are determined to shake the white community out of lethargic indifference. These ministers recognize that their actions may be only symbolic. But they also know that, in the words of the scriptures, if they do not speak out, "there is nothing left but the stones to cry out in their place."

Moreover, labor is no stranger to these techniques. I bid you to recall the unbridled hysteria which greeted labor's first sit-down strikes. If the Negro's nonviolent movement owes a great deal to Gandhi and Thoreau, it is also indebted to the American labor movement. If the behavior of militant Negroes baffles many white Americans, it should not baffle the house of labor. For, more than any other segment of American society, we have intimate knowledge of the forces blocking the Negro's stride toward freedom.

Among those forces are automation and technological change, of which Brother Meany has spoken. Automation is destroying tens of thousands of the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs to which Negroes have traditionally been relegated. Meanwhile, centuries of discrimination and exploitation have deprived Negro workers of the education and training required by the new skilled jobs opening up. Thus, we find that approximately 25% of the long-term unemployed are black Americans.

As unemployment becomes increasingly structural, the Negro is increasingly rendered economically useless. His old job is obliterated by the machine, and he does not qualify for new jobs. We hear a great deal of talk about the need to accelerate our rate of economic growth, and to increase purchasing power as a means of increasing the labor demand. These are goals to which labor is correctly committed, just as we are committed

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to a shorter work week. But we must bear in mind that these remedies are not enough so long as millions of Americans, black and white, are not prepared for the new jobs that an expanding economy will create. There is already a shortage of highly skilled technical and professional workers. These skilled workers are so much in demand that they work over-time and enjoy high standards of living, while millions of other workers are unemployed, underemployed or unemployable. These millions are creating what the great Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal has described as a vast "under-class" in American society. They are the pariahs, the exiles, the untouchables of our economy.

The Negro finds himself trapped in this under-class. He finds himself trapped in the growing slums and ghettoes of the big cities, while more prosperous white workers are migrating to the pleasant suburbs. A racial and occupational separation is taking place which dooms our aspirations for integrated housing and schools. In fact, residential and educational segregation is actually increasing in our metropolitan centers. Deprived of decent integrated education, how are Negro youth to acquire the skills demanded by our technologically advancing economy?

This is the vicious circle in which the Negro finds himself. And the Negro is not alone. Many white workers also find themselves caught short by the profound transformations our economy is undergoing. The problem of these workers, black and white, is not merely an economic problem. It is a social problem. Social justice and economic reform have become inextricably intertwined in our time. If we are to speak to the needs of these workers, the labor movement will have to tap its wellsprings of social idealism. It will have to renew its crusading spirit.

Our failure to meet this challenge can bring only the ugliest consequences, of which the first signs are already evident. Make no mistake about it, brothers and sisters, there is a growing feeling of alienation from the labor movement in the Negro community.

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The Negro's traditional loyalties toward organized labor have been put to a severe strain. The Negro-labor alliance, needed now as never before, is being pulled apart. It is being pulled apart not only by the persistence of racial discrimination in a number of unions, but also by the failure of labor to throw its full weight into the civil rights revolution in every community.

The Negro will become more critical of labor precisely because he has learned to expect more from labor. These expectations are just and must be fulfilled. Otherwise, I fear, brothers and sisters, that advocates of so-called "right-to-work" laws and other anti-union legislation will receive a better hearing from the Negro community than they have been accustomed to. And I ask you to remember the role which Negroes played in defeating "right-to-work" laws in California and other states. Any alienation of the Negro from organized labor, any breakdown of the natural alliance between the Negro and labor, can only encourage the reactionary currents in American political and cultural life. The Negro-labor alliance is our strongest weapon against the coalition of reactionary Republicans and Dixiecrats who would deprive the Negro of his civil rights and drag organized labor back to the nineteenth century. The political power of this coalition must be shattered. It must be shattered in Congress, where the seniority system and the disfranchisement of Negroes enables the coalition to exercise a stranglehold over Congressional committees. It must be shattered on the local level, where radical right-wing groups are launching a counter-revolution against the civil rights revolution. The coming struggle for power between liberalism and reaction can eventuate in victory for the liberal-labor forces only if the Negro is liberated from the thralldom of exploitation, from the remnants of a feudal caste system. The reactionary coalition which denies us medicare, old-age security, higher minimum wages, and other social needs--and which at this very moment is blocking both civil rights and tax-cut legislation--this coalition can be smashed only by

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a strong Negro-labor alliance, which rests on a new faith and confidence on the part of Negro workers in the AFL-CIO. For when masses of white workers join black workers in the streets and at the polls, we will be well on the way to the democratic political revolution which will free all Americans from minority rule.

Let our alliance be strengthened. It is in labor's own interest. For the Negro's protest today is but the first rumblings of the "under-class." As the Negro has taken to the streets, so will the unemployed of all races. To discuss the civil rights revolution is therefore to write the agenda of labor's unfinished revolution. The labor movement cannot ignore this under-class. It cannot degenerate into a mere protective association, insulating the "haves" from the "have-nots" in the working class.

And so the Negro looks to the labor movement to lead the struggle for full employment now. We cannot accept economic policies which envision 4 1/2 percent chronic unemployment by 1980, when current trends indicate that most of that 4 1/2 percent may be black. We certainly need a tax-cut. But even more, we need a massive federal works program to put all Americans back to work at decent wages. We need higher minimum wages. We need a massive federally-administered training program to prepare unskilled and semiskilled workers for the new jobs that the coming decade will bring. These are among the most important planks of the March on Washington Movement. They must be inscribed on labor's banner.

I have heard many sincere criticisms of the demand for preferential or compensatory treatment raised by numerous civil rights leaders. Rather than debate the validity of this demand, let us recognize that it will grow louder as unemployment continues. For history shows that as unemployment rises, the gap between Negro and white unemployment rates widens. As this gap widens, the Negro's demand for preferential treatment to close the gap becomes more vociferous. But, my friends, there is no need to demand

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preferential treatment in a full-employment economy. To achieve a full-employment economy, in fact, labor must be in favor of preferential treatment--not just for the Negro, but for all the unemployed, the poor, the aged, and the deprived youth of this nation. These groups would benefit from a domestic "Marshall Plan" organized on the basis of need. On their behalf we must insist on a constitutional right of every worker to a job.

As the labor movement struggles for full employment, there are immediate tasks we can execute to strengthen the Negro-labor alliance. To accelerate the eradication of discrimination and segregation within the house of labor, we need better lines of communication between Negro trade unionists and labor's leadership. I would propose the establishment of a representative committee of Negro trade unionists and officers of the AFL-CIO to plan programs and evolve new techniques to deal with discriminatory practices on the local level.

Just as we need more communication within the labor movement, so must the labor movement establish closer *official* relations with the civil rights organizations. The coalition of civil rights, labor, religious, and fraternal groups that organized the March on Washington vividly demonstrated the value of such relations. I would therefore propose that a committee of the AFL-CIO leadership be appointed to meet periodically with leaders of the six national civil rights organizations to work out mutually beneficial policies and programs that concretely strengthen and substantiate the Negro-labor alliance. Civil rights *is* labor's day-to-day business, just as economic justice is the Negro's day-to-day business. We must therefore infuse our efforts on behalf of civil rights with the same enthusiasm and rugged determination that we bring to the collective bargaining table. Thus, I should like to see this committee stimulate vigorous local and national mass-action campaigns by labor for a strong civil rights bill by Christmas!

I should like to see both of these committees cooperate on a close examination of the economic crisis of the Negro as it relates to the problems of technological change

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and automation--problems of urgent concern to labor. These problems need to be clarified and solutions to them must be advanced, if the Negro community is not to succumb to demoralization and frustration, and if it is not to fall victim to false leadership.

All of us are heartened by the creation of the Special Task Force "to help affiliated central bodies in community-wide drives to eliminate discrimination from every aspect of community life." We must vigorously support and expand this Task Force so that its influence will be felt in every city in the country. We must give it the means of moving into communities where vigorous civil rights campaigns are underway, to mobilize local unions on the side of those campaigns. This Task Force must have maximum moral and financial backing if it is to succeed in educating rank and file workers to their responsibilities to themselves, to their black brothers, to the cause of human rights, and to the sacred principles of trade unionism.

But this vast educational task cannot be shouldered by the Special Task Force alone. President Meany, Brother Reuther, and other outstanding national leaders of the AFL-CIO must lend a hand. They must themselves be prepared to go into areas of racial tension--into cities like Birmingham and Danville--and speak to the rank and file in the moral and economic terms they can understand. The principles of labor solidarity and of racial equality will be seriously undermined if we permit a cleavage to develop between the rank and file and the leadership on the vital issue of civil rights.

Brothers and sisters, the resolution before us is the strongest statement of labor's position on civil rights ever to come before a convention of the AFL-CIO. I am happy to have played a part in drafting it. It firmly commits organized labor to a front-line role in the civil rights revolution.

The resolution unreservedly commits us to a strong civil rights bill. That bill must contain a solid Part III, authorizing the Attorney General to initiate injunctive civil

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suits against violators of any constitutional right. Remember, brothers and sisters, that this provision will not only help protect Southern Negroes from police dogs and fire hoses. It will also protect Southern labor organizers.

The civil rights bill must also contain a strong FEPC with commission-enforcement rather than costly court-enforcement procedures. Neither the labor movement nor the civil rights movement has fared well at the hands of Southern judges.

Let me then commend this resolution to your solemn and undivided attention. It speaks forcefully of the wrongs of segregation, discrimination, exploitation, and disfranchisement suffered by black Americans. And it says in unmistakable terms:

"These wrongs cry for correction. And it is the responsibility of all of us, individually and collectively, to work diligently for that correction.

"As trade unionists, we must work in two directions. We must set our own house in order, removing the last vestiges of racial discrimination from within the ranks of the AFL-CIO. Secondly, we must cooperate with our neighbors in the general community to assure every American the full rights of citizenship."

Brothers and sisters, it is for the purpose of expediting progress toward these twin goals that I have proposed the establishment of two committees to facilitate communication with Negro trade unionists and with the civil rights organizations.

For it is not enough--though it is our task--to give resounding approval to this resolution. We must each go forth from this historic convention determined to implement this resolution--its letter and its spirit--in every city and town, in every village and hamlet across the country.

Let each of us individually and unequivocally embrace the Negro's struggle for freedom, and the labor movement will rise to its full moral stature. Let us do this, and when labor's rights are threatened, you will see an outpouring of black Americans into the streets in defense of those rights, as they have taken to the streets in defense of their

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own rights.

Let us so implement this resolution that the day will not be far off when the white steelworkers of Birmingham will take the hands of black children in the crusade to redeem the South.

Let us so implement this resolution that the mill workers of Danville will join the struggle for civil rights in that beleaguered city--so that white unemployed miners in West Virginia and Tennessee will march arm-in-arm with their black brothers to transform their bleak hills into flourishing countrysides.

Let us so implement this resolution that the dispossessed migrant farm workers--Negro-American, Mexican-American, Indian-American, and poor white alike--will stand together for dignity and economic justice--so that the sharecroppers and tenant farmers of Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia will know that decisions made this day and implemented this year sounded the deathknell of their bondage and heralded their liberation.

In the last analysis, my brothers and sisters, the essence of trade unionism is social uplift. The labor movement traditionally has been the only haven for the dispossessed, the despised, the neglected, the downtrodden, and the poor. We must pledge our lives to the social revolution which will bring all of them into labor's crusading fold--into the pale of dignity and economic well-being.

This is labor's ultimate faith. This is the basis of our program. This is the challenge before us. This is the task to which we must now rededicate ourselves.

END

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
to the
FIFTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR-CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
CIVIL RIGHTS SESSION - MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1963, 11:00 A.M.

President Meany, Members of the Executive Council, Platform Guests, Fraternal Delegates, Brothers and Sisters:

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Let me also say that our deliverations today proceed under international scrutiny. I am delighted by the presence here of representatives from labor movements around the world, especially from the developing countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa. They have first-hand knowledge of the American labor movement's unshakable commitment to the development of free, democratic institutions throughout the world. They know that the AFL-CIO has backed up this commitment with investments of millions of dollars, so that fledgling trade unions may achieve viability under difficult circumstances.

But, while foreign observers are duly impressed with the achievements of the American labor movement, as with the achievements of American technology, they sometimes point to spiritual or moral deficiencies which we cannot defend or rationalize. Foremost among them is the persistence of racism in American institutions.

The labor movement cannot affort to measure its achievements in the field of racial justice by the standards of other institutions. As a force for social progress, we have always prided ourselves on being in the forefront. Similarly, in assessing labor's contribution to civil rights, it is not enough to measure how far we have come; it is not enough to compare ourselves favorably with government or management. We must measure our achievements against the needs of our time.

The Negro is caught in a severe economic crisis. The mass of black Americans stand today in the same relative economic position they occupied in the depths of the great depression. The destructive forces that have been at work on the American economy over the past decade have hit the Negro especially hard. Two out of three Negro families subsist on less than $4,000 a year. More important, the gap between Negro and white median incomes has actually grown wider in recent years. The same is true of the gap between Negro and white unemployment rates.

Thus, the Negro worker finds that, despite progress toward social and political equality, his relative economic position is deteriorating or stagnating. The desperation and frustration that this paradoxical situation engenders is responsible for much of the militance and impatience of the current civil rights revolution. And that militance will not abate. For long ago - during Reconstruction - the Negro learned the cruel lesson that social and political freedom cannot be sustained in the midst of economic insecurity and exploitation. Freedom requires a material foundation. Our recent civil rights gains are based largely on the economic progress the Negro registered, with labor's help, in the 1940's and early 1950's. We are fearful that these gains will be wiped out by the economic stagnation that has characterized the Negro community since 1953.

This is the economic background which gives rise to much of the apparently irrational and excessive behavior accompanying the revolution. But the labor movement must not ignore or ridicule those who lie down before delivery trucks, climb cranes, or engage in other allegedly "extremist" actions. These actions are frequently led by responsible and dedicated Negro ministers who are determined to shake the white community out of lethargic indifference. These ministers recognize that their actions may be only symbolic. But they also know that, in the words of the Scriptures, if they do not speak out, "there is nothing left but the stones to cry out in their place."

Moreover, labor is no stranger to these techniques. I bid you to recall the unbridled hysteria which greeted labor's first sit-down strikes. If the Negro's nonviolent movement owes a great deal to Gandhi and Thoreau, it is also indebted to the American labor movement. If the behavior of militant Negroes baffles many white Americans, it should not baffle the House of Labor. For, more than any other segment of American society, we have intimate knowledge of the forces blocking the Negro's stride toward freedom.

Among those forces are automation and technological change, of which Brother Meany has spoken. Automation is destroying tens of thousands of the unskilled and semiskilled jobs to which Negroes have traditionally been relegated. Meanwhile, centuries of discrimination and exploitation have deprived Negro workers of the education and training required by the new skilled jobs opening up. Thus, we find that approximately 25 percent of the long-term unemployed are black Americans.

As unemployment becomes increasingly structural, the Negro is increasingly rendered economically useless. His old job is obliterated by the machine, and he does not qualify for new jobs. We hear a great deal of talk about the need to accelerate our rate of economic growth, and to increase purchasing power as a means of increasing the labor demand. These are goals to which labor is correctly committed, just as we are committed to a shorter work week. But we must bear in mind that these remedies are not enough so long as millions of Americans, black and white, are not prepared for the new jobs that an expanding economy will create. There is already a shortage of highly skilled technical and professional workers. These skilled workers are so much in demand that they work overtime and enjoy high standards of living, while millions of other workers are unemployed, underemployed or unemployable. These millions are creating what the great Swedish economist, Gunnal Myrdal, has described as a vast "under-class" in American society. They are the pariahs, the exiles, the untouchables of our economy.

The Negro finds himself trapped in this under-class. He finds himself trapped in the growing slums and ghettoes of the big cities, while more prosperous white workers are migrating to the pleasant suburbs. A racial and occupational separation is taking place which dooms our aspirations for integrated housing and schools. In fact, residential and educational segregation is actually increasing in our metropolitan centers. Deprived of decent integrated education, how are Negro youth to acquire the skills demanded by our technologically advancing economy?

This is the vicious circle in which the Negro finds himself. And the Negro is not alone. Many white workers also find themselves caught short by the profound transformations our economy is undergoing. The problem of these workers, black and white, is not merely an economic problem. It is a social problem. Social justice and economic reform have become inextricably intertwined in our time. If we are to speak to the needs of these workers, the labor movement will have to tap its wellsprings of social idealism. It will have to renew its crusading spirit.

Our failure to meet this challenge can bring only the ugliest consequences, of which the first signs are already evident. Make no mistake about it, brothers and sisters, there is a growing feeling of alienation from the labor in the Negro community. The Negro's traditional loyalties toward organized labor have been put to a severe strain. The Negro-labor alliance, needed now as never before, is being pulled apart. It is being pulled apart not only by the persistence of racial discrimination in a number of unions, but also by the failure of labor to throw its full weight into the civil rights revolution in every community.

The Negro will become more critical of labor precisely because he has learned to expect more from labor. These expectations are just and must be fulfilled.

Otherwise, I fear, brothers and sisters, that advocates of so-called "right-to-work" laws and other anti-union legislation will receive a better hearing from the Negro community than they have been accustomed to. And I ask you to remember the role which Negroes played in defeating "right-to-work" laws in California and other states. Any alienation of the Negro from organized labor, any breakdown of the natural alliance between the Negro and labor, can only encourage the reactionary currents in American political and cultural life. The Negro-labor alliance is our strongest weapon against the coalition of reactionary Republicans and Dixiecrats who would deprive the Negro of his civil rights and drag organized labor back to the nineteenth century. The political power of this coalition must be shattered. It must be shattered in Congress, where the seniority system and the disfranchisement of Negroes enables the coalition to exercise a stranglehold over Congressional committees. It must be shattered on the local level, where radical right-wing groups are launching a counterrevolution against the civil rights revolution. The coming struggle for power between liberalis m and reaction can eventuate in victory for the liberal-labor forces only if the Negro is liberated from the thralldom of exploitation, from the remnants of a feudal caste system. The reactionary coalition which us Medicare, old-age security, higher minimum wages, and other social needs - and which at this very moment is blocking both civil rights and tax-cut legislation - this coalition can be smashed only by a strong Negor-labor alliance, which rests on a new faith and confidence on the part of Negro workers in the AFL-CIO. For when masses of white workers join black workers in the streets and at the polls, we will be well on the way to the democratic political revolution which will free all Americans from minority rule.

Let our alliance be strengthened. It is in labor's own interest. For the Negro's protest today is but the first rumblings of the "under-class." As the Negro has taken to the streets, so will the unemployed of all races. To discuss the civil rights revolution is therefore to write the agenda of labor's unfinished revolution. The labor movement cannot ignore this under-class. It cannot degenerate into a mere protective association, insulating the "haves" from the "have-nots" in the working class.

And so the Negro looks to the labor movement to lead the struggle for full employment now. We cannot accept economic policies which envision 4½ percent chronic unemployment by 1980, when current trends indicate that most of that 4½ percent may be black. We certainly need a tax cut. But even more, we need a massive federal works program to put all Americans back to work at decent wages. We need higher minimum wages. We need a massive federally-administered training program to prepare unskilled and semiskilled workers for the new jobs that the coming decade will bring. These are among the most important planks of the March on Washington movement. They must be inscribed on labor's banner.

I have heard many sincere criticisms of the demand for preferential or compensatory treatment raised by numerous civil rights leaders. Rather than debate the validity of this demand, let us recognize that it will grow louder as unemployment continues. For history shows that as unemployment rises, the gap between Negro and white unemployment rates widens. As this gap widens, the Negro's demand for preferential treatment to close the gap becomes more vociferous. But, my friends, there is no need to demand preferential treatment in a full-employment economy. To achieve a full employment economy, in fact, labor must be in favor of preferential treatment - not just for the Negro, but for all the unemployed, the poor, the aged, and the deprived youth of this nation. These groups would benefit from a domestic "Marshall Plan" organized on the basis of need. On their behalf we must insist on a constitutional right of every worker to a job.

As the labor movement struggles for full employment, there are immediate tasks we can execute to strengthen the Negro-labor alliance. To accelerate the eradication of discrimination and segregation within the House of Labor, we need better lines of communication between Negro trade unionists and labor's leadership. I would propose the establishment of a representative committee of Negro trade unionists and officers of the AFL-CIO to plan programs and evolve new techniques to deal with discriminatory practices on the local level.

Just as we need more communication within the labor movement, so must the labor movement establish closer official relations with the civil rights organizations. The coalition of civil rights, labor, religions, and fraternal groups that organized the March on Washington vividly demonstrated the value of such relations. I would therefore propose that a committee of the AFL-CIO leadership be appointed to meet periodically with leaders of the six national civil rights organizations to work out mutually beneficial policies and programs that concretely strengthen and substantiate the Negro-labor alliance. Civil rights is labor's day-to-day business, just as economic justice is the Negro's day-to-day business. We must therefore infuse our efforts on behalf of civil rights with the same enthusiasm and rugged determination that we bring to the collective bargaining table. Thus, I should like to see this committee stimulate vigorous local and national mass-action campaigns by labor for a strong civil rights bill by Christmas!

I should like to see both of these committees cooperate on a close examination of the economic crisis of the Negro as it relates to the problems of technological change and automation - problems of urgent concern to labor. These problems need to be clarified and solutions to them must be advanced, if the Negro community is not to succumb to demoralization and frustration, and if it is not to fall victim to false leadership.

All of us are heartened by the creation of the Special Task Force "to help affiliated central bodies in community-wide drives to eliminate discrimination from every aspect of community life." We must vigorously support and expand this Task Force so that its influence will be felt in every city in the country. We must give it the means of moving into communities where vigorous civil rights campaigns are underway, to mobilize local unions on the side of those campaigns. This Task Force must have maximum moral and financial backing if it is to succeed in educating rank and file workers to their responsibilities to themselves, to their black brothers, to the cause of human rights, and to the sacred principles of trade unionism.

But this vast educational task cannot be shouldered by the Special Task Force alone. President Meany, Brother Reuther, and other outstanding national leaders of the AFL-CIO must lend a hand. They must themselves be prepared to go into areas of racial tension - into cities like Birmingham and Danville - and speak to the rank and file in the moral and economic terms they can understand. The principles of labor solidarity and of racial equality will be seriously undermined if we permit a cleavage to develop between the rank and file and the leadership on the vital issue of civil rights.

Brothers and sisters, the resolution before us is the strongest statement of labor's position on civil rights ever to come before a convention of the AFL-CIO. I am happy to have played a part in drafting it. It firmly commits organized labor to a front-line role in the civil rights revolution.

The resolution unreservedly commits us to a strong civil rights bill. That bill must contain a solid Part III, authorizing the Attorney General to initiate injunctive civil suits against violators of any constitutional right. Remember that this provision will not only help protect Southern Negroes from police dogs and fire hoses, it will also protect Southern labor organizers.

The civil rights bill must also contain a strong FEPC with commission-enforcement rather than costly court-enforcement procedures. Neither the labor movement nor the civil rights movement has fared well at the hands of Southern judges.

Let me then commend this resolution to your solemn and undivided attention. It speaks forcefully of the wrongs of segregation, discrimination, exploitation, and disfranchisement suffered by black Americans. And it says in unmistakable terms:

"These wrongs cry for correction. And it is the responsibility of all of us, individually and collectively, to work diligently for that correction.

"As trade unionists, we must work in two directions. We must set our own house in order, removing the last vestiges of racial discrimination from within the ranks of the AFL-CIO. Secondly, we must cooperate with our neighbors in the general community to assure every American the full rights of citizenship."

Brothers and sisters, it is for the purpose of expediting progress toward these twin goals that I have proposed the establishment of two committees to facilitate communication with Negro trade unionists and with the civil rights organizations.

For it is not enough - though it is our task - to give resounding approval to this resolution. We must each go forth from this historic convention determined to implement this resolution - its letter and its spirit - in every city and town, in every village and hamlet across the country.

Let each of us individually and unequivocally embrace the Negro's struggle for freedom, and the labor movement will rise to its full moral stature. Let us do this, and when labor's rights are threatened, you will see an outpouring of black Americans into the streets in defense of those rights, as they have taken to the streets in defense of their own rights.

Let us so implement this resolution that the day will not be far off when the white steelworkers of Birmingham will take the hands of black children in the crusade to redeem the South.

Let us so implement this resolution that the mill workers of Danville will join the struggle for civil rights in that beleaguered city - so that white unemployed miners in West Virginia and Tennessee with march arm-in-arm with their black brothers to transform their bleak hills into flourishing countrysides.

Let us so implement this resolution that the dispossessed migrant farm workers - Negro-American, Mexican-American, Indian-American, and poor white alike - will stand together for dignity and economic jus tice - so that the sharecroppers and tenant farmers of Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia will know that decisions made this day and implemented this year sounded the death knell of their bondage and heralded their liberation.

In the last analysis, my brothers and sisters, the essence of trade unionism is social uplift. The labor movement traditionally has been the only haven for the dispossessed, the despised, the neglected, the downtrodden, and the poor. We must pledge our lives to the social revolution which will bring all of them into labor's crusading fold - into the pale of dignity and economic well-being.

This is labor's ultimate faith. This is the basis of our program. This is the challenge before us. This is the task to which we must now rededicate ourselves.

END

Address by A. Philip Randolph
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LABOR AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

NEGRO REVOLT AGAINST RACE BIAS

Disenchanted and disillusioned with the dichotomy between the profession and practice of the American Creed of democracy and freedom, Negroes have mounted a major, full-dress Civil Rights Revolution against racial bias. It has varied and variegated manifestations, at different times, in various areas of the country.

There was the famous Jim Crow boycott in Montgomery by the courageous Dr. Martin Luther King, advocate of the Gandhi philosophy of nonviolent direct action.

Later, the country was stunned and startled when the celebrated sit-ins in Greensboro, N. C. by Negro students broke upon the nation, only to be followed by the dramatic interracial Freedom Rides, against segregated bus and railroad terminals in the South, by the Congress of Racial Equality.

But this was not all! "Lying-downs" by dignified Negro clergymen, women and children, to stop trucks from delivering supplies to racially discriminatory building construction sites in Brooklyn, N. Y., caused shock to the American community.

When the entrances of the Boards of Education in New York City and Chicago were peacefully blocked, and over a hundred thousand children boycotted Chicago public schools as a challenge to de facto segregation in public schools, this behavior was roundly condemned as an outrage by the press and some leaders of the school system.

Picketing of radially biased businesses, labor unions, and politicians was no innovation, but when the Birmingham mass demonstrations began, in which a bewildered police resorted, in desperation, to the use of dogs, fire hoses and electric cattle prods to frighten Negroes, the nation responded with amazement, indignation and dismay.

Finally, the morumental Jobs and Freedom Interracial March on Washington, August 28, 1963, stirred the conscience of the country and brought it to its feet in a great moral protest racial bias.

While demonstrations are important weapons in the arsenal of the Civil Rights Revolution, they must and will vary in response to changing situations; they will and must change in type, form, locale, timing and intensity as the revolution moves forward.

It is important to realize that demonstrations are tactics, not principles. They are to the Civil Rights Revolution what strikes were to labor revolutions which began around the middle of the nineteenth century. Neither demonstrations or strikes are sacred, but their major value consists in the fact that they may involve the total manpower in a given struggle - the strong and weak, literate and illiterate, the propertied and propertyless, saint and sinner.

Moreover, their thrusts may serve as a psychosomatic therapeutic shock upon the public conscience which can awaken and arouse and attract its attention, as well as stimulate and develop its interest in great moral issues such as civil rights and labor's rights.

And even though demonstrations are marked by phases of irrationality, irresponsibility, idiosyncrasies, eccentricities, excessive and explosive emotionalism, they serve to keep a human problem in national focus, without which it cannot be solved.

Of course, the leadership of the Civil Rights Revolution, as the social agents through which the social forces of the revolution are adumbrated, have the responsibility to prevent the demonstrations from losing their therapeutic value by reaching the point of diminishing returns in relation to public reaction which, in our pluralistic democratic society, is basic to sound progressive socio, economic, political, ethnic change.

This requires that the leadership possess the courage and integrity to tell the masses the truth with respect to tactical and strategic maneuvers, in order that the cause may continue to move ahead and continue to mobilize moral strength, and not turn to devouring its own children or becoming distressingly unwitting of its way, if, as and when the storms of a counterrevolution should break over the land.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Now, questions bob up ever and anon: Why the Civil Rights Revolution? Why these demonstrations? Why do Negro men, women and children proudly march to jail and willingly refuse bail?

To these questions there may be divers answers. But there is one simple answer; namely, one hundred years after the Proclamation of Emancipation Negroes are not yet fully free.

Negroes are not free to attend the schools they may choose to attend. Negroes, despite economic means, are not free to live in communities they may desire to live in. Negroes, though literate, are not free to register and vote in certain sections of the country. Negroes are not free to join some labor unions, or to work on certain jobs, or to learn in order to earn, through apprenticeship training. Even the alleged sensitivity of Mrs. Murphy is discovered as a rationalization for the exclusion of persons of color from public accommodations.

Verily, Negroes are second-class citizens in a first-class nation, though required to bear the responsibilities of first-class citizens in the form of taxation and defense of the nation.

WHAT ABOUT NEGROES AND PROGRESS?

This is not to suggest that Negroes have not made progress. To take this position is tantamount to holding that Negroes, unlike other peoples, have made no effort, intellectual, moral, spiritual, social, economic or political, for self-improvement, or that the effort made has been of such low qualitative character as to have failed to achieve any objective or subjective improvement. This, of course, is not true.

Negroes have made progress, considerable progress. They have made progress in civil rights, government, politics, voting, education, employment, labor unions, science, art, literature, religion, home ownership, representation in the Congress, state and city legislative bodies, and administrative and judicial areas of government.

But it must be added that the pace of progress has been and still is too slow, and the amount of progress is woefully inadequate to enable Negroes effectively to cope with the problems with which they are confronted.

If Negroes had made no progress they would not and could not have developed the Civil Rights Revolution. Nor could they make further progress. It is hardly debatable that an individual must acquire and possess knowledge in order to acquire more knowledge.

It is one of the laws of social progress that he who has least, while needing most, wants least; and he who has most, while needing least, wants most. Workers with low wages don't voluntarily fight as hard for more wages as workers with high wages fight for higher wages.

Verily, revolutions, historically, are not made by the pauperized, demoralized, impoverished and illiterate driftwood of humanity. They are made by the discontented. The discontented are those who compare their lot of being without freedom and security with other human beings who are free and secure. This involves thought, intelligence and courage.

Revolutions stem from hope, not despair; optimism, not pessimism. Sociologically, discontent increases with social improvement. The more an human being gets, the more he wants, and the more he wants, the more vigorously will he fight to satisfy his wants. This is the psychological basis of reform, the basis of revolutions of mankind throughout the ages. The motive power of the human mind is the multiplied and ever-increasing wants, to satisfy and supply which, practically perpetual effort and ceaseless activity are essential.

SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP OF THE NEGRO

Why this second-class citizenship of the Negro? The historical raison d'etre is that Negroes, having been bound by the labor system of chattel slavery for a quarter of a thousand years, still bear the mark of the myth of hereditary racial inferiority. Moreover, although the Civil War Revolution emancipated the slaves, it never finished the business of emancipation in the pattern of the classical, liberal bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The bourgeois revolutions of Europe and England did not only liberate the serfs and abolish the social order of feudalism, but they transformed the serfs into free workers and independent peasant proprietors, provided plots of land, integrated public education and instituted free suffrage.

But, while slavery in the United States was abolished, slaves were not only not transformed into free workers but, instead, became sharecroppers, debt peons and farm laborers - virtual serfs of the new plantation feudalism of the former slave-holding masters.

The former slaves received no land. Segregated, in lieu of integrated, public schools were established. And the black Freedmen were driven from the ballot box by fraud and violence. Legislative devices such as the Grandfather Clause, the Poll Tax and White Primaries were promptly invented and adopted by the Confederate states to halt the march of Negroes to first-class citizenship. Thus, the Civil War Revolution failed to fulfill its historic mission.

CIVIL WAR REVOLUTION
FAILED TO FULFILL HISTORIC MISSION

Why? The failure of the Civil War Revolution to fulfill its mission resulted from the rise of the Confederate Counterrevolution which, with the violence of a hurricane of human hate, swept over the land, leaving the newly won landmarks of civil rights of Negroes lying in utter ruins.

The Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 and the Fifteenth Amendment of 1870 were challenged, emasculated and virtually nullified. The force of the new climate of the Confederate Counterrevolution expressed itself in President Andrew Johnson's proclamation of amnesty and pardon for the secession leaders. The old slave Bourbons not only regained their citizenship but were aided in the reestablishment of their old cotton plantation system - the framework of the new black serfdom, fortified by the Black Codes which were designed to keep slaves in slavery.

Even the Thirteenth Amendment, which theoretically established the illegality of involuntary servitude, did not survive the Confederate Counterrevolution unscathed by the rising harsh and bitted winds of racialism. It is a notorious fact that, despite this Amendment, the new cotton plantation feudalism rested upon a black pillow of flesh recruited with the weapons of vagrancy laws, prejudiced courts and hostile police, together with a commisary-debt system for moneyless, landless, jobless, friendless ex-slaves.

Promptly following the Johnson Administration came the declaration of the unconstitutionality of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 by the United States Supreme Court in 1883. Soon thereafter, the momentous decision, by the Court, of Plessy versus Ferguson in 1896, in which the doctrine of "separate but equal" was proclaimed, constituting the official foundation of racial segregation in the United States. In 1872 the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been established to aid and defend the Freedmen from the exploitation and oppression of the former slave masters, was dismantled.

As a result of the Great Betrayal of the Negro in the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876, after Hayes, Republican, who was behind Tilden, Democrat, was elected President, he withdrew the Federal troops, the sole protection of the Freedmen, from the South.

END OF RECONSTRUCTION OF DEMOCRACY

The outcome of the Hayes-Tilden election opened Pandora's Box for a century of inequities, if not iniquities, to black Americans; marked the end of the brief period of the Reconstruction democracy; and effected the restoration of the plantation Confederate oligarchy to power in the South.

The Negro Freedmen, though still unfree, bowed off the stage of American history. They had fallen out of public focus. The Congressional Reconstruction Act of 1867, enacted over the veto of President Andrew Johnson, for the economic, social and political advancement and protection of their rights, had been consigned to the limbo of political oblivion.

REPUBLICAN PARTY TURNS BACK UPON FREEDMEN

The Republican Party which led the Civil War Revolution, hailed by Frederick Douglass, the great Negro abolitionist, as "the ship and all else the sea" for the Negro, turned its back on the Freedmen.

With the thunder of abolitionism no longer heard on behalf of the ex-slave; with the rapid growth of the new American nationalism as a result of the victory of Northern industrialism over Southern agrarianism; with the centralization of political power in a strong federal governmental system and the national economic unification of the country, the march of new events,around the growth of capitalist power to the center of the stage of American history, began.

RISE OF CAPITALISM

The rise and progress of massive capitalism with the development of giant corporate forces in the Seventies, Eighties and Nineties, in oil, steel, railroads, banking, meatpacking and public utilities, exercised a definitive influence in determining the shape of things to come in American life. Power-hungry moguls were building the Gilded Age, with a wondrously illiterate leisure class of conspicuous consumption, upon the exploitation, blood, sweat and tears of the workers. The socio-economic landscape of America began to change.

Workers' revolutions against the ruthless aggression of corporate capital were reflected in a number of major labor-capital upheavals, including a violent, destructive nation-wide Railroad Strike in 1877; the Haymarket Riot in 1886; Homestead Strike in 1892; Pullman Strike in 1894 and the Anthracite Coal Strike of 1907.

These nation-shaking explosions of the workers against rising industrial and financial empires and the formation of great American fortunes took on the complexion and threat of a class war.

In the mid-1890s, caught up in liquidating mortgage foreclosures, and enraged over the failure of the Federal Government to enforce the Interstate Commerce Act of 1886 and Anti-Trust Act of 1890, distressed farmers, in a spirit of radical political orientation, supported the movement of Populism, a major attack upon the tyranny of monopoly finance capital. These revolts of workers and farmers, representing, as it were, the large majority of the poor and oppressed, tended to diminish popular public concern for the fading freedom of the four million black Freedmen.

THE NEGRO AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Thus, Negroes made their advent into the twentieth century as virtually non-citizens, so far as civic status and the exercise of the attributes of citizenship were concerned.

In the field of labor, Negro workers constituted the substratum of the American working class. They were ignored by industry, snubbed by labor, and forgotten by government.

At this stage of Negro history three black giants held the reins of leadership. They were Frederick Douglass, great anti-slavery leader; Booker T. Washington, noted Negro American educator, and William Edward Burghardt DuBois, brilliant and uncompromising agitator. What did they have to say about the black Freedmen and the future?

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Thus spake the noblest slave that ever God set free, Frederick Douglass, in 1852, in his Fourth of July oration in Rochester, N. Y.

> "What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer: A day that reveals to him more than all other days in the year the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim.
>
> "To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety and hypocrisy - a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages.
>
> "You boast of your love of liberty, your superior civilization, and your pure Christianity, while the whole political power of the nation (as embodied in the two great political parties) is solemnly pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of three millions of your countrymen.
>
> "You hurl your anathemas at the crown-headed tyrants of Russia and Austria and pride yourselves on your democratic institutions, while you yourselves consent to be the mere tools and bodyguards of the tyrants of Virginia and Carolina.
>
> "You invite to your shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, honor them with banquets, greet them with ovations, cheer them, toast them, salute them, protect them and pour out your money to them like water; but the fugitives from your own land you advertise, hunt, arrest, shoot and kill."

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DUBOIS

And at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, where the cause of freedom was drowned in the blood of brave freedom fighters but enriched and hallowed by the martyrdom of that great prophet, John Brown, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois declared in a major racial policy address:

> "We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans."

And in BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, DuBois speaks of the black worker:

> "It was thus the black worker, as founding stone of a new economic system in the nineteenth century and for the modern world, who brought civil war in America. He was its underlying cause, in spite of every effort to base strife upon Union and national power.
>
> "That dark and vast sea of human labor in China and India, the South Seas and all Africa; in the West Indies and Central America and in the United States - that great majority of mankind, on whose bent and broken backs rest today the founding stones of modern industry - shares a common destiny; it is despised and rejected by race and color; paid a wage below the level of decent living; driven, beaten, prisoned and enslaved in all but name; spawning the world's raw material and luxury - cotton, wool, coffee, tea, cocoa, palm oil, fibres, spices, rubber, silks, lumber, copper, gold, diamonds, leather - how shall we end the list and where?
>
> "All these are gathered up at prices lowest of the low, manufactured, transformed and transported at fabulous gain; and the resultant wealth is distributed and displayed and made the basis of world power and universal dominion and armed arrogance in London and Paris, Berlin and Rome, New York and Rio de Janeiro.
>
> "Here is the real labor problem. Here is the kernel of the problem of Religion and Democracy, of Humanity. Words and futile gestures avail nothing. Out of the exploitation of the dark proletariat comes Surplus Value, filched from human beasts which, in cultured lands, the machine and harnessed power veil and conceal. The emancipation of man is the emancipation of labor and the emancipation of labor is the freeing of that basic majority of workers who are yellow, brown and black."

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

In a major address at the Atlanta Exposition in 1894, Booker T. Washington, a great American educator, said:

> "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

This statement was made two years before the U. S. Supreme Court handed down the far-reaching Plessy versus Ferguson decision, in which the doctrine of "separate but equal" was expounded and became the legal rationale for racial segregation.

The voice of Frederick Douglass was the voice of racial liberation.

The voice of Booker T. Washington was the voice of racial accommodation.

The voice of W. E. B. DuBois was the voice of racial integration.

Frederick Douglass had practically finished his work as a fighting free Negro for the emancipation of black slaves, and remains a symbol and legacy of hope and inspiration to the half-free black serfs who faced a long night of racial segregation with its villainies, horrors and torment of lynch-law and mob-rule.

Booker T. Washington sought to prepare the Negro to make his way in the twentieth century by the development of the head, heart and hand, with emphasis on the hand.

But Dr. DuBois, with the vision and insight of a prophet, exclaimed on the strange meaning of being black at the dawning of the twentieth century, "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line," and he grimly set about the task of wiping it out.

While DuBois failed, he, together with a few white liberals, including Mary White Ovington, Oswald Garrison Villard, Moorfield Storey and John Haynes Holmes, formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910 which enkindled the fires of the Civil Rights Revolution.

TASK OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

The task of this revolution is to effect a transition of the Negro from the status of second-class citizenship to the status of first-class citizenship in education, labor, ballot, industry and government. This means equality - economic, political and social.

ABSOLUTE PROGRESS

Now, as I indicated in the first part of my talk, Negroes have made progress. But it is absolute progress, such as progress from the status of a slave to a free worker; from the condition of being denied the right to vote to token voting in certain areas of the South; from practically total confinement to unskilled labor to token opportunity to acquire skills; from practically complete exclusion from white collar jobs to token inclusion in this work area.

While absolute progress has enabled Negroes to initiate and carry forward the Civil Rights Revolution, a sine qua non for the realization of first-class citizenship, it has not prepared them to survive and move ahead in our free, democratic, automated society.

GROWING NEGRO JOB-INCOME CRISIS

Negroes made tremendous advances in income during World War II and in subsequent prosperous times, as a result of a labor shortage which provided factory, and some white-collar, jobs at higher wages than Negroes had ever before received. Negro workers, because of their congenitally low wage base, increased their income 80 percent faster than white workers increased their income. The annual average median income of Negro families increased from 37 percent of the annual average median income of white families in 1939 to 57 percent in 1952. But this escalation came to a halt with a slow-down in the pace of the growth of the economy following the end of the Korean War. As a result of the weakening of the business boom, the median income of Negro families dropped from 57 percent of the income of white families in 1952, to 53 percent in 1962.

Beginning in 1940, the income of Negroes grew at an unprecedented rate. It was marked by a growth of approximately 700 percent in aggregate personal income between 1939 and 1961, an income which is now estimated to be well over $22 billion a year.

But whites have stretched the dollar gap between their earnings and that of Negroes over three times since 1939. White families similarly have increased the differential between their employment income and that of Negro families.

NEGROES LOSING GROUND

Negroes are losing ground rapidly in gaining dollar parity with whites. The earnings of whites are increasing at a faster pace than for Negroes.

The explanation is that, first, earnings of Negroes have been low over a long period of time. Thus, smaller gains yield a striking percentage increase. Second, and more seriously, notwithstanding their real gains, Negroes have not enough jobs in areas where wages and salaries tend to be higher and to increase faster.

Whites are acquiring the highest paying jobs in higher occupational classifications. The benefits of general economic expansion and technology therefore have only trickled down to Negroes, putting more, but not enough, of them into wage and salary jobs. These benefits automatically produced high acceleration in income change but were restricted to lower occupational classifications.

Thus, despite the unprecedented growth of income among Negroes and the percentage gains made, the fact remains that income progress of Negroes has leveled off. The percent of Negro families in lower income brackets is twice as high as whites, and the differential in earnings of whites and Negroes continues to widen, largely offsetting percentage gains. Hence, it is still difficult for Negroes to purchase health, education, recreation and the amenities of life on the same level as whites.

In an article in FORTUNE, March 1962, Charles E. Silberman, a member of the board of editors, said: "It is no exaggeration to say that Negroes are on the verge of a major economic crisis, for the gap is widening between Negro education and training on the one hand, and the requirements of the labor market on the other. Automation, new management techniques and changes in consumer spending patterns are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor and increasing employment in professional, managerial, clerical and sales jobs, many of which require considerable education and training. These white-collar occupations account for no less than 97 percent of the total increase in employment that has occurred since 1947."

NEGROES' TREND TOWARD POVERTY

But Negroes today are steadily and rapidly moving into broader pools of poverty. This situation is largely due to the Negroes' lack of education and training; their concentration in unskilled occupations, on account of past and present racial discrimination, and their unusually high rate of unemployment, resulting from the advance of radical technology and automation which makes for the liquidation of unskilled jobs, variously estimated to number from one to two million a year.

In other words, the unskilled jobs Negroes have held - some of which still exist - are steadily declining, and jobs requirimg at least high school education, and skills Negroes do not possess, are increasing. It is pretty well established now that high and low wages and salaries correspond rather generally to certain levels of education and training. In fact, even opportunities for employment are conditioned by education and skills.

If poverty is defined as having to live on an annual income under $4,000 for multiple-person families and $2,000 for unattached individuals, then of the 38 million Americans in poverty, a disproportionately large segment are Negroes. According to the U. S. Department of Commerce, 60.2 percent of non-whites have an annual income less than $4,000.

The average length of unemployment of Negroes in September 1962 was 18 weeks, and 13 weeks for whites. Negroes accounted for 29 percent of the very long-term unemployed in September 1962, resulting from discrimination in hiring and inadequate training and manpower development.

As less and less unskilled work is required, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and the poor whites in urban and rural slums, will be increasingly isolated and exposed to unemployment, to underemployment and exploitation. They constitute a group which Gunnar Myrdal calls the "under-class" or the substratum of the American working class.

Because of the low qualitative character of unskilled Negro labor (the result of 250 years of slavery and 100 years of segregation) and the demand of an increasingly automated society for less and less manual labor to produce goods and services, Negroes, unless provided opportunities to acquire education and training that can equip them for employment, and unless race bias in industry, labor unions and government is completely abolished, face an increasingly bleak outlook in our affluent society.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Of primary and indispensable importance and necessity is the enactment by the Congress of the package of proposals of the great late and lamented President John Fitzgerald Kennedy for civil rights legislation, including a fair employment practice commission, with powers to issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the courts; unequivocal access to public accommodations; authority for the Justice Department to initiate suits for the protection of constitutional rights, safeguard franchise privileges, and protect persons, in the exercise of their constitutional right of petition through demonstrations, from police brutality.

PREFERENTIAL RACIAL CONCEPT

Because of centuries of educational, cultural, economic deprivation that have placed Negroes at a competitive disadvantage, extraordinary preferential opportunities and special treatment, (but without lowering standards in education and training) are necessary for Negroes,for a limited time, if there is any genuine concern about enabling them to overcome these handicaps.

The sins of commission and omission,reflected in exclusionary racial patterns perpetrated upon citizens of color by our American society, cannot be liquidated rapidly enough in this era of accelerated technological change under the belated application of the doctrine of equality of opportunity.

MENACE OF RACIAL GAP

Until government and private enterprise and voluntary associations work affirmatively for desegregation and integration in our schools, and to provide special services for Negro and other minority children to offset the inferior education they have received in the past; until all areas of government and private enterprise adopt programs not only to assure nondiscrimination but to achieve integrated occupancy in housing at all economic levels; until the government (federal, state and municipal) take affirmative and cinsistent steps to bring Negroes into job opportunities never before opened to them without, of course, the unsound quota system which places a limitation upon progress, but with the rejection of tokenism, Negroes and other minority groups will not fully participate in the benefits of American freedom and achieve true equality in our free democratic society.

This revolutionary basic action will require bold, firm, heroic decisions on the part of government, business, labor, educational and religious leaders.

NEGROES' MAJOR PROBLEMS

Probably the two major problems confronting Negroes today are poverty and lack of education. Pools of hard-core, relatively permanent, unemployment and poverty of Negro workers are increasing in the black ghettoes of the big metropolitan centers of the country.

Thousands of slum Negro workers are not only unemployable but are virtually, on account of inability even to read, untrainable, except perhaps through an on-the-job training system.

PUBLIC WORKS

Thus, the problem of Negro unemployment and poverty and destitution can only be effectively grappled with through massive public works. The crisis of unemployment (despite these times of prosperous business, a rising economic growth rate, with the national gross product reaching the high level of around $600 billion in 1963, with prospects of it rising higher) poses a problem which makes for frustration, if not desperation, in the Negro community and, if left unsolved, will result in intermittent eruptions of interracial violence and an increasingly heavier welfare load upon taxpayers.

MINIMUM WAGE

Since there are an estimated 16 million workers not covered by minimum wages, of which Negroes constitute a disproportionately high segment, an increase of the federal minimum wage to two dollars an hour, with unlimited coverage, will not only raise the income of millions of workers that live below the poverty level, but will provide higher purchasing power to secure more and better goods and services which will, in turn, cause increased production and employment.

President Lyndon B. Johnson is to be commended upon his announced war upon poverty,and the high priority and urgency he has properly given civil rights in his statesmanlike State of the Union message to the Congress. But he needs help, not only from civil rights organizations but the consensus of the conscience of the country.

Verily, Negroes must trust in God, but keep their powder of public demonstrations dry, to fight, in this hour of trial by fire, for their God-given right to freedom and equality, racial and social justice.

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ACTION, SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.
FEBRUARY 1, 1964

THE CRISIS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

COLLAPSE OF BLACK RECONSTRUCTION

The black Freedmen, following the collapse of the Reconstruction democracy and the calamitous compromise of the Hayes-Tilden election of 1877, passed through a period of virulent racial prejudice and increasing discrimination in the South and, to no inconsiderable extent, in the North.

While secessionism had been put down on the battlefield at Appomattox in 1865 and Abraham Lincoln had abolished chattel slavery, the Civil War Revolution had been stopped cold in its tracks by the rising, harsh, bitter and angry winds of the Confederate Counter-revolution which swept the newly won forms of freedom for the Freedmen (including the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 and the Fifteenth Amendment of 1870) into the limbo of political oblivion for a hundred years.

FREEDMEN'S RIGHTS STRUCK DOWN BY THE COURTS

When the roar of the thunder of Abolitionism against human bondage no longer shook the nation and the voices of the mighty men and women of the struggle for emancipation - William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, the noblest slave God ever set free, Wendell Phillips and Sojourner Truth, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Harriet Tubman, Lovejoy and Thoreau - were no longer heard in old Fanueil Hall and the streets of Boston, Pandora's Box, with a long night of unspeakable iniquities and inequities to black Americans, was thrown wide open.

The recognition and acceptance of the hegemony of the ex-slaveholding masters in the South by the Federal Government, made evident by the proclamation of amnesty and pardon to the secession leaders by President Andrew Johnson in 1865 and the withdrawal of the troops from the South by Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877, left Negroes without any effective defense of their political and civil rights.

REIGN OF TERROR

Thus, a reign of terror swept over the South. White-robed, night-riding Klansmen drove Negroes from the polls by fraud and violence.

Bent upon breaking the spirit of the Freedmen (fourteen of whom had been elected to the House of Representatives, and two to the Senate, with scores sitting in southern state legislatures, but without a single Negro becoming a governor) disenfranchisement devices, such as Grandfather Clauses, Poll Tax, White Primaries and Vagrancy and Convict Laws, were adopted by every southern state during the Eighties and Nineties.

This frontal attack upon the citizenship of the Negro was accompanied by waves of bloody race riots. Lynchings in the South reached their peak in the 1880's and early 1890's, averaging about 150 a year during the two decades and attaining a maximum of 235 in 1892. It is a notorious fact that not a single white man was ever apprehended, indicted or convicted for the commission of these shocking crimes against Negro citizens.

When the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1883, and the Court's decision of Plessy versus Ferguson, promulgating the doctrine of "separate but equal", the basis and patterns of racial segregation and subordination, with the triumph of white supremacy, was practically complete in the country.

FREEDMEN DROPPED OUT OF PUBLIC FOCUS

At the close of the nineteenth, and opening of the twentieth, century the Freedmen had lost their freedom and status of citizenship which had been achieved by the Civil War Revolution.

Why?

A major reason was that the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed. It was not fully completed because the fires of the Confederate Counterrevolution had been enkindled and were moving to counteract and halt the progress of the Civil War Revolution and to effect the restoration of the former old Bourbon-Cotton-Plantation oligarchy to power and control in the former slave states.

NEW ECONOMIC FORCES

Correlated with these changes in the status of Negroes, resulting from warfare between leaders of the Civil War Revolution and the Confederate Counterrevolution, were new challenging economic and social issues.

The infamous compromise of 1877 was itself rooted in the growth of industrialism in the New South and in the increasing domination of southern politics by industrial rather than agrarian interests, inding the necessity of depending on Negro votes for an economic program favorable to financial and industrial interests of the North which had come to control the Republican Party. Northern capitalists, allied with and dominating southern industry, not only found Negro votes unnecessary but were interested in securing a stable semi-skilled and unskilled labor force with which to exploit southern resources and develop southern industry rather than in securing justice and social reform for the benefit of the ex-slaves and their descendants.

It is important to note that Negroes had emerged from slavery not only landless, moneyless, jobless, voteless and friendless, but the Republican Party, which had led the Civil War Revolution against the slave power, turned its back upon them.

Moreover, the economic developments of the post Civil War decades brought with them not only the triumph of industrial enterprise and the tendency toward monopoly and finance capitalism, but also the advent of revolutions of the workers and farmers that opposed and fought economic oppression and exploitation by the dominant railroad, banking and mining interests.

While the black ex-slaves and white workers and farmers were basically victims of the same forms of economic oppression and exploitation, in the struggle between the farmers and workers and the new capitalism the Negroes wound up not only at the bottom of the industrial and agricultural totem pole, but with the aggrieved farmers and workers on their backs, if not at their throats.

In their attitudes toward Negroes, reform movements ranged from enthusiastic espousal of the brotherhood of man and the solidarity of the oppressed, to a strident prejudice and hatred of Negroes as economic rivals and as a scapegoat for the difficulties of the white working, and small farmer, classes.

Of course, opposition to black ex-slaves by white workers and farmers, themselves victims of oppression, is quite understandable for, not infrequently, in the breasts of the oppressed burns a passion to become oppressors. Moreover, white workers and farmers, along with practically the entire white South, were being brainwashed and poisoned by the propaganda myth of the hereditary racial inferiority of Negroes.

Just as popular concern for the fading freedom of the black Freedmen had been diminished by the rise and challenge of capitalism, in the revolt of the farmers' Populist and Grange movements in the 1890's, and the labor-capital upheavals in the form of the nation-wide railroad strike in 1877, the Haymarket Riot in 1886, the Pullman Strike in 1894 and the Homestead Strike in 1892, so the Civil Rights Revolution may fall out of public focus and be pushed from the center of the stage of history by the new revolution of science, technology and automation with its paradox of growing affluence, unemployment and poverty, unless there is a coalition of the Negro, labor, liberal, and church forces and a dynamic and aggressive struggle to achieve the effectuation of the Civil Rights Revolution and the democratization of the progress of the scientific revolution.

PRESENT DILEMMA

Negroes are caught up in the dilemma of being propelled to keep the Civil Rights Revolution moving forward at an accelerated pace to the rapid realization of its mission without being devoured by the revolution of science. Negroes have major stakes in, and must profit from, both revolutions. But if the Civil Rights Revolution is not completed, they will become the stepchildren of the new scientific revolution, if not the victims of social-economic devolution.

Without a victorious Civil Rights Revolution Negroes cannot adequately participate in or benefit from the revolution of the new industrialism.

Just as the bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for political rights, which resulted in the overthrow of monarchy in government, had to prepare the way for the revolutions for economic rights, so the revolution for civil rights must be completed so as to prepare Negro Americans to participate in and profit from the developing scientific revolution which is destined to change the shape of our economic life to come.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Civil rights and economic rights supplement and complement each other. One is insecure without the other. Civil rights and civil liberties; namely, freedom of the press, speech, assembly, and religious worship, trial by jury, habeas corpus, right of petition, right to vote and to be voted for, freedom from self-incrimination or double jeopardy, constitute the pillars of our democratic society. They are the attributes of citizenship. Without them an individual cannot function as a full-fledged, first-class citizen. If an individual cannot function as a full-fledged, first-class citizen he cannot register his consent or dissent upon policies of state; he cannot effectively exercise a permanent influence upon the course and change of the economy which involve the means whereby he lives.

Thus, Negroes have no alternative but to throw their all into the balance, to fight for civil rights and civil liberties so as to possess the tools with which to struggle for economic rights and economic liberties, the sine qua non of political and economic democracy.

NEGRO CITIZENSHIP IN THE SOUTH

But Negroes lack civil rights in the South. They are the victims of taxation without representation. A successful Negro professional or businessman may, at any hour, be driven from his enterprise at the whim of a mob, and the future of his family ruined if, perchance, they survive. Of course the Federal Bureau of Investigation may be alerted before and after the event, but when, and how, will it act? While racism is not communism, both threaten our democratic society.

Hence, civil rights and civil liberties must be fought for at the same time - and continuously - in America. Civil rights cannot be won without civil liberties and civil liberties cannot be maintained without civil rights. Verily, the civil rights and civil liberties of one American are tied up with the civil liberties and civil rights of all Americans. No American, black or white, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, can be truly free while any American, Republican or Democrat, Socialist, Communist or Independent. Atheist or Christian, native or foreigner, is enslaved.

Note the notorious exhibition of unspeakable police brutality, the use of savage dogs, electric cattle prods and fire hoses, perpetrated upon the embattled Americans of color in Birmingham who, under the courageous leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, were peacefully exercising their constitutional right of petition against racial and social wrongs.

For a year or more, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was barred by injunction from conducting its organizational activities in Alabama because it was leading the fight against racial Bourbonism.

And may the conscience of America never forget it's guilt for the death bomb of racial bigotry which murdered four little Negro girls in a church of God one Sunday morning.

It was the same sinister and deadly climate of racial hate and fanaticism which pulled the fateful trigger of the gun that shot down the late and great President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, an intrepid and dauntless warrior for human rights and a symbol of the frontier of freedom and social justice in America and the world.

It was under the gathering storm clouds of racial warfare against the march of the cause of civil rights in benighted Mississippi, that Medgar Evers was murdered.

In Louisiana, as is the case with respect to every state in the South, Negroes and whites who relentlessly carry forward the battle for civil rights are ruthlessly thrown into prison without rhyme or reason.

Negro students visited some of their fellow civil rights co-workers in jail in Louisiana and gave them some books, one of which was entitled, "The God-Damn White Man." They were promptly thrown into prison for criminal anarchy, convicted and sentenced to serve ten years.

But, despite these cruel and callous forms of persecution, they will not and can not stop demonstrations by Negroes and their white sisters and brothers against racial segregation and discrimination in the schools, labor unions, industry and government of this country. They will continue to march and picket and boycott Jim Crow, whether it be in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Chicago, or New York City.

With heads erect, souls uncurbed, and burning with the passion for freedom and human dignity, young and old Negroes proudly march into jail, refusing bail, determined to banish Jim Crow and his works forever from this land.

It is apparent that Negroes and Labor, Liberals and the Church, that are dedicated to the struggle for civil rights have a responsibility, not only to fight for the enactment of civil rights legislation but also must fight to wipe off the Federal statute books the McCarran Act and the Smith Act, with their sinister shadows of McCarthyism, under which the basic constitutional civil liberties set forth in the Bill of Rights are recklessly trampled upon in the name of law and order.

While the Un-American Activities Committee was set up to fight un-American activities, it is mostly distinguished for its industry in listing,as subversive, movements and persons committed to the cause of civil rights and civil liberties. It is thus difficult to take this inquisitorial Un-American Activities Committee seriously, except in the interest of achieving its extinction. While it poses as the guardian against un-American activities, it has never listed the White Citizens Council or the Ku Klux Klan or sought to investigate, at a public hearing, Governor George Wallace of Alabama, ex-Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi or General Walker of Texas who found it to be his civic responsibility to be on the campus of "Ole Miss" during the riot which was fomented to keep James Meredith out of the University of Mississippi.

CRY FOR WARREN IMPEACHMENT

It was out of this infectious southern racial sickness of fears and frustration, and the fading force of states' rights, that a shocking, hysterical cry for the impeachment of Chife Justice Earl Warren was raised when the United States Supreme Court handed down the monumental decision for the desegregation and integration of public schools in 1954.

Seeking to reassure the hard-bitten Claghorns with the Dixie battle cries of white supremacy, practically all of the southern leaders in the House of Representatives and the Senate signed a manifesto condemning the momentous decision of the Warren Court, outlawing racial segregation and discrimination in public schools.

When the influential leaders of the South publicly deride and denounce a civil rights decision by the Supreme Court which seeks to eliminate racial bias in public institutions of education, how can the country avoid the uprisings of some white communities, South and North, against the expression of the legitimate aspirations of Negroes for first-class citizenship?

NEW DRIVE FOR STATES' RIGHTS

Verily, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

Not only are the anti-democratic, ultra-right forces in Congress, and probably all areas in the country, making a desperate effort to emasculate the Bill of Rights, but already, quietly, without publicity, a number of state legislatures have passed states' rights amendments which would end all constitutional restraints of the Constitution in the future by the state legislature alone, without Congressional action, and which would set up a Court of the Union, made up of the fifty states' chief justices, to review Supreme Court decisions.

Let me invite you to imagine what would happen to the struggles for civil rights, civil liberties and the progress of democracy were the final decisions left in the hands of the chief justices of southern states.

The Chief Justice wisely warned the American Law Institute, on May 22, 1963, that these amendments "could radically change the character of our institutions," and he called for a great national debate on the proposed amendments "before the Constitution is changed unwittingly." It is the responsibility of fighters for civil rights and civil liberties to get this campaign, to rob the Constitution of its basic vitality, into the white light of public opinion and defeat it.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

In the light of the fact the rate of unemployment of Negro workers is two and a half percent higher than the rate of unemployment of white workers; in the light of the fact that 16 percent of white teenagers are unemployed while practically 40 percent of black teenagers are out of work, out of school and rapidly running out of hope; with the abolition of two, or more, million unskilled and semi-skilled jobs annually by technology, jobs in which Negroes have been and still are disproportionately concentrated; with an annual increase in the workforce by some 1,350,000 during the decade of the Sixties, plus the slow rate of integration of Negroes in apprenticeship training because of the long race bias of unions, industry and government, the economic and social future of black America is bleak indeed.

An article in Fortune Magazine, March 1962, pointed out that: "It is no exaggeration to say that Negroes are on the verge of a major economic crisis, for the gap is widening between Negro education and training on the one hand, and the requirements of the labor market on the other. Automation, new management techniques and changes in consumer spending patterns are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor and increasing employment in professional, managerial, clerical and sales jobs, many of which require considerable education and training. These white-collar occupations account for no less than 97 percent of the total increase in employment that has occurred since 1947."

If poverty is defined as having to live on an annual income under $4,000 for multiple-person families and $2,000 for unattached individuals, then of the 38 million Americans in poverty, a dispropostionately large segment are Negroes. According to the U. S. Department of Commerce, 60.2 percent of non-whites have an annual income less than $4,000.

The average length of unemployment of Negroes in September 1962 was 18 weeks, and 13 weeks for whites. Negroes accounted for 29 percent of the very long-term unemployed in September 1962, resulting from discrimination in hiring and inadequate training and manpower development.

As less and less unskilled work is required, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and the poor whites in urban and rural slums will be increasingly isolated and exposed to unemployment, to underemployment and exploitation. They constitute a group which Gunnar Myrdal calls the "under-class" or the substratum of the American working class.

Because of the low qualitative character of unskilled Negro labor (the result of 250 years of slavery and 100 years of segregation) and the demand of an increasingly automated society for less and less manual labor to produce goods and services, Negroes, unless provided opportunities to acquire education and training that can equip them for employment, and unless race bias in industry, labor unions and government is completely abolished, face an increasingly hopeless outlook in our affluent society.

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Because of centuries of educational, cultural, economic deprivation that have placed Negroes at a competitive disadvantage, extraordinary preferential opportunities and special treatment, (but without lowering standards in education and training) are necessary for Negroes, for a limited time, if there is any genuine concern about enabling them to overcome these handicaps.

The sins of commission and omission, reflected in exclusionary racial patterns perpetrated upon citizens of color by our American society, cannot be liquidated rapidly enough in this era of accelerated technological change under the belated application of the doctrine of equality of opportunity.

MENACE OF RACIAL GAP

Until government and private enterprise and voluntary associations work affirmatively for desegregation and integration in our schools, and to provide special services for Negro and other minority children to offset the inferior education they have received in the past; until all areas of government and private enterprise adopt programs, not only to assure nondiscrimination but to achieve integrated occupancy in housing at all economic levels; until the government (federal, state and municipal) take affirmative and consistent steps to bring Negroes into job opportunities never before opened to them without, of course, the unsound quota system which places a limitation upon progress, but with the rejection of tokenism, Negroes and other minority groups will not fully participate in the benefits of American freedom and achieve true equality in our free democratic society.

PUBLIC WORKS

Thus, the problem of Negro unemployment and poverty and destitution can only be effectively grappled with through massive public works. The crisis of unemployment (despite these times of prosperous business, a rising economic growth rate, with the national gross product reaching the high level of around $600 billion in 1963, with prospects of it rising higher) poses a problem which makes for frustration, if not desperation, in the Negro community and, if left unsolved, will result in intermittent eruptions of interracial violence and an increasingly heavier welfare load upon taxpayers.

MINIMUM WAGE

Since there are an estimated 16 million workers not covered by minimum wages, an increase of the federal minimum wage to two dollars an hour, with unlimited coverage, will not only raise the income of millions of workers living below the poverty level, but will provide higher purchasing power to secure more and better goods and services which will, in turn, cause increased production and employment.

President Lyndon B. Johnson is to be commended upon his announced war upon poverty, and the high priority and urgency he has properly given civil rights in his statesmanlike State of the Union message to the Congress. But he needs help, not only from civil rights organizations but the consensus of the conscience of the country.

Thus, the first and major task and responsibility of the Negro, along with all minorities, as well as America, is the completion of the Civil Rights Revolution. Until Negroes become first-class citizens, they not only will not and can not go forward, but will drift backward because of inability to keep pace in our rapidly automating society.

In the interest of survival and progress, Negroes can not, and will not settle for anything less, today, not tomorrow. Therefore, demonstrations in all forms, sit-ins, lie-downs, boycotts, picketing and jail-ins, that are to the Civil Rights Revolution what strikes were and are to Labor's revolution, must not only continue but must be intensified until Negroes are fully free.

This is why Negroes have no alternative except to support the school boycott against de facto school segregation in New York City and all other cities where it exists.

The conscience of America needs to be challenged, aroused and shaken out of its comfort and complacency and made to understand that the dignity of the personality of Negro Americans is being violated, insulted and humiliated until their cup runneth over.

This is the time for the Negro to break through from the dark, dim cellars of American slums of half-men into the sunlight of freedom, equality and human dignity. There is no price too dear for Negroes to pay to shuffle off this mortal coil of secondary manhood.

We thus honor the martyrdom of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Medgar Evers, the four little Negro girls who died at religious worship, and our white brother, William Moore, who staged a one-man march against Dixie bias. We honor freedom fighters everywhere, from the brave Jewish ghetto fighters of Warsaw, against Naziism and anti-Semitism, to the dauntless black freedom fighters in South Africa against apartheid and the black revolt in Birmingham, Atlanta and Albany, Georgia; Little Rock and New Orleans; Tallahassee and St. Augustine.

And, we honor those great and noble souls who never retreated before the forces of reaction, whether racial or political.

America is the richer by the life and work of such stalwart freedom fighters as Eleanor Roosevelt, the First Lady of the world, and Herbert H. Lehman, who stood up and defied McCarthy on the Senate floor, William Edward Burghardt DuBois, and many others.

And we honor those great liberals still on the battlefront for freedom - Frank P. Graham, Norman Thomas, Ralph McGill, John Haynes Holmes, Aubrey Williams and many, many more.

That all men are created equal is an idea whose time has come for the Negro and America. It cannot be stopped. It cannot be stopped by mad dogs or madmen, murder or mobs, prejudice or police. The idea that all men are created equal was born in the fires of a fighting faith in freedom. It gathers its strength from the Judeo-Christian traditions and its roots sink deep in the invincibility of truth, justice and right.

Thus, in this hour of trial by fire, may God give us the strength, the faith and the courage never to falter.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT THE
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS' SOCIAL
JUSTICE AWARD BANQUET, ATLANTIC CITY,
NEW JERSEY, MARCH 23, 1964

THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

The world of the peoples of color is in flames. They are the flames of revolutions. They are the revolutions of nationalism and human rights.

The roots of these revolutions sink deep in the soil of colonialism, imperialism and racialism - world systems of oppression and exploitation by the Western power nations of the Afro-Asian worlds.

The historic mission of these revolutions is to effect a complete, full-scale reversal of the relations of the darker races with the white world, including a transition from the status of second-class citizenship to first-class citizenship and from the status as colonial countries to self-governing independent states.

To this end, the old dogmas, fictions and fantasies, myths and stereotypes of white supremacy and hereditary racial inferiority are being cast into the ashcan of history.

Verily, the old order of colonialism and racialism is being burned down in the fires of racial and national revolts for equality, freedom, independence and human dignity.

BLACK AMERICAN REVOLT

Thus, the Civil Rights Revolution now shaking the United States is a phase of the flames of the revolutions of human rights and nationalism sweeping across the world.

Now, what about the Black Revolt? Why has it broken upon America?

Negroes, after a quarter of a thousand years of slavery and a hundred years of the serfdom of racial segregation, are not yet fully free.

They are not free to attend the schools they may desire to attend.

They are not free to live in the houses and communities in which they may seek to live.

They cannot get the jobs or learn the trades they may wish, to insure income that provides standards of living commensurate with decency, comfort and health.

Negroes are not free to secure public accommodations desired, nor can they freely register and vote.

WHY ARE NEGROES NOT FREE?

They are not free because the Civil War Revolution was not fully completed.

In accord with the historical mandate and behavior pattern of the bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Civil War Revolution put down Southern secessionism at Appomattoc in 1865; abolished chattel slavery and overthrew the Confederate government; centralized political power in a strong federal governmental system, and effected the national economic unification of the country by saving the Union, but it failed to transform the former slave into a free worker and independent peasant proprietor.

Unlike the European liberal capitalist revolutions, it provided the ex-slave with no land - the foundation of a free people.

Realizing the validity of the classic statement of Robert C. Ingersoll on the schoolhouse, "When you build a schoolhouse, you erect a fortress; when you teach the alphabet, you inaugurate a revolution," while the ex-slave power masters established schools for the ex-slaves, they were Jim Crow schools, which arrested rather than advanced the education of the Freedmen.

And, though the free use of the ballot is the hallmark of citizenship in America, Negroes are today battling for the right to vote in every state of the South.

WAR AMENDMENTS

Thus, although the Thirteenth Amendment of 1865, the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868, and the Fifteenth Amendment of 1870 were duly adopted and the famous Congressional Reconstruction Acts and the Freedmen's Bureau, for the protection and advancement of the Freedmen, were passed, as a result of the courageous and aggressive fight of Thaddeus Stevens, the Great Commoner, in the House of Representatives, and the brilliant Charles Sumner in the Senate, the purpose and aim of these measures were promptly challenged and finally nullified.

PASSING OF ABOLITION CRUSADERS

When the thundering eloquence of the mighty William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Wendell Phillips and Sojourner Truth no longer resounded in the rafters of olf Fanueil Hall against the evil institution of human slavery; when President Andrew Johnson, promptly following the death of Abraham Lincoln, issued the Proclamation of Amnesty restoring citizenship to the secession leaders, with encouragement to reclaim their cotton plantations - the foundation of slavery and the basis of the new black serfdom, the rising angry winds of a Confederate counterrevolution swept over the land, leaving the structure of citizenship legislation and constitutional protection of the Freedmen lying in ruins.

END OF RECONSTRUCTION DEMOCRACY

The honeymoon of the Black Reconstruction Democracy came to an ignoble end in 1877.

The Great Betrayal of the Freedmen was staged in the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876. Samuel J. Tilden, Democratic candidate, was in the lead in electoral votes but agreed to a shift of the electoral votes of Oregon, Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana to Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, in a deal that Hayes would withdraw the federal troops from the South, the sole protection of the ex-slaves. This was done, despite the fact the Negro votes in Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana, and the entire South, had helped to keep the Republican Party in power. It left the Freedmen in the hands of the enemies, friendless, moneyless, jobless, voteless, landless and, virtually, hopeless.

The Civil Rights Act of 1875 had been struck down by the United States Supreme Court in 1883, and when it handed down the celebrated decision of Plessy versus Ferguson in 1896, which proclaimed the doctrine of "separate but equal," it established the foundation of racial segregation in the nation.

FADING FREEDOM OF FREEDMEN

After some 200 thousand slaves had fought, bled and died to help win the Civil War, and the Freedmen had been used by the Republican Party to advance the consolidation, growth and expansion of American capitalism, the Federal Government and the Republican Party turned their backs on the Freedmen, resulting in their cause falling out of public focus. No longer was there popular public concern about the fading freedom of the Freedmen.

WORKERS' AND FARMERS' REVOLT

As the black Freedmen were in retreat under the oppression of the new plantation system, the challenging tread of the marching men of the revolutions of the workers and farmers captured the public mind. The ruthless moguls, who had set about building the industrial and financial empires of oil, railroads, steel, banking and public utilities of the Gilded Age, were heartlessly oppressing and exploiting the workers and farmers with brass-knuckle economic tactics.

The workers' revolution, which began with the industrial revolution, answered growing American capitalism with the Knights of Labor in 1869 and the formation of the A. F. of L. in 1881 and a rash of nationwide strikes, including the devastating Railroad Strike in 1877, the Haymarket Uprising in Chicago in 1886, and the Homestead Steel Strike in 1892, followed by the organization of the militant Western Federation of Miners in 1893, and the revolutionary I. W. W. in 1905.

These strikes shook America and, together with the farmers' revolt against railroad and bankers' exploitation, through the Populist and Granger movements, that spread throughout the farm areas like a prairie fire, the black Freedmen were pushed off the stage of American history.

The great and notle enterprise of building the citizenship of the black Freedmen had collapsed. Although the ex-slaves, following the Civil War, had sat in the legislatures and made laws in the former slave states and had fought for the rights of the Freedmen on the floors of the House of Representatives and the Senate, during the period of the workers' revolution the Freedmen were rapidly forgotten.

THREE TALL BLACK GIANTS

Thus, the black Freedmen entered the twentieth century as non-citizens, or second-class citizens.

Three tall, proud black giants, Frederick Douglass, dauntless freedom fighter, Booker T. Washington, noted educator, and W. E. B. DuBois, brilliant agitator, let them forward during these hapless and uncertain days - days when the bitter and ugly winds of racial reaction were rising.

With majestic dignity and dedication, courage and commitment, hope and faith, the new leadership sought to guide the ex-slaves toward a better tomorrow.

And why not?

Had not Crispus Attucks, a black slave, been the first to give his life in the War of Independence for the freedom he had never known?

Had not their forebears, black slaves, braved certain death in more than two hundred insurrections against slavery, the most horrible and hateful institution of torture and torment man has ever devised?

Theirs was the tremendous task of mounting a counterrevolution to the Confederate Revolution which had halted the Civil War Revolution dead in its tracks.

Frederick Douglass had answered the call of liberation of the slave, and the salvation of the Union, when he (and the reverses of the federal forces on the field of battle) persuaded Abraham Lincoln to issue the Proclamation of Emancipation and accept slaves as soldiers in the Union Army.

Booker T. Washington went about the business of the education of the ex-slave in vocational training.

Dr. DuBois, filled with a burning passion for freedom, began the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with a number of truly great white liberals, including Mary White Ovington and Oswald Garrison Villard, in 1910.

Verily, the long, hard battle to establish the illegality of racial segregation and discrimination in all areas of American life began in the courts of the land. Racial fanaticism was defied and defeated in battle after battle in the courts on the issue of disenfranchisement under the White Primaries and the Grandfather Clause.

SOWING SEEDS OF THE REVOLUTION

But if the early leaders and events sowed the seeds of the revolution of 1963, and they did, it was the United States Supreme Court, in the memorable and monumental decision of Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, in 1954, which plowed the ground for the growth of the tree of the Black Revolt.

Be it noted that this decision did not only open schools to all children, regardless of race or color, it removed from the federal statute books of constitutional law the concept of the hereditary racial inferiority of the Negro, which had been made unconstitutional by the Thirteenth Amendment but was nullified by the sinister doctrine of "separate but equal."

MANIFESTATIONS OF THE REVOLUTION

After the Supreme Court's decision for the desegregation and integration of public schools was handed down, the rumblings of the Civil Rights Revolution began to shake the nation.

When Rosa Parks, a Negro woman, quietly refused to surrender her seat in accordance with the Southern racial mores, the non-violent "Montgomery Walk" against the Jim Crow bus began, under the courageous leadership of the Rev. Martin Luther King, ably assisted by a Pullman Porter, Ed Nixon, a double-fisted freedom fighter.

Soon the Negro community was on fire with an angry mood of unrest and protest. The image of American democracy was gravely damaged when the fury of racial hate blazed in a black and white riot over the integration of Little Rock's Central High School in 1957, followed by sit-ins by Negro students in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1960.

Caught up in a psychological grip of frustration, if not desperation, which stemmed from futile negotiations for the implementation of the decisions for school integration, and union, industry and government discrimination; baffled by the spectre of hopelessness on account of the rapid spread of automation and hard core unemployment, and failure to break through to meaningful large-scale apprenticeship training and technical skills; stirred by the independence and freedom won by the African nationalist revolutions from colonialism and imperialism; awakened and aroused by uncompromising presentations of the plight of the Negro, by a brilliant new generation of Negro writers; an awakened Negro Church; the impatience of black youth; a new militancy of the NAACP and the

Congress of Racial Equality, and an aroused Negro worker who stormed the house of labor to abolish second-class citizenship - all combined to enkindle and fan the flames of the Black Revolt.

INTRODUCTION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Hence the sit-ins, lie-ins and lie-downs, on bridges and before trucks, prayer-ins, wade-ins, marches, freedom rides and boycotts are the visible nonviolent use of the bodies of Negroes for the dramatization of the life and death struggle for jobs and freedom, justice and human dignity.

These demonstrations, and various forms of civil disobedience, to integrate segregated railroad, bus, and airplane terminals and construction jobs are roundly condemned as a violation of law and order. Civil rights leaders are denounced as injuring the cause of civil rights,by alienating white citizens who resent any form of disorder and violation of the law by Negroes.

While it is understandable why citizens who are free, economically secure, twenty-one, and white, become annoyed by any form of civil disobedience, or demonstrations of any kind that cause any form of inconvenience, I must suggest that these are the natural and inevitable manifestations of the Civil Rights Revolution, which is a major struggle by black Americans to achieve freedom, equality, justice and human dignity - now.

The question is being asked, what is the purpose of these demonstrations?

First, Negroes have no alternative save to violate unjust laws of trespass ordinances by sit-ins at lunch counters in Southern cities, in order to test and demonstrate their injustice and unconstitutionality.

Second, these demonstrations pinpoint and dramatically advertise the immorality and unjust character of the law sanctioning and requiring racial discrimination.

Third, they expose to the country and the world the existence of men and women, black and white, who indicate, by violating the unjust laws, that as a result of their commitment of conscience to a higher moral law of the brotherhood of man, they are willing to pay the price by absorbing the punishment in the form of physical brutality, or imprisonment, or possible death.

Fourth, they lay bare the mockery of American democracy which denies freedom to its Negro citizens who have fought, bled and died for the freedom of the country.

But is this not the road down which all peoples have had to travel to win liberty and human dignity?

CHRISTIAN REVOLUTION

It was over the hills and valleys of Judea and upon the banks of the river Jordan and Sea of Galilee that Jesus Christ and St. Paul carried the Christian Revolution.

It was in the wilderness when He said to the disciples, concerning the multitude, "I have compassion upon the poor, they have been with me three days and have nothing to eat. I will not have them return to their homes fasting. They may fall by the wayside, for divers come from afar."

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Take a look at the American Revolution of Independence. Incensed and aroused by the unjust policy of 'taxation without representation' by King George,III of England, in the form of the famous Stamp Act of 1765, Samuel Adams, Father of the Revolution, with his Committees of Correspondence, inflamed the people to violate the colonial laws of England by plotting for the Boston Tea Party, which threw tea, the private property of British merchants, into the Boston harbor in 1773.

The Association of the Sons and Daughters of Liberty, formed to resist the Stamp Act and boycott British goods, together with the First Continental Congress, called 1774, which led to the revolutionary War of Independence of 1775, were called in defiance and violation of British colonial law.

LABOR'S REVOLUTION

Labor's Revolution has been marked by tumultuous explosions in violation of the law of conspiracy and other laws and court decrees, since the Printers' strikes in Philadelphia in 1786 against a reduction in wages, to the sit-down strikes of the Automobile Workers in Detroit during the era of the New Deal in the middle Thirties.

Needless to say, the tactics of the workers, expressed in the form of strikes and boycotts, were bitterly condemned by the politician, press and pulpit. But the workers had no alternative save to carry on their revolutionary tactics and strategy of strikes or face the servitude of capitalism.

Labor won the Wagner Labor Disputes Act, insuring the right of self-organization, in 1934, only to suffer reverses in the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, and the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1958.

WOMEN'S REVOLUTION

Nor was the revolution for women's rights a "pink tea" party.

Verily, just as strikes were, and still are, the lifeblood of labor's revolution, so nonviolent demonstrations and various forms of civil disobedience are the lifeblood of the Civil Rights Revolution.

CRISIS OF CONFLICT OF THREE REVOLUTIONS

Since the possession of full, first-class citizenship is indispensable to Negroes, or labor, or women, effectively to function and move forward in a free, democratic society, the victory of the Civil Rights Revolution, which is designed to complete the incompleted Civil War Revolution, is a sine qua non - a "must."

Until Negroes are fully free they cannot have adequate and equal access to the tools and institutions and equal opportunities that provide the education and training to equip them to survive and play their role in the highly automated workshop of America. Without first-class citizenship Negroes cannot vote or be voted for and take their rightful place in the nation, with rights, duties and responsibilities.

NEGROES' ECONOMIC DILEMMA

One of the major motivations of the Civil Rights Revolution is the increasing deterioration of the economic position of the Negro in the last ten years.

While Negroes advanced during the second World War and the boom years that followed, resulting in the median income of Negro families jumping from only 37 percent of the income of white families in 1939 to 57 percent in 1952, by 1962 the median income of Negro families had dropped from 57 percent to 53 percent. Thus, it is obvious that the gap between the income of the Negro and white communities is widening.

Why is this?

The answer is that the rate of unemployment among Negroes is two and a half times that of whites. Sixteen percent of the white teenagers of the nation are unemployed, but 40 percent of black teenagers are unemployed and dropouts of Negro youth from high school,in some slum areas, is 75 percent.

It is estimated that because of automation some two million jobs were abolished in 1962. These jobs were chiefly unskilled and semiskilled production jobs where Negroes, because of their lack of skills and technical training, are disproportionately concentrated. Therefore, with the march of automation, and the consequent abolition of unskilled jobs, will go the increase of Negro joblessness. Moreover, the new areas of new employment is in professional, managerial, clerical, sales and service jobs, the performance of which Negroes, because of centuries of race bias, are unprepared. Thus, there is frustration among Negro workers, not only because they cannot easily find jobs, but, generally, cannot get them when they find them because of race bias or lack of training.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

May I suggest that a war on poverty will not be effective among Negroes unless there is a war on discriminatory practices among labor unions and industry. This is not to indicate that all labor unions or businesses practice racial discrimination. Not at all. Progress is being made by labor unions in the war on race bias in their ranks, but the progress is not adequate or fast enough. The remedy for this condition is fair employment and full employment. The former complements and supplements the latter and vice versa.

NEGRO AND LABOR ALLIANCE

Hence, there is need for a strong alliance between the Negro and Labor communities to fight for fair and full employment, civil rights and labor's rights, and the strengthening, extension and maintenance of American democracy - political, economic, social and educational. This, of course, involves the elimination of unemployment of black and white workers, but not the displacement of white workers by black workers or the establishment of a quota system of racial employment which is a limitation upon the economic progress of a group.

NONVIOLENCE DOCTRINE

Of course the Civil Rights Revolution can only go forward effectively and creatively through the tactic of nonviolent, direct mass action, not by the rifle clubs proposed by Malcolm X, former Black Muslim leader.

Just as the Labor Revolution never advocated violence to win higher wages and labor's rights, neither can the Black Revolt desegregate Jim Crow schools, abolish disenfranchisement, joblessness and the slums with guns.

But, if the police and the F.B.I. continue to refuse to protect Negro homes, businesses and churches, Negroes will have no alternative except to prepare to patrol and protect their communities (but without arms and nonviolently) from the reign of terror by racists. Negroes cannot be expected to stand by idly while racial bigots throw bombs of hate that blow off the heads of their children and shoot their leaders in the back.

COALITION

The present crisis of the Civil Rights Revolution requires the building and maintenance of a coalition of conscience and action, including the unity of the Negro, Labor and Church, with the leadership remaining in the hands of the Negro, to increase the impact of the attacks on the system of race bias.

PEOPLES' FILIBUSTER

Finally, the fight for the passage of the civil rights bills that passed the House of Representatives must be stepped up since this is one fight Negroes and America cannot afford to lose. It must be won so that the Civil Rights Revolution will be well on to a victorious end. The pace of the revolution must be accelerated because its objectives should have been realized by Negroes a hundred years ago.

Moreover, if the Civil Rights Revolution is not speedily carried forward triumphantly it may be weakened, if not halted, by a growing counterracial Rightist Revolution, the revolution which created the climate of intolerance which encompassed the assassination of President Kennedy and which yelps for the impeachment of Chief Justice Warren and murdered Medgar Evers.

Besides, it may be set back by the rapid march of the revolution of technology, which is primarily related to increased efficiency of production, and a developing social revolution which is properly concerned with value judgments with respect to the distribution of goods and services.

Negroes cannot take their proper place in either of these two revolutions until they become full-fledged, first-class citizens. This is why the civil rights bills in the Senate must be passed without being watered down in any manner or form.

Hence, I propose that a Peoples' Filibuster be conducted by the civil rights organizations, the labor, students and church forces, contemporaneously with the filibuster in the Senate, to expose its anti-democratic obstructionist character. This counter-filibuster should be staged in the labor halls and on the streets, not only in Washington but in every city in the country.

In conjunction with the peoples' filibuster, marches upon the City Halls and state capitals, calling upon the mayors and governors to speak out for the enactment of the civil rights bills in the Senate presented by the late President Kennedy and supported by President Johnson.

Finally, all churches of every denomination should keep their doors open twenty-four hours a day for the people from the streets to enter to pray for the victory of civil rights and the cause of the brotherhood of man.

The Meaning of the Civil Rights Revolution to Labor

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS
CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.
MARCH 23, 1964

42
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42
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THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION AND LABOR

The world of the peoples of color is in flames. ~~It is~~ they are the flames of revolutions. They are the revolutions of nationalism and human rights.

The roots of these revolutions sink deep in the soil of colonialism, imperialism and racialism, world systems of oppression and exploitation by the Western power nations of the Afro-Asian worlds.

The historic mission of these revolutions is to effect a complete, full-scale reversal of the relations of the darker races with the white world, including a transition from the status of second-class citizenship to first-class citizenship and from the status as colonial countries to self-governing independent states.

To this end, the old dogmas, fictions and fantasies, myths and stereotypes of white supremacy and hereditary racial inferiority, are being cast into the ashcan of history.

Verily, the old order of colonialism and racialism is being burned down in the fires of racial and national revolts for equality, freedom, independence and human dignity.

BLACK AMERICAN REVOLT

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Thus, the Civil Rights Revolution now shaking the United States is a phase of the flames of the revolutions of human rights and nationalism sweeping across the world.

Now, what about the Black Revolt? Why has it broken upon America?

The Civil Rights Revolution
and American Democracy 580

NEGROES NOT FULLY FREE

Negroes, after a quarter of a thousand years of slavery and a hundred years of the serfdom of racial segregation, are not yet fully free.

They are not free to attend the schools they may desire to attend. ¶ They are not free to live in the houses and communities in which they may seek to live. ¶ They cannot get the jobs or learn the trades they may wish, to insure income that provides standards of living commensurate with decency, comfort and health.

Negroes are not free to secure public accommodations desired. Nor can they freely register and vote.

WHY ARE NEGROES NOT FREE?

They are not free because the Civil War Revolution was not fully completed.

While in accord with the historical mandate and behavior pattern of the bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Civil War Revolution put down Southern secessionism at Appomattox in 1865; abolished chattel slavery and overthrew the Confederate government; centralized political power in a strong federal governmental system, and effected the national economic unification of the country by saving the union, but it failed to transform the former slave into a free worker and independent peasant proprietor.

Unlike the European liberal capitalist revolutions, it provided the ex-slave with no land, the foundation of a free poeple.

Realizing the validity of the classic statement of Robert G. Ingersoll on the schoolhouse, ~~namely~~, that:"When you build a schoolhouse, you erect a fortress; when you teach the alphabet, you inaugurate a revolution," while the ex-slave power masters established schools for the ex-slaves, they were Jim Crow schools, which arrested rather than advanced the education of the Freedmen.

And while the free use of the ballot is the hallmark of citizenship in America, Negroes are to DAY battling for the right to vote in every state of the South; ~~to day~~.

WAR ADMENDMENTS

Thus, although the Thirteenth Amendment of 1865, the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868, and the Fifteenth Amendment of 1870 were duly adopted and the famous Coungressional Reconstruction Acts and the Freedmen's Bureau, for the protection and advancement of the Freedmen, were passed, as a result of the courageous and aggressive fight of Thaddeus Stevens, the Great Commoner, in the House of Representatives and the brilliant Charles Sumner in the Senate, the purpose and aim of these measures were promptly challenged and finally nullified.

PASSING OF ABOLITION CRUSADERS

When the thundering eloquence of the mighty William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Wendell Phillips and Sojourner Truth ~~were~~ no longer resounded in the rafters of old Fanueil Hall against the evil institution of human slavery; when President Andrew Johnson, promptly following the death of Abraham Lincoln, issued the Proclamation of Amnesty restoring citizenship to the secession leaders, with encouragement to reclaim their cotton plantations, the foundation of slavery, and the basis of the new black serfdom, ~~and~~ the rising angry winds of a Confederate counterrevolution swept over the land, leaving the structure of citizenship legislation and constitutional protection of the Freedmen lying in ruins.

END OF RECONSTRUCTION DEMOCRACY

The honeymoon of the Black Reconstruction Democracy came to an ignoble end in 1877. ~~It wa~~s The Great Betrayal of the Freedmen WAS STAGED in the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876. Samuel J. Tilden, Democratic candidate, was in the lead in electoral votes, but agreed to a shift of the electoral votes of Oregon, Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana ~~from~~ to Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, in a deal that he would withdraw the Federal troops from the South, the sole protection of the ex-slaves. This was done despite the fact the Negro votes in Florida, South Carolina, ~~and~~ Louisiana ~~had~~, and the entire South, had helped to keep the Republican Party in power. It left the Freedmen in the hands of the enemies, friendless, moneyless, jobless, voteless, landless and virtually hopeless.

The Civil Rights Act of 1875 had been struck down by the United States Supreme Court in 1883, ~~and~~ when it handed down the celebrated decision of Plessy versus Ferguson in 1896 which ~~expounded~~ proclaimed the doctrine of "separate but equal," it established the foundation of racial segregation in the nation.

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After some 200 thousand slaves had fought, bled and died to help win the Civil War, and the Freedmen had been used by the Republican Party to advance the consolidation, growth and expansion of American capitalism, the Federal Government and the Republican Party turned their backs on the Freedmen, resulting in their cause falling out of public focus. No longer was there popular public concern about the fading freedom of the Freedmen.

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BLACK FREEDMEN ENTER THE 20thCENTURY

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While ex-slaves, following the Civil War, had sat in the legislatures and made laws in the former slave states, and had fought for the rights of the Freedmen on the floors of the House of Representatives and the Senate in the capital of the nation, the Freedmen were RAPIDLY forgotten.

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Court in the memorable and monumental decision of Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, in 1954, which plowed the ground for the growth of the tree of the black revolt.

Be it noted that this decision did not only open schools to all children, regardless of race or color, it removed from the federal statute books of constitutional law the concept of the hereditary racial inferiority of the Negro, which had been made unconstitutional by the 13th Amendment but was nullified by the sinister doctrine of separate but equal.

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When Rosa Parks, a Negro woman, quietly refused to surrender her seat in accordance with the Southern racial mores, the nonviolent "Montgomery Walk" against the Jim Crow bus began, under the courageous leadership of the Rev. Martin Luther King, ably assisted by a Pullman Porter, Ed Nixon, a double-fisted freedom fighter.

LITTLE ROCK RIOT

Soon the Negro community was on fire with an angry mood of unrest and protest. The image of American democracy was gravely damaged when the furty of racial hate blazed in a black and white riot over the integration of Central High School in Little Rock in 1957, followed by sit-ins by Negro students in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1960.

Caught up in a psychological grip of frustration, if not desperation, which stem~~s~~med from futile negotiations for the implementation of the decisions for school integration, and union, industry and government discrimination; baffled by the spectre of hopelessness on account of THE RAPID SPREAD OF automation and hard core unemployment, and failure to break through to meaningful large-scale apprenticeship training and technical skills; stirred by the independence and freedom won by the African nationalist revolutions from colonialism and imperialism; awakened and aroused by uncompromising presentations of the plight of the Negro, by a brilliant new generation of Negro writers, ~~and~~ an awakened Negro Church; a new militancy of the NAACP and ~~xCORE~~ the Congress of Racial Equality; and an aroused Negro worker who ~~is~~ storm~~ing~~ED the house of labor to abolish second-class citizenship; the impatience of black youth, all combined to ENKINDLE AND fan the flames of the Black Revolt.

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~~Boycotts and~~ THESE demonstrations, ~~such as marches, sit-ins, lie-ins,~~ AND VARIOUS FORMS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE here ~~wade-ins and lie-downs before trucks and automobiles; freedom rides~~ to integrate segregated railroad, bus and airplane, terminals AND CONSTRUCTION JOBS ~~picketing and various nonviolent~~, ~~direct forms of civil disobedience~~ are roundly condemned as a violation of law and order. ~~and~~ Civil rights leaders are denounced as injuring the cause of civil rights by alienating white citizens who resent ~~any~~ ANY form of disorder and violation of the law BY NEGROES.

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The question is being asked, ~~Let me ask~~, what is the purpose of these demonstrations? First, Negroes have no alternative save to violate unjust laws of trespass ordinances by sit-ins at lunch counters in Southern cities, in order to test and demonstrate their injustice and unconstitutionality.

Second, these demonstrations pinpoint and dramatically advertise the immorality and unjust character of the law sanctioning and requiring racial discrimination.

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Fourth, they lay bare the mockery of American Democracy which denies freedom to its Negro citizens who have fought bled' and for the freedom of the country.

But is this not the road down which all peoples have had to travel to win liberty and human dignity?

Let us make no mistake about the fact that America is witnessing a rebellion of the black masses against racism of the white power structure in industry, labor unions, government, church and school.

Now, we see the multitude, the black multitude, in motion everywhere - moving against the walls of white supremacy. Before today, Negroes remained in the background of the social stage. They were always directed there, but now they have advanced to the footlights, not only ready, but demanding that they be permitted to play their role in our great American drama. Thus, we do not only see a multitude of quantity but also of a qualitative character, for they possess a moral purpose, ideals, hopes and aspirations, faith and fortitude to sustain them in this hour of trial by fire.

This is a vast racial,volcanic, emotional eruption of rejection of,resentment ~~xm~~ and resistance to the evil and wicked system of racail oppression and humiliation.

April 8, 1964

How I View the March on Washington - August 28, 1963

by A. Philip Randolph

Having watched the mood of the Negro, reflecting increasing anger, hostility and resentment against white people, accompanied by flights of frustration, if not desperation, and intermittent eruptions of racial violence, I considered that the time had come for the attention of the American people to be confronted with the challenge of the issue of human rights, presented by a massive demonstration of black and white Americans in the Nation's Capital.

I felt that a demonstration of a vast multitude of Negro and white citizens, marching upon Washington from the four corners of America, would possess the necessary drama to capture the imagination and awaken and arouse the interest and concern of the people and the Government in the rising winds of the Civil Rights Revolution.

Realizing also that Negroes cannot win the fight for civil rights alone, such a project would provide the opportunity to build a coalition of conscience and action with the Negro, labor and church communities, marching arm in arm and shoulder to shoulder, to bear witness to a common commitment to the dignity of the personality of every human being, regardless of race or color, creed or country.

Moreover, such a demonstration would render it possible for every Negro and white person, literate and illiterate, rich and poor, to participate upon a basis of equality in a giant, orderly and peaceful, disciplined and dignified protest against racial bias and second-class citizenship, thereby dampening the smoldering fires of racial hate and substituting reason for race riot, and brotherhood for rifle clubs of bloodshed, which can only lead to the doom and disaster of the Civil Rights Revolution.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON FARM LABOR

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Louis H. Bean
Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg
Helen Gahagan Douglas
L. H. Foster
Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn
Henry B. Herman
Msgr. George G. Higgins
Herbert H. Lehman
Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman
Isador Lubin
Archbishop Robert E. Lucey
Benjamin E. Mays
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TESTIMONY OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR ON H.R. 10440, THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

April 9, 1964

I am appearing before the Committee today in my capacity as Co-Chairman of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. The officers and members of our Committee are listed on this letterhead. The purpose of our Committee is to gather and present information about the conditions of farm workers and about farm labor practices and policies.

Our particular concern is for those of our fellow Americans who have been most economically deprived and who are most in need of federal assistance to bring them any chance for economic opportunity. These are the more than 15 million rural Americans who live in poverty with incomes under $3,000 a year; the nearly two million farm families with annual incomes of less than $2,000; and the three and one-half million hired farm workers whose combined farm and nonfarm incomes average less than $1,200 a year.

What does this mean in the lives of human beings? Here is how the New York Times of March 3, 1964, tells about one of these families in rural South Carolina:

> "Grim, unrelenting poverty is the ever-present intruder in Willie Hill's home....It is the cold that sweeps in through the cracks around the window and door frames and makes it impossible to keep warm more than a yard away from the wood-burning stove....It is the emaciation that has hollowed the Hills's faces, the hunted look in their eyes...the monotonous and inadequate diet of grits, greens and fatback."

252

(I am attaching a copy of the entire article for inclusion in the record of this hearing.)

These are the people who, in large part, will be thrust off the land in the decade of the Sixties as their neighbors were in the Fifties unless they have help from their government, and quickly.

From 1950 to 1960 the number of farms in the United States dropped from 5.4 million to 3.7 million. One third of those who made their living on the land had to turn elsewhere. They turned to the cities. But there are fewer and fewer jobs for the unskilled anywhere. Many were too old to learn new skills. More--through centuries of educational deprivation and discrimination--lacked the basic educational foundation to acquire new skills. They found themselves obsolete, economic discards reduced to surviving on welfare.

It is uneconomic--to say nothing of inhuman--to continue to tell millions of people that because there is no market for their considerable agricultural skills, they must leave the land entirely. Better to make it possible for those skills to bring them and their families as near self-sufficiency as possible. Better to subsidize them in part--do we not subsidize many of the crops they grow?--than force them into urban slums where both the social and the governmental costs will be even greater.

That is why we so strongly support Title III of the proposed Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. At a minimum cost, it offers the economic boost that will save the farm of many a middle-aged farmer. It is not utopian. It is buying time for us to work out a more rational solution to the rural poverty problem.

The purpose of Title III is a modest one. As stated in Section 301, it is "to meet some of the special problems of rural poverty and thereby to raise and maintain the income and living standards of low-income rural families." It proposes small grants and loans to do this.

The Farmers Home Administration has long known the tragedy of the middle-aged and aging ex-sharecropper, ex-tenant farmer, and ex-farm worker who had finally somehow managed to acquire a few encumbered acres. It was a shelter of a sort, a kitchen garden that offered subsistence, and, most importantly, a base for family living. Because of prior encumbrances and little or no cash crop, it offered no "reasonable possibility" of FHA assistance. Yet a small grant or loan would spell the difference between permitting such farmers to live out their lives in dignity and economic independence on the land and forcing them to survive in squalor in welfare-supported tenaments.

The next section of Title III, Section 303, provides for Family Farm Development Corporations. From the days of the first Homestead Act, through the original Reclamation Act of 1902 placing a 160-acre limitation upon the use of publicly irrigated land, to the present day, this nation has been committed to the family-size farm. Yet the crop-subsidy program of recent years--along with agricultural mechanization--has had exactly the opposite effect. This bill will not reverse this trend in any significant degree; it will not compound the crop surplus dilemma. But it can revive a faith and hope for the continuation of a viable aspect of the American way of life.

The final substantive section of Title III, Section 304, provides for loans to local cooperative associations providing goods and services "predominantly to low-income families." Most successful farm operators depend upon cooperatives; the savings effected contribute significantly to their success. In the field of marketing cooperatives, Sunkist oranges and Land O' Lakes butter are bywords of the American household. Many of these cooperatives--marketing, production, and credit--have grown so large that they deem it no longer "feasible" to service the small farmer and other low-income rural families. Yet many of these, notably the Federal Land Banks, got their start and owe their existence to initial federal financial and technical assistance. The proposed loan program can bring to low-income rural families savings that mean balancing the family budget--at little or no cost to the government.

Trying to continue in the work they know and to remain on the land they love, many of our former farmers, tenants, and sharecroppers have become hired farm workers. The three and one-half million migrants and other hired farm workers--who have come to be called "the excluded Americans"--seem to have been excluded again in this first act of the war against poverty. Surely while we undertake these special measures to improve their condition, they must be raised to the status of equality with other American workers under the protections now afforded by our social and welfare legislation.

Three great economic rights have been recognized as necessary to put a floor under the income level of American wage workers to prevent exploitation and poverty. These are the right to organize unions of their own and to bargain collectively; a minimum wage; and unemployment insurance.

Farm wage workers have none of these, and the latest figures available--for 1962--show how desperately they are needed. Only one farm worker in eight reported full-time employment, 250 days or more. The bulk of hired farm workers averaged 137 days of farm employment and $913 cash income. The 10 per cent who are migrants averaged 116 days of farm employment and $874 in wages. If nonfarm income is added, migrants averaged $1,123 and the others $1,164.

It is true that wage rates have been rising, but the 30 per cent increase in farm wage rates over the last 10 years has meant less than 25 cents an hour in cash. If the same slow rise were to continue for another decade, the farm worker's income would still be under the poverty level.

One of the most deplorable by-products of the low wages of farm workers is the economic pressure for all members of the family to work, regardless of age.

Farm children ought to be protected just as other children are. But even under the existing prohibition of work during school hours, 6,712 children were found illegally employed at farm work during 1962. More than half of them were below the normal school grade for their age, while among the migrant children the retardation rate was 72 per cent.

The Economic Opportunity Act rightly assigns a key role to education in the war against poverty. In 1960, the Department of Agriculture found that the adult farm population had a median of only 8.8 school years completed. A third of the migrants had completed less than five years. About 42 per cent of rural 19-year-olds had dropped out before completing high school, compared to 29 per cent of urban youth the same age.

The Job Corps, Part A under Title I, may be a part of the answer here. But experience has shown that only one per cent of those enrolled thus far in governmental retraining programs have been low-income farm workers. This is partly because too many of them do not have the basic educational skills necessary for the training courses offered. Under the proposed Act, the Director is authorized to provide for the selection of enrollees "who meet the standards of enrollment prescribed by the Director." Can this process of selection, and these standards, be flexible enough to overcome the obvious limitations of present retraining programs? If not, they must be broadened.

Further, we can find in the Act no provision for retraining older workers, whose limited skills and even more limited education pose even greater problems. They, like their children, have not been reached by present training programs. If this Act cannot come to grips with the necessity, what will? This Act certainly should be amended to include these people.

We can foresee a similar problem, on a wider scale, in the obviously necessary and desirable reliance on community programs in Part B of Title I (work experience for unemployed youth) and in Title II, Urban and Rural Community Action programs. This problem is essentially that health, education, and welfare agencies tend to cluster in urban rather than rural areas. Many rural communities do not have the resources, either public or private, to establish organizations equipped to carry out the purpose of these sections of the Act. Section 205 provides for technical and financial assistance to make possible these community action programs in areas of greatest need and least resources. But we learn in Section 204, paragraph e, that special consideration is given areas that "give promise of effecting a permanent increase in the capacity of individuals, groups, and communities to deal with their problems without further assistance." Is not that too high a criterion for our real pockets of poverty? As the President has said, we must "pursue poverty wherever it exists."

Time does not permit a discussion of the other parts of this proposed legislation, H.R. 10440. All of them, however, can contribute to the rural economy and, by permitting persons to remain on the land, make a significant contribution toward the solution of the ugly urban sprawl. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is a beginning. We urge its strengthening along the lines we have suggested. This Act is urgently needed, not only for the economic opportunity it will offer to the nation's poor, but for the economic stimulus it will give to the whole country. Equally important, it will make it possible for many men to once again hold up their heads. The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor strongly supports its immediate adoption.

Address by A. Philip Randolph to the
North Jersey Chapter, Jack and Jill of
America, Inc., East Orange High School,
East Orange, New Jersey, April 19, 1964

THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION - ORIGIN AND MISSION

On the fourteenth day of July, 1789, in Paris, when Louis XVI heard, from the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, of the fall of the Bastille, the liberation of a few prisoners, and the defection of the Royal Troop under popular attack, the famous dialogue that took place between the King and his messenger is revealing. The King, we are told, exclaimed: "It's a revolt!" Liancourt corrected him: "No, sire. It's a revolution!"

When the King declared that the storming of the Bastille was a revolt, he asserted his power to deal with conspiracy and defiance of authority. But his messenger replied that what had happened there was irresistible and irrevocable, and beyond the power even of the King. Behind these ominous words a mighty multitude of the poor and downtrodden, whom every century before had hidden in darkness and shame, poured like torrents of molten lava of an erupting volcano, into the streets of Paris, which was not only the capital of France but of the entire civilized world.

It was not long following this historic dialogue before this Bourbon king of France lost his head by the judgement of history in the raging reign of terror.

When the gathering storm clouds of the Civil Rights Revolution broke over the country it startled and stunned the nation.

In a worsening mood of anger, resentment and frustration, if not desperation, over the snail-like pace of the desegregation and integration of public schools following the momentous decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1954, Negroes have initiated and developed waves of demonstrations against racial bias, North and South.

These demonstrations have taken varied forms: Sit-ins, lie-ins, lie-downs at construction sites, bus boycotts, freedom rides against Jim Crow bus and airline terminals, efforts at prayer-ins in white churches, school boycotts, and marches against city halls, state capitals and the Nation's Capital. The black mass protest and petition, under the leadership of Rev. Martin Luther King, against white oppression in Birmingham, Alabama, where the police turned savage dogs upon Negro citizens and used electric cattle prods and fire hoses to frighten them into silence, have shaken and shocked America.

In Raleigh, North Carolina, five hundred college students launched a drive for total integration by a demonstration at the Governor's mansion. In this same city, one thousand Negroes attempted to sit in at two move houses and a public cafeteria.

Verily, the storm winds of the Black Revolt raged against the white world through Selma, Alabama; Jackson, Mississippi; Jacksonville, Tallahassee and St. Augustine, Florida; Little Rock and New Orleans, and in the ghettoes of New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, San Francisco and Englewood, New Jersey. And the end is not yet!

LACK OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

In these vast movement of mass protest against racial segregation and discrimination, tens of thousands of Negroes, men, women and children, and many whites, in utter disregard of their civil liberties, have been thrown into jails, with hundreds refusing bail. And, needless to say, America must never be permitted to enjoy relief from the guilt for the tragic Sunday morning when four innocent little Negro girls in church were blown into eternity by a racist hate bomb, the culprit for which horrible crime is yet to be apprehended. And there is the cowardly murder of Medgar Evers, courageous representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi. When will a white man in the South ever pay the price for the commission of a crime against a Negro, asks the illiterate as well as the literate Negro?

The angry, violent Negro-white confrontation in Birmingham in the summer of 1963 involved the black, jobless, poor masses who, enraged by police dogs tearing at the bodies of Negro citizens, broke through the psychological barriers of apathy, despair and hopelessness and surged through the streets with small groups of their educated, middle-class brothers and sisters, facing white Alabama for the first time in a fight for freedom.

And, like Louis XVI, blinded by power and a long, irresponsible rule, southern white leaders cynically still talk about Negroes being satisfied with their lot - whatever that is - and of Negroes staying in their so-called place.

Albeit, this was not all!

Following hard upon the Birmingham drama of a people embittered and aroused by a long night of oppression, battling the mailed might of a prejudiced police force and white power structure with their bare hands, a massive multitude of black and white Americans from the four corners of the country marched on Washington, for jobs and freedom and to bear witness to their commitment to the principle of the God-given right of every human being to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

And, yet, the finest flower of Southern political progress, such as Senators Richard Russell of Georgia, J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, James Eastland of Mississippi and Lister Hill of Alabama have brazenly stooped to the use of every trick and maneuver to block the democratic process of free debate and voting and are now staging a filibuster to kill the civil rights bills in the Senate.

CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

Truly, these demonstrations are the manifestations of a revolution - a civil rights revolution, and a full-dress one at that.

What is its historic mission? It is to effect a transition from the status of second-class citizenship to first-class citizenship, or a reversal of the relationship between the Negro and white America. This means the liquidation and elimination of the old racial habit systems that provide for and perpetuate the concept of the heriditary racial inferiority of the Negro. Upon this concept the entire structure of segregation and discrimination was erected and justified, with a body of weird racial myths, fictions, fantasies, eccentricities and idiosyncrasies.

Thus, the basic Civil Rights Revolution consists not in the current demonstrations, though valuable and indispensable, but in the complete orientation of the Negro from an old slave psychology to that of a free man, and the knowledge that his status of the "under-class", or social, economic and political substratum of the American society, is not inherent and an inevitable part of his human condition but it can be changed and, further, that it is his responsibility to change it.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Verily, the behavior patterns of the Civil Rights Revolution are not drastically unlike the behavior patterns of the American Revolution which resulted in the overthrow of British colonial rule and the achievement of independence.

The Boston Tea Party of 1773 and the Boston Massacre of 1768 did not constitute the Revolution; they were manifestations of it. Its roots extended back to 1215 when, at the Battle of Runnymede, the Magna Charta was exacted from King John, and to 1265 when the common people of England won the right to elect representatives to Parliament, which was the background of a rich heritage of struggle for liberty which the Pilgrim Fathers brought to the New World.

The cry of "taxation without representation is tyranny," was raised by Samuel and John Adams, Patrick Henry and James Otis, against the Stamp Act in 1765, long before Lexington and Concord in 1775. Besides, Samuel Adams had initiated and employed the Committee of Correspondence, and the Sons and Daughters of Liberty, to break down the loyalty of the people to British colonial rule; advocated and aroused the unity of the colonies and prepared the way for the formation of the First Continental Congress in 1774, culminating in the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

ORIGIN OF THE BLACK REVOLUTION

Now, the Civil Rights Revolution had its birth in the fact that while the Civil War Revolution emancipated the slaves from chattel slavery, it failed to transform them into free workers, independent peasant proprietors with a government grant of acres of land, and into full-fledged, first-class citizens.

The reason for this was that the new capitalism, under the Republican leadership of Abraham Lincoln, which waged the Civil War had completed its major objective when it saved the Union. It had had also overthrown the Cotton Plantation Order, centralized political power in a strong federal system and effected the national economic unification of the country. Thus, the Union federal forces no longer needed the black freedmen, two hundred thousand of whom had helped win the war and, during the Reconstruction period, voted to keep the Republican Party in power in the former slave states, thereby enabling it to control the federal power of taxation to be used to levy and maintain a protective tariff for the bolstering and advancement of the growing capitalist economy.

Therefore, although the Civil War Revolution had achieved important civil rights gains, such as the 13th Amendment of 1865, the 14th Amendment of 1868, and the 15th Amendment of 1870, together with the Congressional Reconstruction Acts of 1867 and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 for the protection of the freedmen, they were soon swept into political oblivion by the wild fury of the Confederate Counterrevolution.

When the eloquent voices of the"Great Commoner," Thaddeus Stevens, in the House of Representatives, and Charles Sumner, uncompromising leader of the anti-slavery movement in the Senate, were no longer heard in defense of the rights of the freedmen, the Reconstruction democracy came to an ignoble end.

It was the year of the Hayes-Tilden election, 1876. Samuel J. Tilden, Democratic candidate for President of the United States, was far in the lead of Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, with both popular and electoral votes. But historical necessity, in the interest of the national destiny, had virtually decreed that the power of the federal government should reside in the hands of the Republican Party, the political voice of nascent capitalism, the dominant force in the nation.

Hence, a deal was made. It involved a shift of the electoral votes of Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina and Oregon over to Hayes, with the provision that he, when elected, would withdraw the Federal Army - sole protection of the freedmen - from the South. Then, with the United States Supreme Court decision of Plessy versus Ferguson in 1896, the doctrine of "separate but equal" was handed down, which has formed the foundation of the structure of racial segregation for practically a hundred years.

Add to these attacks upon the ex-slaves, the anti-Negro legislative devices of Grandfather Clauses, White Primaries and the Poll Tax, along with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan with its cross burnings and midnight terror accompanied with a wave of lynchings that, according to Tuskeegee Institute, reached 4,733 persons who died from mob action from 1882 to 1901, and anyone can understand how the Confederate Counterrevolution, with prejudicial courts and hostile police, drove the freedmen from civil life back upon the cotton plantation, to be robbed of his labor and made prisoner of black serfdom for virtually a hundred years.

As a result, the freedmen entered the twentieth century not as first-class citizens and free workers but as debt peons, sharecroppers and farm laborers. They were voteless, moneyless, landless, jobless and friendless, with no status in the civic life as citizens or the free labor market as workers.

AWAKENING OF THE NEGRO

Negro slaves never meekly accepted their lot; they have ever rejected, resisted and resented human bondage. This was attested to by some 250 recorded slave revolts that frightened the slave power structure, though the leader of each revolt was put to death. This tragic story was written blood and tears in a continuing exodus of slaves in the famous Underground Railroad, under the brave, black woman conductor, Harriet Tubman.

Under the leadership of three black giants, Frederick Douglass, eloquent orator; Booker T. Washington, noted educator, and William Edward Burghardt DuBois, brilliant agitator, Negroes resorted to the federal courts and education. They had set their feet upon the path of a long journey to complete an incompleted Civil War Revolution.

To this end, Dr. DuBois and a few genuine white liberals - Mary White Ovington, Oswald Garrison Villard and John Haynes Holmes - organized the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910.

Being increasingly subjected to fraud and violence and anti-Negro legislation in the former slave states, by such demagogic politicians as Vardaman of Mississippi; Hoke Smith of Georgia, and "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina, the N.A.A.C.P. went into the federal courts to establish the illegality of racial segregation and discrimination.

The strategy worked!

Grandfather clauses, in the constitutions of southern states, lily-white primaries, the poll tax and restricted covenants were declared unconstitutional. Finally, came the memorable decision of the United States Supreme Court for the desegregation and integration of public schools in 1954 which, on account of the snail-like pace of implementation, caused widespread frustration.

Baffled, impatient and angry, Negroes, by the hundreds and thousands, took to the streets and staged nonviolent, direct mass action, with various forms of civil disobedience, in protest against race bias and petition for direct and immediate remedy.

Be it understood that it was not the leaders who surged into the streets, but masses of Negroes. Nor is the remedy sought only for the leaders, but for all Negroes. Nor is the remedy based upon merit, knowledge and ability, but upon need, justice and rights. The problem is all-inclusive, relating to the entire Negro community, and the remedy must be all-inclusive, affecting, as it were, all Negroes. No handful of Negroes can solve the problem of race bias and no handful of Negroes should benefit by the solution of the problem.

Progress in our modern world can only be made by collective man in relation to individual man, and individual man to collective man. Wars are won by vast armies not by individual generals, though they are necessary. Strikes, for the benefit of workers, are won by workers in a whole plant, railroad, hotel or factory, not by lonely leaders.

Thus, Negroes, like the Italians, Irish, Jews, and southern whites, must use their mass power to win recognition of their mass interests and power, as a means of providing opportunities for the gifted, talented, and the specially professionally, scientifically and artistically-trained among us.

The order of Negro-white relations was to stress the importance and status of one or two Negroes, usually picked out by the white power structure for the Negro community. But this is no more.

With the rate of unemployment of Negroes being two and a half times higher than whites, the demand today is for jobs and training for all Negroes, not for only the talented. The desegregation of segregated schools, whether by law or custom, is for all children, Negro and other minorities and, for that matter, white children too, and not for just a few. The desegregation of housing and abolition of slums are for all Negro and white citizens, not onoy for the so-called elect.

THE NEW AWAKENING

One of the unmistakable signs of a new awakening of Negro Americans was the great exodus of black Americans from the Egypt of southern bondage in the early part of the twentieth century, upon the call of the first and second world wars, in quest of the Promised Land of the milk and honey of jobs and freedom. Hundreds of thousands swarmed North; they went into the automobile factories, steel mills, meatpacking industries, shipyards and hotels. Many of these Negro workers joined unions and walked with their white brothers on the picket lines for higher wages and better job conditions. They were learning their lessons for the struggle for fair employment practice.

Moreover, hundreds of thousands were drafted into the armed forces, under practices of racial bias, to fight with American white men against white men in Europe, Asia and Africa to make the world safe for democracy.

Meanwhile, a blaze of illumination in novels and poetry from the hearts and minds of black writers gave birth to the Negro Renaissance, centered principally in Harlem in New York City and other metropolitan areas such as Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco and Washington.

Along with the flowering of the artistic life of the New Negro was heard the challenge of the strident voices of a new Negro radicalism, led by the MESSENGER MAGAZINE which opposed the Negro joining the Army to fight for a democracy abroad he could not enjoy at home. Following the end of World War I and the return of Negro soldiers with a new spirit to fight for their rights, race riots swept over the land from Chicago to Longview, Texas.

Verily, the lamps of freedom that had been lighted by the black leaders, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, James Weldon Johnson, Monroe Trotter, Mary McLeod Bethune, Mary Church Terrell, are still burning. May they never go out. If they do, they may not be relighted for a hundred years.

These developments of struggle against race bias, and the expression of the human spirit in literary and artistic forms, tended to break down traditional racial inhibitions and to set the black impoverished masses on the march from the obscurity of their misfortunes. They streamed into the market place of American life to attain visibility and status.

The view began to dawn upon the Negro that the shackles of the

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ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT BANQUET SPONSORED BY THE BALTIMORE
CHAPTER, NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, MAY 1, 1964

THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION AT THE CROSSROADS

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness," is an idea whose time has come for the Negro in the United States of America.

To George Washington, father of the country, and Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, and the founding fathers, the "all" meant only "white men."

Paradoxically, behind this Revolutionary rhetoric black slaves toiled and fought so that white men could be free. But this was just the beginning of the involvement of this country in the labyrinthine maze of moral compromises on the status of black men in America.

Under threat of the southern slave power against the ratification of the Constitution, the founding fathers struck a bargain with the monstrous evil of slavery with the sanction in the Constitution of the extension of the slave trade to 1808, along with a provision for representation in the Congress for slave states upon a basis of the slave population, by regarding a slave as three-fifths of a man.

Following the moral defeat of the American Revolution on the issue of slavery at the writing and adoption of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution - basic documents of American freedom - the march of historical events, including the Missouri Compromise of 1820; the Tariff of Abominations in 1828; the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854; Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; Dred Scott Decision of 1857; John Brown's raid of the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry in 1859, and then secession, under the leadership of South Carolina in 1860, tended to limit on the one hand, and extend on the other, the boundaries of slavery, shaping, as it were, the grand design of our national destiny.

Like a thunderstorm out of the clear sky, the irrepressible conflict between the industrial-financial North and the agrarian--slave South blazed into a Civil War, seeking to split the Union on the one hand, and to save it on the other.

PLIGHT OF THE NEGRO

Caught between the crossfires of a rapidly growing and expanding American capitalism and the impoverished former slave masters to rebuild the old cotton plantations upon the cheap labor of black ex-slaves, the freedmen fell upon evil days.

While the Civil War Revolution had brought about the emancipation of the slaves, it had not transformed them into free workers and independent peasant proprietors or first-class citizens.

Not only had the 13th Amendment of 1865, the 14th Amendment of 1868, the 15th Amendment of 1870, and the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875, together with the Congressional Reconstructions Acts, been swept by the angry rising winds of the Confederate Counterrevolution into virtual political oblivion but the United States Supreme Court in the Plessy versus Ferguson decision of 1896 handed down the doctrine of separate but equal, the foundation of racial segregation.

NEGROES' VOTE

Stunned, startled and frightened by the Negroes flocking to the polls to vote in the former slave states, electing freedmen to state legislatures and the Congress, the old ex-slave masters promptly organized the Ku Klux Klan in 1866, enacted Black Codes in 1865 and 1866 and enacted disenfranchising laws, such as White Primaries, Poll Tax and Grandfather Clauses.

These anti-Negro laws were fortified by white-robed, midnight riders, cross-burnings and, according to records of Tuskeegee Institute, 4,733 persons have died from mob action since 1882. The highest for any year was 231 in 1892. From 1882 to 1901, lynchings, which included burnings at the stake, averaged 150 a year; forty-five of the lynched having been Negro women.

NEGROES' ADVENT INTO TWENTIETH CENTURY

Although 200,000 slaves and black freedmen had joined the Union army and helped save the Union and abolish slavery, as well as helped to maintain the Republican Party in control of the Federal Government by their votes in the former slave states, the freedmen were betrayed in the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876 when Rutherford B. Hayes withdrew the Federal troops - sole protection of the freedmen - from the South for support, from Samuel J. Tilden, Democratic candidate, of electoral votes from Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina.

Thus, Negroes entered the twentieth century voteless, landless, friendless, moneyless and jobless, with the organized power of southern states against them and the Federal Government indifferent and unconcerned. The Civil War Revolution had failed the ex-slaves; it never fully completed its mission.

One of the basic reasons for the debacle of the Civil War Revolution was that the Republican Party and the new capitalist order no longer needed the freedmen because the Union had been saved, political power had been centralized in a strong Federal governmental system, and the national economic unification of the country had been achieved - the primary objectives of the new American industrial and financial order.

SECOND EMANCIPATION

Now the Negro was faced with the new task and responsibility of charting a new course of struggle to bring about a second emancipation.

To this end, the mantle of leadership fell from the sturdy and courageous shoulders of Frederick Douglass, the symbol of black anti-slavery leadership, upon Negro leaders, who no longer were confronted with chattel slavery of the body but with the black serfdom of segregation of the mind and body.

Albeit history had placed this assignment into the strong hands of two able black giants, Booker T. Washington, the educator, and W. E. B. DuBois, the agitator, and a host of other Negro leaders dedicated to the achievement of a future of freedom, it was obvious the battle for interracial brotherhood must transcend the boundaries of the black race and involve the full range of democratic forces in the nation to halt the devastating march of racism.

Harassed, hounded and humiliated by the leaders of the Confederate Counterrevolution: Vardaman of Mississippi, "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina, and Hoke Smith of Georgia, who inspired and glorified by a new and savage breed of racist propagandists symbolized by Thomas Dixon, author of the Klansman, Dr. DuBois, with a few courageous white liberals such as Mary White Ovington and Oswald Garrison Villard, formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910. The mission of the movement was to achieve first-class citizenship for colored Americans.

RACE PROBLEM CARRIED TO THE COURTS

Following the logic of the context of the times, the NAACP proceeded to go into the courts to establish the illegality of racial segregation and discrimination under the Civil War Amendments. The Association achieved some measurable success in favorable judicial decisions, but encountered great difficulty in implementation.

It was not until the memorable decision of the U. S. Supreme Court of 1954, on the desegregation and integration of public schools, were the American people brought to their feet of attention to the problem of racial injustice. But, under the doctrine of deliberate speed, the pace of implementation of the decision has been and is far too slow.

It is a notorious fact that although ten years have passed since the school decisions nearly two-thirds of the previously segregated school districts still deny the right of all children to an unsegregated education, according to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

It is also important to note that many school districts listed as integrated offer only token integration, since an all-white school with a single colored student is classified as a desegregated institution. Thus, it is obvious that at the rate which school desegregation has proceeded in the past ten years, it will take more than one hundred years to secure compliance with the Supreme Court's decision. Besides, the picayune desegregation which has been brought about against bitter, intransigeant southern opposition has been attended by an incredible series of disgraceful "Little Rocks."

Not one Negro today attends a public school with a white person in Mississippi. Not one of Mississippi's eighty-five Negro high schools is an accredited high school.

As a result of a quarter of a thousand years of slavery and a hundred years of cultural, educational, economic, political and social deprivation because of segregation, Negro youth naturally fail to make comparable achievement levels with white youth.

In the light of the obvious irreparable damage the system of public school segregation wreaks upon Negro youth, and the apparent wide unconcern about its abolishment, is there any good reason for wonder why Negroes fiercely reject tokenism and gradualism as a pattern of the solution of the problem of race bias?

In the desegregation cases the United States Supreme Court spoke out definitively on the dread effect of school segregation upon the children of minority groups when it stated: "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis

of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does -- to separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

And, it might be added that not only are children of minority groups given a false sense of their inferiority, but white children are given a false sense of their superiority, which renders both unprepared to play creative roles in our democratic society.

With this decision the Supreme Court sounded the death knell of all segregation where the exercise of state power is involved.

The immediate effect of emancipation was to intensify race prejudice and provide for the Negro a freedom more fictional than real. This was due to two reasons: One, the entry of the ex-slave into competition with the ordinary, poor white man, as worker in the labor market and, two, as a citizen in public life.

In order to block the progress of the freedmen, demagogic southern white leaders in politics, press, and pulpit raised the cry of black domination. And, it worked.

Thus, to the end of the nineteenth century, and far into the twentieth century, the legally-free Negro citizen was denied the franchise, excluded from public office, assigned to inferior

and segregated schools, herded into black ghettos, directed to the back of the bus, treated unequally in the courts of justice, and segregated in sickness, religious worship, and even in death.

Since the Federal Government, under Presidents Andrew Johnson and Ulysses Grant, had aided and abetted in bringing about the collapse of the Reconstruction democracy, it appeared that the dire prediction of Alexis de Tocqueville, French nobleman, that the whites and Negroes could exist together on the American continent only as masters and slaves or as armed combatants, had a large measure of validity.

But the Civil Rights Revolution shows that his prophecy was wrong. However, the final chapter of the struggle of black Americans for freedom, equality and human dignity is yet to be written.

THE FINAL CHAPTER

What kind of chapter will it be? This depends upon what is done by men and women of good will today to move ahead with the unfinished business of American democracy; abolition of second-class citizenship based upon race or color in a first-class nation.

Let us take a look at the Negro's problem of trying to be a citizen, aside from paying taxes and giving of his life upon fields of battle fighting in defense of the country.

Can a person be a citizen without the right freely to register and vote for those who make and administer the laws of our government? The answer is implicit in the question.

And yet, according to the report of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission on the voting statistics in one hundred hard core southern counties, indicating the percentage of eligible voting-age Negroes who had been allowed to register to vote, the following notorious facts strike you in the face:

In thirteen Alabama counties, 12 percent of the Negroes are registered; in five Florida counties, 3½ percent; fifteen Georgia counties, 14 percent; fifteen Louisiana counties, 7 percent; in seven North Carolina counties, 15½ percent; in five South Carolina counties, 7½ percent. But, ture to its character, Mississippi leads the field in these statistics too. In thrity-eight Mississippi counties, 172,866 whites are registered.- that's 69 percent of all whites of voting age, while 2,267, or 1.1 percent of potential Negro voters are registered. Six of these thirty-eight Mississippi counties haven't a single Negro voter; twelve others have less than ten. Despite the institution of fifty-five voting rights suits by the Department of Justice between 1957 and 1963, today 92 percent of the 668,000 voting-age Negroes in these hard core counties of the South still cannot cast a ballot.

Such is the story of democracy at work in the Black Belt, and it constitutes an explosive element in the socio-racial dynamite in this era of the Civil Rights Revolution.

The will of the South to keep the Negro practically voteless, in order that he may exercise little, if any influence upon the state government under which he lives, may be noted from the following political items:

A young Negro veteran in Jackson Parish, Louisiana was rejected on his first attempt to register to vote because the registrar found an error on his application card. He, himself, was unable to find it after checking and rechecking and when he got up to leave he inquired, "Ma'am,would you do one thing for me?"

"What is that?"

"Will you tell me the mistake I made?"

"Oh, sure, you underlined "Mr." when you should have circled it."

This delicious bit of American civilization in this mid-twentieth century requires no comment.

The glaring difference between white and Negro voter registration in certain states of the Deep South is so tremendous it is impossible to account for it on any other basis except racial discrimination. In a government sampling of counties in old Confederate states it was found that while some counties had more registered white voters than the actual number of white inhabitants, no Negroes were registered.

In some areas of the South the fear of the Negro vote is so strong that violence and fraud are resorted to in an effort to drive the Negro from the polls.

In Belzoni, Mississippi, the minister who led a Negro voting drive was shot down on the courthouse steps in broad daylight by men who warned him against carrying on his campaign.

In Selma, Alabama,last year, hundreds of Negroes ran a gauntlet of armed state troopers and stood in line eight hours

without food or water, in an attempt to register.

In Fayette County, Tennessee, Negroes who registered suffered serious economic retaliation. Many Negroes lost their jobs. The Civil Rights Commission report for 1961 says: "A list of 'culprits' was circulated. White merchants quit trading with them. Pressure was brought to prevent suppliers in Memphis from selling to them. Their credit was stopped; their loans called; their mortgages foreclosed. They could not buy the necessities of life." One white banker was quoted as saying, "My secretary's got the names of 325 who registered. I tell them, anybody on that list, no need coming into this bank. He'll get no crop loans here. Every store has got that list."

Such experiences are common in some regions of the South. Intimidation is sufficiently widespread so that the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, in its 1963 report, says it is persuaded that "the right to vote, in large sections of the South, is still denied to many citizens, solely because of their race."

This outrageous violation of Negroes' constitutional rights has not been unknown to the Federal Government since the adoption of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution following the Civil War. But practically nothing has been done about it. This is one of the reasons for the current racial convulsions in the streets of the country and the bitter cry for FREEDOM, NOW!

Thus, dogs or no dogs, fire hoses or no fire hoses, electric cattle prods or no electric cattle prods, the Civil Rights Revolution will roll on with increasing vitality and challenge.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

But, even if Negroes were permitted to vote and to secure education in unsegregated schools, but denied public accommodations, they would still lack the status of first-class citizenship and respect for the dignity of their personality, a cardinal pillar of the Judeo-Christian traditions.

Aptly, has Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in testifying before the Senate Commerce Committee last year, pointed to a burning issue of civil rights when he said, with reference to public accommodations: "Because no other form of discrimination touches people so directly in every aspect of their daily lives, none is more violative of human dignity which is every man's birghright. Even a simple vacation trip by car, one of America's great national pleasures, can become a harrowing nightmare if one is colored and ventures into unfamiliar sections of the country."

However, in the South, and certain areas of the North and the West, if a citizen of color shows up at a hamburger stand and requests service, it might become an international incident with the would-be patron winding up behind bars for violating the law of trespass.

While thirty states and numerous cities, in which practically 70 percent of the population lives, have laws requiring equal treatment of persons of all races in places of accommodation, the greatest tension and unrest is found in those states which deny equal access to places open to the public. The Southern Regional Council provides some evidence of this in its summary of the civil rights situation in 1963. It found that during 1963 an estimated 930 individual public demonstrations took place in at least 115 cities in 11 southern states. More than 20,000 persons, Negro and white, who have so demonstrated were arrested. Thirty-five known bombings have occurred.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

The U. S. Department of Labor finds that Negroes have steadily and consistently fallen behind in terms of employment and income and that the gap is widening. Its statistics show, for instance, that while in 1947 the non-white unemployment rate was 64 percent higher than the rate for white workers, in 1952 it was 92 percent higher; in 1957 it was 105 percent and in 1962 it was 125 percent higher. For Negro men, twenty years of age and over, unemployment totaled 11.9 percent in the first three months of 1963, compared with 5.4 percent for whites. During the past eight years the rate of unemployment has been two and one-half times greater among Negroes than among whites.

The fact is, Negro workers are rapidly losing ground. The income gap between Negro and white workers is steadily widening. While the median income of Negro families jumped from only 37 percent of white income in 1939, to 57 percent in 1952, it dropped from it high of 57 percent of white income in 1952 to 53 percent in 1962, according to Charles E. Silberman of FORTUNE MAGAZINE.

Negroes face a major crisis, because a gap between Negro education and training and the requirements of the labor market is also widening. Automation, new management techniques, changes in consumer-spending patterns, are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor and increasing employment in professional, managerial, clerical and sales jobs, many of which require considerable education and training which Negroes do not possess. These white-collar occupations account for no less than 97 percent of the total increase in employment that has occurred since 1947.

Negroes are poorly prepared to compete in modern automated workshops. Three Negro men in five now work in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs that are being liquidated at the frightful rate of two million a year.

Thus, Negro teenagers who drop out of high school, at the bewildering rate of as high as 75 percent in most of the metropolitan centers, and who, therefore, are ineligible to become apprentices to learn skilled trades requiring a high school diploma, may, at the early age of thirty years, or even less, never get another job but will be compelled to live off public welfare.

As a result, Negroes, in an affluent American society, are becoming poorer and poorer and are automatically moving into the economic boundaries of poverty.

It is a significant and disturbing fact that the Civil Rights Revolution cannot solve the problem of unemployment since it can not make new jobs. It seeks to compel the assignment of existing jobs upon a basis of equity. In very truth, the demands of the civil rights movement cannot be fulfilled within the present context of our American society which is being rapidly shaped by the march of the revolution of cybernation.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that Negroes are trying to enter a social community and a tradition of work-and-income which are vanishing even for the hitherto privileged white workers. "Jobs are disappearing under the impact of highly efficient, progressively less costly machines," state the committee on the Triple Revolution in a recent report to President Johnson on the problem of the revolution of cybernation and unemployment. Cybernation is a revolution in production. It is a product of the second scientific revolution; it is not concerned with the civil rights of fair employment practice.

With this revolution in production the economic plight of Negroes, an untrained segment of the workforce and disadvantaged because of color, is worsening while the National Gross Product reaches an all-time annual high of more than six billion, with the rate of economic growth increasing and profits soaring.

This is a problem to which Negro leaders must address themselves while there is day, for the night cometh when no man can work. It is also interesting, as well as alarming, that in this period of vitality of the American economy the rate of unemployment still hovers just above five percent, with no immediate prospects of its falling.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

DEMONSTRATIONS

While demonstrations are the occasion for social inconvenience, and some violence, they are to the Civil Rights Revolution what strikes were and still are to labor's revolution.

As has been well stated by Pauli Murray in a position paper presented at Radcliffe Alumnae College of Harvard University: "One hundred years of fractional citizenship is enough! We want full citizenship now. This mood pervades the entire Negro community, as seen in the tremendous outpouring of hundreds to tens of thousands of Negroes into the streets of the nation."

Actually, we are experiencing the climax of a phase of the continuing social revolution in the United States which began with our Declaration of Independence and our war to throw off colonial rule. Periodically, our country, as have other countries, has been thrown into convulsions as various groups of the population have taken the initiative in reaffirming their fundamental rights and freedoms. These upsurges have been part of the growth and maturing of our democracy.

There was the Civil War which abolished slavery and the long fight of women for the vote was marked by marches, demonstrations and arrests.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the workers' revolution for bread, freedom and status,and recognition of their unions as bona-fide bargaining agents,shook the nation with mighty upheavals such as the strikes on the railroads in 1877; the Haymarket Riot of 1886; Homestead Strike of 1893; the advent of the I.W.W. in 1905, and the C.I.O in 1930, with its sit-in strikes, marches, demonstrations, picketing and boycotts, culminating in the Chicago police shotting and killing ten workers. Out of this uprising came the National Labor Relations Act.

But it must be remembered that demonstrations are the outward manifestations of the Civil Rights Revolution which has been underway since 1619. Demonstrations most important service is to dramatize the problem of racial injustice in order to attract public attention and arouse the interest and conscience of the public to do something about it. They should be periodically analyzed and evaluated with respect to timing to avoid useless repetition which can result in diminishing returns in terms of winning public approval. Because a school boycott may be necessary and successful today does not imply the necessity for another one tomorrow, although others may be necessary according as circumstances may warrant. But demonstrations must be construed as tactics that are subject to revision or elimination in response to changing situations.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

While civil disobedience involves the violation of law, the founding fathers resorted to this policy when they dumped the tea of British merchants into Boston Harbor. Moreover, there is no way to test the constitutionality of the law of trespass in southern cities except by asserting the right of a higher moral law, as well as constitutional right as one of the children of God and a citizen of the United States. But the use of civil disobedience should be within the moral framework of nonviolence.

STALL-INS

Now, while stall-ins planned to block and jam traffic on the highways to the World's Fair, and would probably cause some casualties, the idea never would have come into being except for the discrimination against and humiliation of the Negro. This is just the effect of a cause, and there is no basic way to remove the effect except by removing the cause.

Look at the talk-ins-talk-ons in the Senate, for the sole purpose of killing civil rights legislation. The stall-ins are the effect of the talk-ins-talk-ons which have become a national disgrace by holding up not the traffic on the highways but the machinery of government by preventing debate and vote on vital problems of the nation.

NEGROES NEED SPECIAL TREATMENT

Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, is right when he points out that Negroes, because of hundreds of years of cultural and educational deprivation, like the distressed people of Appalachia, need preferential treatment. Not in the form of taking a job from a white worker and givint it to a Negro. This is no cure for unemployment for Negro or white workers. In the final analysis, the problem of Negro joblessness cannot be solved until the problem of joblessness of white workers is solved. Therefore, Negro and white workers must unite to bring about this remedy.

But the preparation of Negroes to function in this rapidly changing world requires preferential treatment to help them catch up in the parade of progress or, at least, prevent them from falling farther and farther behind.

Nor is the so-called quota system of job apportionment the answer since it places a limitation upon progress. Moreover, since Negroes are farther behind because of race bias in unions, industry and government, Negroes may need more jobs than some other segments of the workforce.

STATE OF THE RACE SUMMIT CONFERENCE

Because it is apparant that the Civil Rights Revolution has come upon a crisis, as shown by increasing signs of a growing racist counterrevolution, sometimes referred to as the white backlash, and because of internal conflicts and crosscurrents, I propose that a State of the Race Summit Conference be held in Washington, D. C., either during the debate on civil rights legislation in the Senate or soon after the Senate takes action on it.

There is the problem of building a stronger base for a coalition of conscience involving the Negro community, the Church community and Labor community. This concept is based upon the assumption that while Negroes must continue to lead the Civil Rights Revolution they cannot win first-class citizenship alone.

Some discussion of tactics and goals by the leaders of the major Negro fraternal, civic, women, student and church movements is essential at this time.

An appraisal of the relation of the revolution of cybernation, which bids fair to change the whole terrain of production and employment, to the Civil Rights Revolution should be made.

In conclusion, I hail and salute the officers and members of the Baltimore Chapter of the Negro American Labor Council.

I hail and salute the stalwart giant of Negro journalism in America, my good friend, Carl Murphy, publisher of the

Afro-American.

I hail and salute Mrs. Jackson and her distinguished family of freedom fighters.

I hail and salute the labor movement of Baltimore and Maryland and bid them to rally to the support of the AFL-CIO program to abolish race bias in labor unions.

I hail and salute the Negro ministers of Baltimore and Maryland and congratulate them, together with their white brothers, for their witness to the God-given right of every human being to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I hail and salute President Johnson for his unequivocal and vigorous fight for civil rights legislation and his determination to win this moral battle for human dignity.

I hail and salute W. Willard Wirtz, the distinguished and brilliant Secretary of Labor and his able assistant, James Reynolds, upon the great job they have done and are doing for the cause of labor and the country.

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CINCINNATI, OHIO, MAY 11, 1964

Mr. Chairman and delegates to the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church:

As one of the sons of African Methodism, I want to hail and salute the bishops, general officers, presiding elders and ministers of the churches all over our country upon having reached this great landmark in history.

All of the clergy and laymen of African Methodism have reason to take great pride in the fact that the early leadership of the Church also served as a leader in the struggles of black Americans to abolish slavery and to achieve first-class citizenship at the time of the Civil War.

It was Richard Allen, the founder of African Methodism, who also presided at the first Negro Peoples' Convention in 1830, which was the beginning of the Convention movement among free Negroes. Moreover, leaders of the African Methodist Church were aggressively active in giving reality and integrity to the Reconstruction Democracy, which finally came to an end in 1877. Leaders of the Church kept their hands on the plow, in the interest of achieving first-class citizenship for ex-slaves at the opening and throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

Now, while we are here involved in this great Church institution, a major struggle is underway in the Senate of the United States to secure the enactment of civil rights legislation.

I need not tell you that this fight to secure Federal legislation in support of complete political and civil equality for Negro Americans is in trouble, as a result of the filibuster being conducted by southern political leaders to kill this legislation.

This debate has been going on for two months. It is now moving into the quicksands of compromise. All of us know that once they enter into the process of compromise on basic human principles and ideals while amending the package of proposals sent to the Senate by the House of Representatives, we may wind up with nothing but amendments. I think we all agree that there has been ample debate, and the time has come for a definitive vote on the package of civil rights bills proposed by President John Fitzpatrick Kennedy, and now being vigorously supported by President Lyndon Baines Johnson.

I want to hail and salute the leaders of the civil rights legislation in the Senate, captained by Senator Hubert Humphrey. I think it is incumbent upon every citizen, white and black, who is commited to the ideals of democracy and human dignity, to send telegrams to their senators urging them to stop the talkathon and begin to act - without changing a comma or semicolon in the civil rights bills that were passed by the House of Representatives.

This is one fight Negro Americans and, for that matter, our white brothers and sisters who believe in democracy and the brotherhood of man, cannot afford to lose. If we fail to win complete first-class citizenship in this Congress we may not get it for another one hundred years.

I want to hail and salute the American church movement, including Catholics, Protestants and Jews, upon the great convocation held in Washington, D. C. in the interest of supporting the fight for civil rights in the Senate.

I want to hail and salute the organized labor movement of the country for the effective support it has given to the fight for civil rights in the Congress.

It is important for Negroes to understand that they cannot mobilize sufficient power to win the fight for freedom alone. We need the support of our white friends today just as we needed it in the middle of the nineteenth century when the struggle against slavery was being developed under trying times.

Forward to Freedom, Now!

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT THE
45th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF "THE CALL"
MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
MAY 17, 1964

CRISIS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

> There is a tide in the affairs of men
>   Which taken at the flood leads on to fortune,
> Omitted, and all the rest of their lives
> Is bound in shallows and miseries,
>   On such a sea we are now afloat.
>
> - William Shakespeare -

In periods of social tension and tumult, upheavals and convulsions, ferment and discontent, the frontiers of freedom may be advanced and profound, creative change effected.

In such times there is opportunity for winning the fight for freedom and danger of losing it.

Whether it is won or lost depends upon the philosophy and program, courage and dedication of the leadership.

Out of the long struggle of the American colonies against British colonial rule, symbolized by the Stamp Act of 1765, which the English government had framed to keep the colonies dependent and favorable to the English manufacturer and merchant at the expense of the colonist, came the American Revolution, and out of the Revolution stemmed the American War of Independence of 1775; the Declaration of Independence in 1776; the Continental Congresses of 1774-75, and the Federal Constitution of 1789 and the formation of a new nation in the new world.

What happened to the status of slaves during these tumultuous times?

Even though the famous statement of the Declaration - "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" - was an exhibition of pious hypocrisy, since the term "all men" did not include black slaves, seven hundred thousand of whom were in the country, and five thousand of whom fought in the Continental Army to make white men free, (Crispus Attucks, a Negro freedman, being the first to fall in the celebrated Boston Massacre of 1770) it was a powerful force for freedom, emphasizing that the natural rights of man cannot be limited by act of government.

Relative to the Negroes' participation in the War of Independence, it is historically important to note that Negro patriots were conspicuous in the fighting at the Battle of Bunker Hill. They were also at Lexington and Concord and crossed the Delaware with Washington.

A hundred years after Attucks fell, on a monument erected on Boston Commons was written the following poem by John Boyle O'Reilly:

> And honor to Crisput Attucks,
>   Who was leader and voice that day;
> The first to defy and the first to die,
>   With Maverick, Carr and Gray.
>
> Call it riot or revolution,
>   Or mob or crowd as you may,
> Such deaths have been seed of nations,
>   Such lives shall be honored for ay...

During the decade after the adoption and publication of the Declaration of Independence reaction against the slave trade and slavery increased. The period saw the first significant organization of abolition sentiment. The first abolition society was formed in Pennsylvania in 1774. Benjamin Franklin later became its president. The New York Abolition Society, organized in 1785, listed John Jay, first Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, as president, and Alexander Hamilton as the second.

The new nation was not long to be spared the task of attempting to reconcile the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence with the equally self-evident institution of chattel slavery. While the Constitutional Convention was meeting in Philadelphia in 1787, the Congress, operating under the Articles of Confederation, enacted the Northwest Ordinance, Article VI of which (joined in by northern and southern members of Congress) prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude in the Territory, now comprising the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan.

While, undoubtedly, the Free Negroes and slaves were greatly disillusioned by the compromise of the Constitution with the institution of slavery, the status of slaves changed. After the Revolution one northern state after another moved to abolish the remnants of a rapidly disintegrating slave-labor system, and by 1830 slavery had been abolished in the northern states.

The Free Negro population increased rapidly from around 40,000 in 1776 to 320,000 in 1830, the majority of whom were in the South. This was chiefly due to the liberalization of manumission by deed, will, paid redemptions, and supplemented by a natural increase.

Thus, the Negro made his entry into the nineteenth century with an increase in the opoulation of Free Negroes and a notable history of outstanding Negro patriots who had served the cause of the American Revolution with honor, bravery and distinction.

Black slaves had also developed a significant history of their longing for freedom through a hundred or more uprisings against their white masters, the leaders of which were constitently put to death.

CAUSE OF NEGRO FREEDOM MOVES FORWARD

Having watched the course of the history of the Free Negro and black slaves in latter decades of the eighteenth century, under the political climate of the philosophical, libertarian principles of Jeffersonianism, let us now take a look at the rise of the common man's democracy and equalitarianism of the Jacksonian era on the revolution of rising expectations of the Free Negro and the slave in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

This was an epoch of commotion, fermentation, and new cultural aspirations, sometimes alluded to as the Golden Age. It was the time of the Olympians of American literature: Hawthorne, Walt Whitman, William Cullen Bryant, Herman Melville, Henry Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Greenleaf Whittier, William Ellery Channing and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

This was the day of the new awakening and flowering of the American genius in literature and learning. It marked the rise of Transcendentalism, which Emerson said emphasized the belief in the divine goodness of human nature, opposing the Calvinistic preoccupation with sin and eternal damnation. Its practical manifestation sought a reform of society's ills through humanitarian movements and education.

The workers began to fight for free public schools and the abolition of imprisonment for debt, through the formation of labor unions and working men's political parties, while women began a crusade for the right of suffrage.

During these stirring times the Free Negroes, under the leadership of Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in protest against racial discrimination in the white church, started the Convention Movement in 1830, to fight for the abolition of slavery.

In this period the thunder of the uprisings of Gabriel Prosser in 1800, Denmark Vesey, 1822, and Nat Turner in 1831, struck terror into the hearts of the slavemasters and shook the citadel of slavery to its very foundation.

The anti-slavery crusade, one of the great social movements of modern times, began its forward thrust under the banner of the American Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia in 1833, with William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the famous Liberation and uncompromising abolitionist, at the helm. Stirred with a raging passion against the inhumanity of slavery, he bitterly exclaimed in his first editorial:

> "I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, slavery, I do not wish to think, to speak, or write with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of a ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present! I am in earnest - I will not equivocate - I will not excuse - I will not retreat a single inch - And I will be heard!"

Garrison did not stand alone in the uncertain times that tried men's souls. Standing by his side was Frederick Douglass, founder and editor of The North Star, who was appropriately characterized as "the noblest slave that ever God set free." In 1852, in his Fourth of July oration at Rochester, New York, Douglass fearlessly challenged America's Christianity and democracy when he declared:

> "What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer: A day that reveals to him, more than all other days of the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns,

> your sermons and thanksgiving, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety and hypocrisy - a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages....
>
> "You boast of your love of liberty, your superior civilization and your pure Christianity, while the whole political power of the nation, as embodied in the two great political parties, is solemnly pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of three millions of your countrymen."

Nor did the great Douglass, with the venerated white crusaders, such as Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Richard Henry Dana, together with his contemporary Negro abolitionists, James McCune Smith, Alexander Crummell, Martin R. Delany and Henry Highland Garnet, stand alone as the blistering irresistible winds of the Revolution of Abolitionism swept over the land.

This crisis, like all crises, bred big men, strong men, great men and women. They were born in the fires of struggle and persecution through the long dark night of slavery.

Hundreds of unsung Negroes manned the Underground Railroad, a complex network of barns, stables and big-hearted men and women. Probably the greatest of the abolitionists were the fugitives who travelled the Underground Railroad under that brave black woman who served as conductor, Harriet Tubman. These fugitive slaves scaled mountains, forded creeks and threaded forests; they came across the Ohio River and the Chesapeake Bay; they came with ailing women and sick children. Thousands of fugitive slaves, variously estimated from forty to one hundred thousand, sought to escape from the South, the Egypt of their bondage.

Out of this time of troubles came black giants of leadership that majestically strode the land, waging unrelenting warfare against the sin of slavery.

And out of this time of anguish came the Negro's first newspaper, Freedom's Journal, published 1827, by John B. Russwurm and Samuel E. Cornish.

IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT

The deepening sinister mood of the irrepressible conflict and civil war, which nearly split the nation permanently in twain, resulted in the transformation of the Negro from the status of a slave to a free man, at least with the three War Amendments to the Constitution. Of course, the Negro soon lost this status when the Confederate Counterrevolution arrested the forward march of the Civil War Revolution, beginning in 1865.

RECONSTRUCTION DEMOCRACY

And although the Reconstruction Democracy collapsed in 1877 when President Rutherford B. Hayes withdrew the Federal Army from the South, out of this period of storm and stress twenty-two former slaves went to the Congress, two of whom sat in the Senate, and a large number were elected to state legislatures of the former slave states.

WORLD WAR I

The next great national crisis which wrought a major change in the life of the Negro was the first World War. This giant world event marked a massive exodus of Negroes from the South. They headed North in search of jobs and freedom. Thousands were drafted in the armed forces and went three thousand miles to Europe to fight white men, presumably to make the world safe for democracy, though they did not enjoy it at home. Upon their return home they fought in race riots in Longview, Texas; East St. Louis, Missouri; Chicago, Illinois and Washington, D. C., to make America safe for democracy for the Negro.

THE DEPRESSION OF 1929

Following the first World War, the Great Depression of 1929, resulting in the closing of the banks, foreclosure of farm mortgages, failure of giant corporations and an army of some thirteen to fourteen million unemployed. Workers, in frustration, if not desperation, organized the unemployment marches for jobs and justice.

Although Negroes encountered racial bias at every turn under the Roosevelt New Deal, for the first time in history they were placed in important government posts; joined the unemployed white workers to fight for jobs; played an important role in the sit-down strikes of automobile workers in Detroit; became members of the Automobile Workers' Union, and fought on the picket line with their white brothers for bread and justice.

It must be noted also that under the Negroes' own initiative they fought for and won, by a threatened March on Washington in 1941, Executive Order 8802 to achieve fair employment practice, without regard to race or color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

Thus, in times of upheavals, convulsions, commotion and conflict, when social forces tend to be fluid, profound metamorphoses in the relations of Negroes to white America have taken place.

WHAT ABOUT TODAY?

Obviously, the Negroes' opportunity to effect a complete reversal of their relationships to white men and American institutions is plainly possible. This is the mission of the Civil Rights Revolution. This is not just a Black Revolt against some lunch counters, it's a major, full-dress revolution which seeks to sweep into the ashcan of history the whole concept of the hereditary inferiority of the Negro, the ideological foundation of racial segregation and discrimination.

SECOND EMANCIPATION

Now the Negro is faced with the new task and responsibility of charting a new course of struggle to bring about a second emancipation. To this end, the mantle of leadership fell from the sturdy and courageous shoulders of Frederick Douglass, the symbol of black anti-slavery leadership, upon Negro leaders who no longer were confronted with chattel slavery of the body but with the black serfdom of segregation of the mind and body.

Albeit history had placed this assignment into the strong hands of two able black giants, Booker T. Washington, the educator, and W. E. B. DuBois, the agitator, and a host of other Negro leaders dedicated to the achievement of a future of freedom, it was obvious the battle for interracial brotherhood must transcend the boundaries of the black race and involve the full range of democratic forces in the nation to halt the devastating march of racism.

Harassed, hounded and humiliated by the leaders of the Confederate Counterrevolution - Vardaman of Mississippi, "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina, and Hoke Smith of Georgia, a new and savage breed of racist propagandists - Dr. DuBois, with a few courageous white liberals, such as Mary White Ovington and Oswald Garrison Villard, formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910. The mission of the movement was to achieve first-class citizenship for colored Americans.

RACE PROBLEM CARRIED TO THE COURTS

Following the logic of the context of the times, the NAACP proceeded to go into the courts to establish the illegality of racial segregation and discrimination under the Civil War Amendments. The Association achieved some measurable success in favorable judicial decisions, but encountered great difficulty in implementation.

It wasnot until the memorable decision of the U. S. Supreme Court of 1954, on the desegregation and integration of public schools, were the American people brought to their feet of attention to the problem of racial injustice. But, under the doctrine of deliberate speed, the pace of implementation of the decision has been, and is, far too slow.

It is a notorious fact that although ten years have passed since the school decision, nearly two-thirds of the previously segregated school districts still deny the right of all children to an unsegregated education.

It is also important to note that many school districts listed as integrated offer only token integration, since an all-white school with a single colored student is classified as a desegregated institution. Thus, it is obvious that at the rate which school desegregation has proceeded in the past ten years, it will take more than one hundred years to secure compliance with the Supreme Court's decision. Besides, the picayune desegregation which has been brought about against bitter, intransigeant southern opposition has been attended by an incredible series of disgraceful "Little Rocks."

Not one Negro today attends a public school with a white person in Mississippi. Not one of Mississippi's eighty-five Negro high schools is an accredited high school.

As a result of a quarter of a thousand years of slavery and a hundred years of cultural, educational, economic, political and social deprivation because of segregation, Negro youth naturally fail to make comparable achievement levels with white youth.

In the light of the obvious irreparable damage the system of public school segregation wreaks upon Negro youth, and the apparent wide unconcern about its abolishment, is there any good reason for wonder why Negroes fiercely reject tokenism and gradualism as a pattern of the solution of the problem of race bias?

In the desegregation cases the United States Supreme Court spoke out definitively on the dread effect of school segregation upon the children of minority groups when it stated: "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis

of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does -- to separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

And, it might be added that not only are children of minority groups given a false sense of their inferiority, but white children are given a false sense of their superiority, which renders both unprepared to play creative roles in our democratic society.

With this decision the Supreme Court sounded the death knell of all segregation where the exercise of state power is involved.

The immediate effect of emancipation was to intensify race prejudice and provide for the Negro a freedom more fictional than real. This was due to two reasons: One, the entry of the ex-slave into competition with the ordinary, poor white man, as worker in the labor market and, two, as a citizen in public life.

In order to block the progress of the freedmen, demagogic southern white leaders in politics, press, and pulpit raised the cry of black domination. And, it worked.

Thus, to the end of the nineteenth century, and far into the twentieth century, the legally-free Negro citizen was denied the franchise, excluded from public office, assigned to inferior

and segregated schools, herded into black ghettos, directed to the back of the bus, treated unequally in the courts of justice, and segregated in sickness, religious worship, and even in death.

Since the Federal Government, under Presidents Andrew Johnson and Ulysses Grant, had aided and abetted in bringing about the collapse of the Reconstruction democracy, it appeared that the dire prediction of Alexis de Tocqueville, French nobleman, that the whites and Negroes could exist together on the American continent only as masters and slaves or as armed combatants, had a large measure of validity.

But the Civil Rights Revolution shows that his prophecy was wrong. However, the final chapter of the struggle of black Americans for freedom, equality and human dignity is yet to be written.

THE FINAL CHAPTER

What kind of chapter will it be? This depends upon what is done by men and women of good will today to move ahead with the unfinished business of American democracy; abolition of second-class citizenship based upon race or color in a first-class nation.

Let us take a look at the Negro's problem of trying to be a citizen, aside from paying taxes and giving of his life upon fields of battle fighting in defense of the country.

Can a person be a citizen without the right freely to register and vote for those who make and administer the laws of our government? The answer is implicit in the question.

And yet, according to the report of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission on the voting statistics in one hundred hard core southern counties, indicating the percentage of eligible voting-age Negroes who had been allowed to register to vote, the following notorious facts strike you in the face:

In thirteen Alabama counties, 12 percent of the Negroes are registered; in five Florida counties, 3½ percent; fifteen Georgia counties, 14 percent; fifteen Louisiana counties, 7 percent; in seven North Carolina counties, 15½ percent; in five South Carolina counties, 7½ percent. But, ture to its character, Mississippi leads the field in these statistics too. In thrity-eight Mississippi counties, 172,866 whites are registered.- that's 69 percent of all whites of voting age, while 2,267, or 1.1 percent of potential Negro voters are registered. Six of these thirty-eight Mississippi counties haven't a single Negro voter; twelve others have less than ten. Despite the institution of fifty-five voting rights suits by the Department of Justice between 1957 and 1963, today 92 percent of the 668,000 voting-age Negroes in these hard core counties of the South still cannot cast a ballot.

Such is the story of democracy at work in the Black Belt, and it constitutes an explosive element in the socio-racial spectrum in this era of the Civil Rights Revolution.

The will of the South to keep the Negro practically voteless, in order that he may exercise little, if any influence upon the state government under which he lives, may be noted from the following political items:

A young Negro veteran in Jackson Parish, Louisiana was rejected on his first attempt to register to vote because the registrar found an error on his application card. He, himself, was unable to find it after checking and rechecking and when he got up to leave he inquired, "Ma'am, would you do one thing for me?"

"What is that?"

"Will you tell me the mistake I made?"

"Oh, sure, you underlined "Mr." when you should have circled it."

This delicious bit of American civilization in this mid-twentieth century requires no comment.

The glaring difference between white and Negro voter registration in certain states of the Deep South is so tremendous it is impossible to account for it on any other basis except racial discrimination. In a government sampling of counties in old Confederate states it was found that while some counties had more registered white voters than the actual number of white inhabitants, no Negroes were registered.

In some areas of the South the fear of the Negro vote is so strong that violence and fraud are resorted to in an effort to drive the Negro from the polls.

In Belzoni, Mississippi, the minister who led a Negro voting drive was shot down on the courthouse steps in broad daylight by men who warned him against carrying on his campaign.

In Selma, Alabama, last year, hundreds of Negroes ran a gauntlet of armed state troopers and stood in line eight hours

without food or water, in an attempt to register.

In Fayette County, Tennessee, Negroes who registered suffered serious economic retaliation. Many Negroes lost their jobs. The Civil Rights Commission report for 1961 says: "A list of 'culprits' was circulated. White merchants quit trading with them. Pressure was brought to prevent suppliers in Memphis from selling to them. Their credit was stopped; their loans called; their mortgages foreclosed. They could not buy the necessities of life." One white banker was quoted as saying, "My secretary's got the names of 325 who registered. I tell them, anybody on that list, no need coming into this bank. He'll get no crop loans here. Every store has got that list."

Such experiences are common in some regions of the South. Intimidation is sufficiently widespread so that the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, in its 1963 report, says it is persuaded that "the right to vote, in large sections of the South, is still denied to many citizens, solely because of their race."

This outrageous violation of Negroes' constitutional rights has not been unknown to the Federal Government since the adoption of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution following the Civil War. But practically nothing has been done about it. This is one of the reasons for the current racial convulsions in the streets of the country and the bitter cry for FREEDOM, NOW!

Thus, dogs or no dogs, fire hoses or no fire hoses, electric cattle prods or no electric cattle prods, the Civil Rights Revolution will roll on with increasing vitality and challenge.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

But, even if Negroes were permitted to vote and to secure education in unsegregated schools, but denied public accommodations, they would still lack the status of first-class citizenship and respect for the dignity of their personality, a cardinal pillar of the Judeo-Christian traditions.

Aptly, has Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in testifying before the Senate Commerce Committee last year, pointed to a burning issue of civil rights when he said, with reference to public accommodations: "Because no other form of discrimination touches people so directly in every aspect of their daily lives, none is more violative of human dignity which is every man's birghright. Even a simple vacation trip by car, one of America's great national pleasures, can become a harrowing nightmare if one is colored and ventures into unfamiliar sections of the country."

However, in the South, and certain areas of the North and the West, if a citizen of color shows up at a hamburger stand and requests service, it might become an international incident with the would-be patron winding up behind bars for violating the law of trespass.

While thirty states and numerous cities, in which practically 70 percent of the population lives, have laws requiring equal treatment of persons of all races in places of accommodation, the greatest tension and unrest is found in those states which deny equal access to places open to the public. The Southern Regional Council provides some evidence of this in its summary of the civil rights situation in 1963. It found that during 1963 an estimated 930 individual public demonstrations took place in at least 115 cities in 11 southern states. More than 20,000 persons, Negro and white, who have so demonstrated were arrested. Thirty-five known bombings have occurred.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

The U. S. Department of Labor finds that Negroes have steadily and consistently fallen behind in terms of employment and income and that the gap is widening. Its statistics show, for instance, that while in 1947 the non-white unemployment rate was 64 percent higher than the rate for white workers, in 1952 it was 92 percent higher; in 1957 it was 105 percent and in 1962 it was 125 percent higher. For Negro men, twenty years of age and over, unemployment totaled 11.9 percent in the first three months of 1963, compared with 5.4 percent for whites. During the past eight years the rate of unemployment has been two and one-half times greater among Negroes than among whites.

The fact is, Negro workers are rapidly losing ground. The income gap between Negro and white workers is steadily widening. While the median income of Negro families jumped from only 37 percent of white income in 1939, to 57 percent in 1952, it dropped from it high of 57 percent of white income in 1952 to 53 percent in 1962, according to Charles E. Silberman of FORTUNE MAGAZINE.

Negroes face a major crisis, because a gap between Negro education and training and the requirements of the labor market is also widening. Automation, new management techniques, changes in consumer-spending patterns, are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor and increasing employment in professional, managerial, clerical and sales jobs, many of which require considerable education and training which Negroes do not possess. These white-collar occupations account for no less than 97 percent of the total increase in employment that has occurred since 1947.

Negroes are poorly prepared to compete in modern automated workshops. Three Negro men in five now work in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs that are being liquidated at the frightful rate of two million a year, while one million, three hundred and fifty thousand workers join the labor force looking for work in competition with the Negro.

Thus, Negro teenagers who drop out of high school at the bewildering rate of as high as 75 percent in most of the metropolitan centers and who, therefore, are ineligible to become apprentices to learn skilled trades requiring a high school diploma, may, at the early age of thirty years, or even less, never get another job but will be compelled to live off public welfare the balance of their lives.

It is obvious that Negroes, in an affluent American society, are becoming poorer and poorer and are automatically moving into the economic boundaries of poverty. And, if the income of the Negro Community is reduced by the loss of jobs by Negro workers they will wither and die just like Appalachia, since the income for the maintenance of Negro institutions result from the wages black workers get on the job.

It is a significant and disturbing fact that the Civil Rights

Revolution cannot solve the problem of unemployment since it cannot make new jobs. It seeks to compel the assignment of existing jobs upon a basis of equity. In very truth, the demands of the civil rights movement cannot be fulfilled within the present context of our American society which is being rapidly shaped by the march of the revolution of cybernation.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that Negroes are trying to enter a social community and a tradition of work-and-income which are vanishing even for the hitherto privileged white workers. "Jobs are disappearing under the impact of highly efficient, progressively less costly machines," according to the committee on the Triple Revolution in a recent report to President Johnson on the problem of the revolution of cybernation and unemployment. Cybernation is a revolution in production. It is a product of the second scientific revolution; it is not concerned with the civil rights of fair employment practice. With this revolution in production the economic plight of Negroes, an untrained segment of the workforce and disadvantaged because of color, is worsening while the National Gross Product reaches an all-time annual high of more than six billion, with the rate of economic growth increasing and profits soaring.

This is a problem to which Negro leaders must address themselves while there is day, for the night cometh when no man can work.

DEMONSTRATIONS

While demonstrations are the occasion for social inconvenience, and some violence, they are to the Civil Rights Revolution what strikes were, and still are, to labor's revolution.

As has been well stated by Pauli Murray in a position paper presented at Radcliffe Alumnae College of Harvard University: "One hundred years of fractional citizenship is enough! We want full citizenship now. This mood pervades the entire Negro community, as seen in the tremendous outpouring of hundreds to tens of thousands of Negroes into the streets of the nation."

Actually, we are experiencing the climax of a phase of the continuing social revolution in the United States which began with our Declaration of Independence and our war to throw off colonial rule. Periodically, our country, as have other countries, has been thrown into convulsions as various groups of the population have taken the initiative in reaffirming their fundamental rights and freedoms. These upsurges have been part of the growth and maturing of our democracy.

There was the Civil War which abolished slavery and the long fight of women for the vote was marked by marches, demonstrations and arrests.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the workers' revolution for bread, freedom and status,and recognition of their unions as bona-fide bargaining agents,shook the nation with mighty upheavals such as the strikes on the railroads in 1877; the Haymarket Riot of 1886; Homestead Strike of 1893; the advent of the I.W.W. in 1905, and the C.I.O in 1930, with its sit-in strikes, marches, demonstrations, picketing and boycotts, culminating in the Chicago police shotting and killing ten workers. Out of this uprising came the National Labor Relations Act.

But it must be remembered that demonstrations are the outward manifestations of the Civil Rights Revolution which has been underway since 1619. Demonstrations most important service is to dramatize the problem of racial injustice in order to attract public attention and arouse the interest and conscience of the public to do something about it. They should be periodically analyzed and evaluated with respect to timing to avoid useless repetition which can result in diminishing returns in terms of winning public approval. Because a school boycott may be necessary and successful today does not imply the necessity for another one tomorrow, although others may be necessary according as circumstances may warrant. But demonstrations must be construed as tactics that are subject to revision or elimination in response to changing situations. They are not sacred or destined to be eternal.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

While civil disobedience involves the violation of law, the founding fathers resorted to this policy when they dumped the tea of British merchants into Boston Harbor. Moreover, there is no way to test the constitutionality of the law of trespass in southern cities except by asserting the right of, and obedience to, a higher moral law as one of the children of God and a citizen of the United States. But the use of civil disobedience should be within the moral framework of nonviolence and only resorted to when the objective conditions of oppression provide no other alternatives and one is prepared to pay the price in suffering violence, imprisonment, and even death.

INSERT On Page 24 — Just above Caption: Negroes Need Special Treatment —

TACTICS

While in a complex struggle involving the fight for freedom, first-class citizenship and human dignity, it is not possible to point to any specific tactic, strategy or methodology which will achieve this objective. One thing we can be sure, definite and positive about, and that is the tactic, strategy and methodology which will not realize the objective. They are the polarization of black racism and white racism, which can only make for internecine interracial warfare or reign of terror that could be catastrophic to Negroes and whites, the suicidal folly of Malxolm X rifle clubs of Violence ~~or~~ AND racial anarchism, and totalitarian leftist orientation of the Civil Rights Revolution through communist infiltration.

STALL-INS

Now, while stall-ins planned to block and jam traffic on the highways to the World's Fair, and would probably have caused some casualties, the idea never would have come into being except for the discrimination against and humiliation of the Negro. This stall-in tactic is just the effect of a cause, and there is no basic way to remove the effect except by first removing the cause.

Look at the talk-ins-talk-ons and stall-ins in the Senate, for the sole purpose of killing civil rights legislation. The stall-ins are the effect of the talk-ins-talk-ons and stall-ins which have become a national disgrace by holding up, not the traffic on the highways but the government, by preventing debate and vote on vital problems of the nation.

NEGROES NEED SPECIAL TREATMENT

Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, is right when he points out that Negroes, because of hundreds of years of cultural and educational deprivation, like the distressed people of Appalachia, need preferential treatment. Not in the form of taking a job from a white worker and giving it to a Negro. This is no cure for unemployment for Negro or white workers. In the final analysis, the problem of Negro joblessness cannot be solved until the problem of joblessness of white workers is solved. Therefore, Negro and white workers must unite to bring about this remedy.

But the preparation of Negroes to function in this rapidly changing world requires preferential treatment to help them catch up in the parade of progress or, at least, prevent them from falling farther and farther behind.

Now is the so-called quota system of job apportionment the answer since it places a limitation upon progress. Moreover, since Negroes are farther behind because of race bias in unions, industry and government, Negroes may need more jobs than some other segments of the workforce.

STATE OF THE RACE SUMMIT CONFERENCE

Because it is apparent that the Civil Rights Revolution has come upon a crisis, as shown by increasing signs of a growing racist counterrevolution, sometimes referred to as the white backlash, symbolized by the votes Governor George Wallace is receiving in western and border states, and because of internal conflicts and cross-currents, I propose that a State of the Race Summit Conference be held in Washington, D. C., either during the debate on civil rights legislation in the Senate or soon after the Senate takes action on it.

Are Communists infiltrating the civil rights movement as charged by J. Edgar Hoover?

There is the problem of building a stronger base for a coalition of conscience involving the Negro Community, the Church Community and Labor Community. This concept is based upon the assumption that while Negroes must continue to lead the Civil Rights Revolution they cannot win first-class citizenship alone.

Some discussion of tactics, such as stall-ins and civil disobedience, and goals, by the leaders of the major Negro civil rights organizations, together with fraternal, civic, women, student and church movements is essential at this time.

Is black racism against white racism a sound confrontation?

An appraisal of the relation of the revolution of cybernation, which bids fair to change the whole terrain of production and employment, to the Civil Rights Revolution should be made. Verily, it is time to ask the question, where does the Civil Rights Revolution go from here, and how?

In conclusion, I hail and salute the Kansas City Call and Mrs. Ada Franklin, its publisher.

The Kansas City Call in the Midwest is like unto the North Star of Frederick Douglass, crusader against the monstrous evil of human slavery. Mrs. Franklin and The Call take an honored and deserving place in the illustrious company of John Russwurm of Freedom's Journal, T. Thomas Fortune and Fred R. Moore of the New York Age, William Monroe Trotter and the Boston Guardian, Robert S. Abbott and the Chicago Defender, Carl Murphy and the Afro-American, L. B. Young and the Norfolk Journal and Guide, C. B. Powell and the New York Amsterdam News, W. E. B. DuBois and the Crisis Magazine, and a host of other distinguished Negro journalists.

The Call has ever held aloft, with a fighting faith in a future of freedom, the banner of first-class citizenship for colored Americans.

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT NEW YORK BRANCH N.A.A.C.P.
ACTION WORKSHOP, SALEM METHODIST CHURCH
NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 13, 1964

THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION AND POVERTY

The primary mission of the Civil Rights Revolution is to effect a transition of Black America from the status of second-class citizenship to first-class citizenship. This involves a basic reversal of relationships between Black and White America. This objective is mandatory because although the Civil War Revolution emancipated Negroes from the chains of chattel slavery it never transformed them into free workers or free citizens.

Thus, as a result of the rising winds of the Confederate Counterrevolution in 1865 which swept the War Amendments and the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875 into political oblivion, the Negro Freedmen entered the twentieth century practically landless, jobless, voteless and friendless.

Hence, Negroes today are involved in a desperate struggle to complete an incompleted Civil War Revolution. We call it the Civil Rights Revolution.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

It means

(1) A fight for equality of opportunity for jobs and job promotion.

(2) Equality of opportunity for apprenticeship training.

(3) Desegregation and integration of public schools and quality education.

(4) Rights freely to register and vote.

(5) Rights of public accommodations.

WHAT LIES AHEAD?

Civil rights legislation, with some crippling amendments, will be passed. It will have immense value in improving the racial climate of America. While it will not usher in the Millennium it will arm Negroes with political weapons with which they may more effectively move forward.

BUT WHAT ABOUT NEGRO JOBS?

Although there are many varied and variegated facets of the racial problem, all of which are interrelated, probably the economic question is the most pressing and challenging.

Professor Vivian W. Henderson, chairman of the Department of Economics and Bussiness at Fisk University, states:

> "By most measurements, Negroes in the United States appeared to be moving from perennial poverty to relative prosperity at the beginning of the postwar era. Forces at work promised to liberate them from the imbalance that had historically characterized their position in the economy. National economic expansion, technology, and southern economic reorganization had generated new opportunities and higher incomes. There was, in fact, cause for high expectations of basic and accelerated change."

Apparently the South was well on its way to eliminating its image as "the nation's No. 1 economic problem." However, it and the Negro still remain the most depressed segments of the economy and the population. Unless unforseeable revolutionary changes take place in Negro manpower utilization and development the Negro citizen will remain "the forgotten man," North and South, in America's affluent society.

WIDENING ECONOMIC GAP

It is important to note that the income of Negro families and individuals nationally has grown over five times since 1940, but it is still little more than one-half that of white families and individuals.

Some gains exist, such as jobs in new areas of industry, but unemployment among Negroes is probably two and one-half times that of white unemployment. Negroes are still disproportionately concentrated in jobs of the unskilled category, with limited mobility and a higher vulnerability to cyclical fluctuations and adverse consequences of technological changes.

Any cursory survey of the status of the Negro in industry, labor unions, and government will reveal that racial discrimination in employment is still as widespread as segregation and discrimination in education. This practice in the building trades helps to perpetuate a relatively poor jobs distribution among Negroes.

While it cannot be denied that important changes have occurred in the economic and organization status of Negroes in industry, labor unions, and government during the last twenty years, a searching examination must be made with respect to the rapidity of this change.

Basically, the question facing the nation and the Negro today is whether Negroes are narrowing the gap in their economic status. The issue is not whether Negroes have been making progress but whether it has been rapid enough to enable them to adjust to an economy whose rate of change is cumulative, if not bewildering.

The issue is whether the momentum of change is great enough and deep enough to generate an economic base among Negroes which will guarantee their continued movement up the economic order.

OUTLOOK FOR NEGRO GROWING WORSE

While the annual average median income of Negro families jumped from only 37 percent of white families' income in 1939, to 57 percent in 1952, it dropped from this high 57 percent of white families' income in 1952 to 53 percent in 1962, according to Charles E. Silberman of FORTUNE.

Why? The answer is the Revolution of Cybernation, sometimes called automation or technology.

Technology alone has drastically changed the kind of manpower needed in automated workshops. It is estimated that unskilled jobs are being liquidated by the amazingly high number of two million a year. Thus, it is obvious that the need for unskilled workers has declines whereas the demand for workers with skills and training has increased. This trend, coupled with a relatively slow pace of development of manpower among Negroes, places them in an unfavorable and disadvantageous position when it comes to competition in the labor market with white workers possessing skills, training and education. In fact, the gap between Negro education and training and the requirements of the labor market is widening. This condition constitutes a major crisis.

It is a disturbing and disconcerting fact that between 1947 and 1961 the number of employees in mining, manufacturing, contract construction, railroad, shipping and shipbuilding, meatpacking, steel and automobile industries - in fact, in all mass production and agriculture - have decreased. It is one of the signs of a deepening revolutionary crisis that in these industries that are plagued with a declining rate of unemployment Negroes have been and still are disproportionately concentrated.

Actually, the chief source of improvement in the economic status of Negroes, following the second World War, has been their exodus from the farms into mining, manufacturing, mass-production industries and construction, where they found unskilled and semi-skilled jobs as laborers and operatives. Government is the one area in which Negroes have found increasing employment and promotions.

Thus, with the rate of unemployment of Negroes ranging around two and one-half times that of white workers, the duration of unemployment is longer. In September 1961 the average duration of unemployment for Negroes was 17.8 weeks, and 13.3 weeks for white workers. The average length of unemployment in September 1962 for Negroes was 18 weeks, while that for white workers had dropped to 13 weeks. Negroes accounted for 11 percent of the labor force and 25 percent of the long-term unemployed.

Add to the unusually high rate of unemployment of Negroes, the increase of 1,350,000 workers annually in the workforce during the decade of the 1960's, thereby increasing competition for a declining number of jobs because of the high productivity of cybernation, and the black workers face a virtually unsolvable problem. These factors are largely responsible for the fact that Negroes are not moving into the growth sectors of American industries where employment is increasing.

Automation, new management techniques, changes in consumer-spending patterns are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor and increasing employment in professional, managerial, clerical and sales jobs, many of which require considerable education and training which Negroes do not possess. These white-collar occupations account for no less than 97 percent of the total increase in employment that has occurred since 1947.

Negro teenagers who drop out of high school at the bewildering rate of as high as 75 percent in most of the metropolitan centers and who, therefore, are ineligible to become apprentices to learn skilled trades requiring a high school diploma, may, at the early age of thirty years or less, never get another job. As a result, Negroes, in an affluent American society, are becoming poorer and poorer and are automatically moving into the economic boundaries of poverty.

It is a significant and disturbing fact that the Civil Rights Revolution cannot solve the problem of unemployment since it cannot make new jobs. It seeks to compel the assignment of existing jobs upon a basis of equity. In very truth, the demands of the civil rights movement cannot be fulfilled within the present context of our American society which is being rapidly shaped by the march of the revolution of cybernation.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that Negroes are trying to enter a social community and a tradition of work-and-income which are vanishing even for the hitherto privileged white workers.

"Jobs are disappearing under the impact of highly efficient, progressively less costly machines," states the Committee on The Triple Revolution, in a recent report to President Johnson on the problem of the revolution of cybernation and unemployment. Cybernation is a revolution in production. It is a product of the second scientific revolution. It is not concerned with the value judgements of the civil rights of fair employment practice.

With this revolution in production the economic plight of Negroes - an untrained segment of the workforce, and disadvantaged because of color - is worsening, while the National Gross Product reaches an all-time annual high of more than six billion with the rate of economic growth increasing and profits soaring.

This is a problem to which Negro leaders must address themselves while there is day, for the night cometh when no man can work. It is also interesting, as well as alarming, that in this period of vitality of the American economy the rate of unemployment still hovers just above 5 percent, with no immediate prospect of its falling.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

First of all, the black laboring masses must become involved and galvanized into action, in alliance with the broad organized labor movement for fair employment and full employment. Fair employment without full employment, and full employment without fair employment, is inadequate.

MASSIVE PUBLIC WORKS

Since the problem of joblessness among Negro workers cannot be solved until the problem of joblessness among white workers is solved, a nationwide drive for massive public works must be made by black and white wrkers and the Negro, Church,and Liberal Communities. Without massive public works the hard core of unemployment will increase.

Billions of dollars of federal funds should be put into public works. Fifty billion dollars are spent annually for past and present wars and new weapons. Public works are also necessary to help meet the problem of cutbacks in defense production, which will result in the abolition of various naval and military bases where thousands of Negroes are employed.

PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

While, basically, Negro workers can only move forward when the great American working class is moving forward, Negro labor needs and is entitled to special and preferential treatment, in the form of preparation in training and education to enable it effectively to move forward.

MINIMUM WAGE

And, of course, the war on poverty can be greatly advanced by the immediate enactment of a minimum wage law of a dollar fifty cents an hour in New York. This level must soon be raised to two dollars, and higher, and extended throughout the country to reach the sixteen million workers now denied a decent standard of living and social legislation protection.

NATIONAL PLANNING

Because of the bewilderingly accelerated pace of change in the tools and processes of production of goods and services through cybernation, national planning in the timing of the introduction of automated tools, capital investment, manpower development and mobility is indispensable to achieve maximum production, maximum purchasing power and full employment. But national planning is only possible with the recognition of the principle of social property and the extension of the public sector of the economy.

While there are numerous short-range, makeshift remedies, there is no basic remedy for joblessness and poverty while the modern tools of the cybernation revolution are owned by private corporate interests. The so-called private, free, competitive enterprise economy is obviously incapable of housing the new dynamic forces generated by the Revolution of Cybernation.

REMARKS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT TESTIMONIAL
DINNER GIVEN IN HIS HONOR BY JOPPA LODGE, NO. 55,
F. & A.M., AMERICANA HOTEL, NEW YORK, N. Y.
OCTOBER 9, 1964

CRISIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The Johnson-Goldwater Presidential Election is a Crisis Election.

Now, a crisis election is an election in which there is opportunity to move forward to new frontiers of freedom. There is also danger that the frontiers of freedom may be pushed back. Whether the frontiers of freedom will be moved forward or backward will depend upon the candidates for President and the forces backing them.

Who are the candidates?

President Johnson is not only a master of the science and are of legislation but he has also demonstrated in crisis decisions and crisis action, both in domestic and foreign affairs, that he is unquestionably one of the great Presidents of the United States.

He is bearing the torch of freedom, racial and social justice with dignity, firmness and compassion.

He has sought to do the right as he sees the right, and he has courageously refused to retreat when faced by the forces of evil, reaction and bigotry.

He took up the reins of leadership of Civil Rights legislation in the Congress and pushed it forward victorously after that noble and beloved warrior, the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, was struck down by an assassin's bullet.

And be it ever remembered, dear friends, that all of us were struck down on that tragic and fateful day!

And let me add that President Johnson is backed by the moral forces of the nation. He is supported by the organized labor movement, the civil rights movement, the outstanding beacon lights of American journalism, many of the major institutions of American business, major segments of the Church, American liberalism, and the enlightened South.

Now, who is Goldwater?

While I would not brand him as a Fascist or Nazi, those forces that back him are unquestionably the ultra Rights of the nation. In Germany they would be listed as Nazi; and in Italy as Fascists.

Who are these forces? They are the John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens Councils, and the worst elements of bigotry, anti-semitism and racism in the country.

This is the same John Birch Society which calls for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, who handed down the great decision on public school desegregation and integration. These Birchites are anti-labor, and so is Senator Goldwater.

The Senator stands for right-to-work laws. He is against the minimum wage and the liberalization of Social Security. He would emasculate the TVA.

He would not only set back the clock of racial and social justice, he would stop it!

Moreover, the Senator appeals to the prejudices of the so-called "white backlash" and seeks to discredit the

Civil Rights Revolution by attempting to identify and link it with lawlessness in the streets.

While I am unqualifiedly opposed to vandalism, hoodlumism and looting, as are all responsible Negroes, it is a definite distortion of the civil rights movement to charge it with violence in the streets, as though the recent street riots are the only disorders in the streets which have occurred in American history. What about the Boston Tea Party of the American Revolution, and labor's revolution and the revolution for women's suffrage?

Thus, Senator Goldwater must not only be defeated overwhelmingly but Goldwaterism must be buried in the graveyard of political oblivion from which it must never emerge for it is a danger to freedom, democracy and world peace.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT POLITICAL RALLY FOR THE ELECTION
OF PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
SPONSORED BY THE LIBERAL PARTY OF N.Y.STATE
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY
OCTOBER 15, 1964

CRISIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The Johnson-Goldwater Presidential election is a crisis election. Now, a crisis election is an election in which there is opportunity to move forward to new frontiers of freedom. There is also danger that the frontiers of freedom may be pushed back. Whether the frontiers of freedom will be moved forward or backward will depend upon the character of the candidates for President and the forces backing them.

Who are the candidates?

President Johnson is not only a master of the science and art of legislation but he has also demonstrated in crisis decisions and crisis action, both in domestic and foreign affairs, that he is unquestionably a competent and responsible President.

President Johnson has the advantage of not having to prove, like Senator Goldwater, that he can become a responsible and able President of the country. He has amply demonstrated himself to be a great President.

He is well on his way, like other great American Presidents, to creating the Johnson Era, the Johnson Legend, the Johnson Tradition, with a wealth of illumination and inspiration, opportunity and greatness for this and future generations of Americans, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant.

He is bearing the torch of freedom, world peace, national prosperity and plenty, and racial and social justice with dignity, firmness and compassion.

He has sought to do the right as he sees the right, and he has courageously refused to retreat when faced by the forces of evil, reaction and bigotry.

He unhesitatingly took up the reins of leadership of civil rights legislation in the Congress, and uncompromisingly, consistently and aggressively pushed it forward victoriously after that noble and beloved warrior, the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, was struck down by an assassin's bullet. And be it ever remembered, dear friends, that all of us were struck down on that tragic and fateful day!

And let me add that because of President Johnson's progressive social, economic, political policies he is backed by the moral forces of the nation. He is supported by the organized labor movement, the civil rights movement, the outstanding beacon lights of American journalism, many of the major institutions of American business, major segments of the Church, American liberalism, the enlightened South, and millions of the plain people who believe in their hearts that President Johnson will keep America strong, free and great.

Now, who is Goldwater?

While I would not brand him as a Fascist or Nazi, those forces that back him are unquestionably of the ultra-rightist stripe. In Germany they would be listed as Nazis, who put six million Jews to death; in Italy, as Fascists, who destroyed democracy and banished freedom from the land.

Who are these forces?

They are the John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens Councils, and the worst elements of bigotry, anti-Semitism and racism in the country.

The John Birch Society, and more than a score of other hate groups, are now spending some $20 million a year to rewrite and distort American history with the poison pen of prejudice.

This group has launched violent attacks in a nation-wide, relentless campaign to undo and nullify almost every important progressive action taken by the Congress in the last fifty years, including the federal income tax, the eight-hour day, Social Security, support of the United Nations, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, free democratic trade unionism, and even the United States Supreme Court. It has virtually transformed the Republican Party into a lily-white organization.

This is the same John Birch Society which calls for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, who handed down the great decision on public school desegregation and integration. They have brazenly accused three Presidents of the United States - Eisenhower, Truman and Roosevelt - of being traitors who have sold out this country during the past thirty years.

Senator Goldwater stands for the infamous "right-to-work" laws. He is against increasing the minimum wage, and maintenance of TVA - a landmark of liberal government.

He would not only set back the clock of racial and social justice, he would stop it!

Moreover, the Senator appeals to the prejudices of the so-called "white backlash" and seeks to discredit the Civil Rights Revolution by attempting to identify and link it with lawlessness in the streets.

But, white backlash or no white backlash, Negroes will never stop fighting for their rights until they are fully free!

While I am unqualifiedly opposed to vandalism, hoodlumism and looting, as are all responsible Negroes, it is a definite distortion of the civil rights movement to charge it with violence in the streets, as though the recent street riots are the only disorders in the streets which have occurred in American history. What about the lawlessness of the Boston Tea Party of the American Revolution, and the violence in the streets of Labor's revolution, and the revolution of the farmers against the big banks and railroads in the 1890's, and the revolution for women's rights?

Senator Goldwater pontifically stated at Salt Lake City that " the American fibre is beset with rot and decay." But how can a candidate for the highest office in the land strengthen our American moral fibre when he sets an example of voting against the bill for civil rights, the great moral issue of the twentieth century, stemming, as it were, from the Judeo-Christian traditions of respect for the dignity of the personality of every human being, which involves freedom from bias of race or color that demeans the human spirit.

Moreover, his constant preachments about the sins of his opponents, with the posture of a political Jeremiah, smacks of a bit of sanctimonious hypocrisy when he shows no compassion for the poor with his vote against President Johnson's bill calling for a war on poverty.

While Senator Goldwater, in order to secure petty partisan political advantage, panders to the racial hatred of the so-called white backlash by misrepresentation of this summer's riots, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F.B.I., properly stated in a report on the riots: "These areas are characterized by miserable living conditions, houses that are badly maintained, many of them rat-infested and filthy. Drunkenness, narcotics peddling, prostitution, idleness, frustration, poverty and lack of opportunity are part of the atmosphere many people in these districts breathe."

How can Senator Goldwater denounce civil rights protests and disorders in the streets, and remain as silent as the tomb while the Ku Klux Klan hoodlums and the notorious White Citizens Council carry on a reign of terror against Negroes in McComb, Jackson, Meridian, and other cities in Mississippi; burning down churches, bombing homes with women and little children, and murdering young Negro and white freedom fighters such as Andrew Goodman, James Chaney and Michael Schwerner. They bully, beat, intimidate and run civil rights leaders out of town. Ladies and gentlemen, these outrageous, lawless and inhuman attacks upon the person and property of law-abiding, defenseless Negroes in this benighted State is a national disgrace, a travesty upon justice, a mockery of democracy, a rape upon decency, and an affront to the conscience and common sense of the country. And it must be stopped, and stopped now!

The failure of Senator Goldwater to speak out against this vicious exhibition of racial Hitlerism in this police state of Mississippi is an indication of his lack of moral courage and a vital sense of humanity, without which he is unfit to sit in the White House as the President of the nation.

And be assured that two million Negroes registered in the South, and four and a half million Negroes registered in the North, East and West, will march to the polls on November 3 to keep him out of the White House.

Goldwater must not only be defeated overwhelmingly, and President Johnson elected by the greatest landslide in American political history, but Godlwaterism must be buried in the graveyard of political oblivion from which it must never emerge, for it is a danger and menace to freedom, democracy and world peace.

May God grant President Johnson the strength, the courage, and the faith, vision, convictions and wisdom to lead this nation, in these troubled and dangerous times, forward to achieve the great goals of free men in a free world for the Great Society - and may he never falter!

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT THE
10TH LABOR CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS OF
THE JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE OF CHICAGO,
THE SHERMAN HOUSE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
NOVEMBER 14, 1964

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

Now that the Presidential election is over and Senator Goldwater repudiated by an overwhelming tidal wave of votes for President Johnson, which he richly deserved, the country may sit back and draw a sigh of relief from the threat of an apparently gathering impending political disaster of Goldwaterism.

But while the people may have assurance that the American ship of state, with President Lyndon Baines Johnson as the pilot, will be guided with good judgment and skill through rough and uncertain seas, domestic and international, we must not become too complacent when 26 million Americans, backed by the John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan, and the worst elements of bigotry and prejudice, marched to the polls to cast their votes for Goldwater, who boldly and boastfully voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964; derided and denounced the United States Supreme Court which handed down the famous decision on the desegregation and integration of public schools, and sought to discredit the civil rights movement by linking it with lawlessness in the streets.

It is well that we realize that the roots of the noxious weed of Goldwaterism, the American edition of Nazism, which killed six million Jews, and Fascism, which overthrew the Italian Republic and banished freedom from the land, lie deep in the consciousness of millions of Americans, some of whom preach the vilest doctrines of racial hatred and religious bigotry.

NEGROES VOTED OVERWHELMINGLY FOR JOHNSON

Realizing the big stake in stopping Goldwater at the polls, some seven million Negroes, more or less, registered throughout the country, two million of whom were in the South.

The figures for the Negro vote in Northern and Border states, according to the New York Times, November 4, was astonishing. Percentages in solidly Negro precincts were 94 percent Democratic in New York City; 94 percent in Maryland; 96 percent in Pennsylvania, and an almost unbelievable 99 percent in Ohio.

In the South the Negro vote was just outside the heart of the Old Confederacy. Negro votes were crucial in swinging Virginia, Tennessee and Florida back to the Democrats after about three Republican years. Negroes in Florida had registered to the high level of 299,964.

In Virginia some Negro precincts which were 57 percent for President Kennedy shot up to a 93 percent figure for Johnson. In the Negro precincts in the largest cities the Democratic vote rose from 82 percent to 90 percent.

In South Carolina the Negro vote for the Democrats rose from 76 to 87 percent in four characteristic precincts. But it was washed under by a drop in the white vote from 49 to 39 percent, because of the President's stand on civil rights.

It might not be amiss to point out that in those southern states captured by Senator Goldwater Negroes are largely disenfranchised or prevented from voting by all sorts of discriminatory registration devices.

WHAT ABOUT THE WHITE BACKLASH?

What is the white backlash? The answer is - it is simply the manifestation of racial prejudice. It is not new. It obtained in the Western areas of the country where numerous Southerners from the slave states settled, and to which a steady stream of immigrants to the United States sought free or cheap land before the Civil War.

These poor whites from the South and the Old World objected to Free Negroes coming into the western section of the country because of the fear of competition for jobs.

The white backlash today is an expression of resentment by largely immigrant settlers from Southeastern Europe against civil rights, on the grounds the proposals relating to fair employment practice constitute a threat of displacement from their jobs by Negroes.

Fair employment practice legislation is designed to prevent the practice of discrimination, upon a basis of race, color, religion or national origin, in hiring or upgrading employes. This relates to jobs that are available; not to jobs already filled.

There are some twenty or more states in the country that have had fair employment practice legislation for years, and there is no instance of any complaint, so far as I know, on the part of white workers against the legislation on the grounds that it was used to displace white workers on jobs with Negroes.

Instead of white workers opposing civil rights legislation and, happily, but a very few do, they should support fair employment practice legislation to help Negroes get jobs since an employed worker has nothing to fear from another employed worker, but the threat to his job security comes from the unemployed worker, black or white.

Be it said to the great credit of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations that the campaign of education it conducted among the Polish and other East European ethnic groups in Baltimore, the Gary, Indiana steel area, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin was effective. The AFL-CIO informed and enlightened these workers to the realization that they had more to fear from Goldwater's anti-labor record and the reactionary Birchites and Klansmen backing him than from the Civil Rights Act, since the job of no immigrant,or native worker, for that matter, is secure as long as black workers are jobless, and that the only sound remedy for unemployment of white and black workers is full employment for white and black workers.

But white immigrant and native workers must understand that white backlash or no white backlash, Negroes will continue to march and to demonstrate, but peacefully, and fight for their civil rights until they are fully free. Nor will history permit Negroes to move slowly on the civil rights front for they are still fighting for simple first-class citizenship status they should have secured a hundred years ago.

Moreover, there is the revolution of automation which confronts Negroes in which they will not be able to function except as the equals of all other workers in the automated workshops - an equality which is yet to be achieved by the completion of the Civil Rights Revolution.

FREE BLACK WORKERS

Moreover, only free workers are free to bid for jobs effectively in a free competitive labor market. But no worker who is hedged in and handicapped by racial bias is free, therefore, the very survival of the Negro worker requires the condition of freedom to enter an open trade union for membership and an open industry for jobs. But for practically a hundred years neither industry or the union has been open to the black worker freely to enter.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BACKS CIVIL RIGHTS

Now, an examination of American history will reveal that every single segment of the American population, such as business, trade unions, farmers, the Church, schools, women, and numberless sub or auxiliary groups, have had to secure support of the Federal Government in order effectively to fight to achieve its goals.

Where would the railroads, that gave economic unity to the widely separate geographical areas of the country, be today if the Federal Government had not extended liberal grants of millions of acres of land and hundreds of millions in money in the latter part of the nineteenth century?

Banks, and the great industrial corporations have profited by federal subsidies, credit policies and depreciation tax allowances that increased the cash flow that gave financial stability and strength to the corporate system.

While the South and the Goldwaterites yell about the sanctity of states' rights, where would the states be today if the Federal Government had not provided the funds and engineering know-how for the development of the natural resources of the southern states, the population of which represented 20 percent of the total population in 1960, and their share of personal income 15 percent?

What would be the state of the nuclear capability of the country were it not for the initiative and financial support of its development by federal power?

And what about the vast network of airplane transportation systems that have been subsidized by federal funds?

NEGROES HAVE EARNED SUPPORT OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Well, Negroes, who have given of their life and blood to help build federal power, by fighting in the Continental Army for American independence; the Union Army to help save the Union and abolish slavery , and every subsequent war in which America has fought, now present themselves to Uncle Sam and call for support of their cause of full first-class citizenship, equality, racial and social justice, by power of the Federal Government, as their right as American citizens.

SUPPORT OF COALITION CONSCIENCE

But even though President Johnson, like former President Kennedy, is definitely for civil rights, he must be given a reason to move to place the full power of the Federal Government back of the implementation of the Civil Rights Act.

It must be remembered that there are only two instances when the power of the Federal Government has been placed behind the cause of Negro freedom.

The first was when Abraham Lincoln, as President, put the Federal Government back of the Civil War to save the Union, which was inevitably tied up with the abolition of slavery. The second time was when President John Fitzgerald Kennedy put the power of the Federal Government back of civil rights legislation, which was continued by Lyndon Baines Johnson, now President.

The reason for this new pattern of action of the Federal Government on racial bias was the explosive emergence of the Civil Rights Revolution upon the stage of American history.

The fires of the Civil Rights Revolution blazed and raged in the jim-crow bus boycott in Montgomery and the historic demonstrations in Birmingham and other cities of the South, under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King.

Of course the fuse had been applied to the magazine of the black freedom revolution when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People struck a monumental blow at jim crow in the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court for the desegregation and integration of public schools.

Then came the sensational sit-ins in various cities in the South by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the celebrated Freedom Rides by the Congress of Racial Equality, followed by the historic March on Washington, August 28, 1963. Meanwhile, black labor had sounded the war cry against race bias in the house of Labor and declared that jim crow must go, with the organization of the Negro American Labor Council.

NEED FOR WHITE ALLIES

Now, the Civil Rights Revolution needs allies, white allies, to fulfill its historic mission, but with the leadership remaining in the hands of black America.

Who are these allies?

The allies must include organized labor, the Church - Jewish, Catholic and Protestant - representing the moral forces of the country, together with the organized Negro, Jewish, Catholic and Protestant women's groups, and liberal and educational associations.

These groups would constitute a Coalition of Conscience, the purpose of which would be to develop a blueprint of needs and bring their total social, economic, spiritual, educational and moral force upon the President and the Congress to seek favorable action on:

(a) Appropriation of billions of dollars, according to the budget of unmet needs, to develop massive public works for jobs at decent wages for every worker, black and white, who is jobless and, if untrained, to train him, at living unemployment insurance which will increase purchasing power and, in turn, create more jobs.

(b) Appropriations of billions of dollars to build low-cost and middle-income houses without the blight and stigma of jim crow.

(c) Appropriations of billions to meet the unmet needs in building adequate public schools with an adequate supply of teachers to provide and maintain quality education in schools without the blight and stigma of segregation which cannot equip Negro youth in America (with a background covering a span of over a quarter of a thousand years, when the concept of the hereditary racial inferiority of the Negro prevailed in our color caste culture) to live in a democratic society.

A committee representing the Coalition of Conscience should seek a conference with President Johnson following inauguration to not only present to him a draft of the program for the Federal Government to back, but to request opportunity to discuss its significance from the point of view of its moral righteousness and our national interests.

Finally, we know that the building of a nation-wide Coalition of Conscience cannot be done overnight, but since it is apparent that the Negro cannot complete the Civil Rights Revolution alone, the time to begin is now!

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NEGRO
AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL, CLEVELAND, OHIO,
MAY 29, 1964

CROSSROADS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

Negroes and America are in the midst of a major, full-dress revolution. It is a Civil Rights Revolution. Its basic goal is to effect a transition from second-class citizenship to first-class citizenship.

Negroes are second-class citizens because while the Civil War Revolution emancipated them from the chains of chattel slavery it never transformed them into free workers in the labor market or free citizens in public life.

Thus, because of a quarter of a thousand years of oppression under the labor system of slavery and a hundred years of exploitation of semi-feudal serfdom under segregation, Negroes are in the grip of economic, social, cultural and political deprivation. They are at the bottom of the socio-economic-political totem pole. They are the underclass of American society, the lumpen proletariat.

MISSION OF THE REVOLUTION

Verily, the Civil Rights Revolution is a major and monumental bid to break through and break down the barriers of bias of race and cast them, together with the remnants, vestiges, fictions and myths of the concept of the hereditary racial inferiority of the Negro, powerful propaganda weapon of racism, into the ashcan of history.

Negroes have moved into confrontation with the power structure of the nation - federal, state and municipal. They demand a fundamental and drastic change in the social structure to bring about rapid and total integration. They no longer beg or appeal. They insist upon their full citizenship rights. Away with tokenism and gradualism! It has been well stated by Pauli Murray, in a paper on desegregation presented at Radcliffe Alumnae College of Harvard University, that: "One hundred years of fractional citizenship is enough! We want full citizenship now!

NEGROES TO THE STREETS

This is the impatient, if not angry, mood which pervades the entire Negro community, including the broad masses of the black poor and the black bourgeoisie.

Negroes have come to understand that the time has come when they must either stand together or hang separately. Reading the lessons of history, Negroes realize that only and awakened and aroused oppressed can disturb the conscience of their oppressors, and that only by constantly disturbing their oppressors will their oppressors move to abolish oppression.

This is why the genius of the Civil Rights Revolution has sent hundreds and thousands of Negroes into the streets to stage demonstrations in the form of marches, boycotts, sit-ins, sit-downs, lie-downs, freedom riders and the acceptance of jail instead of bail.

This is also the reason for resort to civil disobedience when the objective conditions demand this course of action. It is the categorical moral imperative of the Civil Rights Revolution.

It is an indispensable tactic to test the constitutionality of the laws against trespass of southern cities that are solely designed to deny Negroes public accommodations.

But, of course, civil disobedience should only be employed when there is no effective alternative to grapple with extreme oppression, and whoever engages in this tactic must be prepared, in obedience to one's conscience and belief in a higher moral commandment, to absorb any violent brutality, go to prison, or give up life itself.

SLAVE UPRISINGS

Be it remembered that some twenty-five illegal slave uprisings, the leaders of which were invariably put to death, and from forty to one hundred thousand fugitive runaway slaves struck terror into the hearts of the slave masters and shook the powerful, evil citadel of slavery. These events played a major role in bringing on the Irrepressible Conflict, resulting in the abolition of slavery.

Moreover, the Civil War itself was an event of civil disobedience. The Union Army violated the principle and laws of private property when it freed four million slaves with a book value of four billion dollars. Thus, Abraham Lincoln, in his issuance of the Proclamation of Emancipation in 1863, was commiting an act of civil disobedience.

It is also important to note that when the Founding Fathers staged the Boston Tea Party in 1773 and the leaders of the American colonies seized the tea of British merchants and threw it into Boston Harbor, they violated British law, a form of civil disobedience.

As a matter of fact, when the Founding Fathers called the Continental Congresses in 1774 and 1775 and carried on the American Revolution and issued the Declaration of Independence in 1776, they were engaged in the development of movements of obvious civil disobedience.

WHAT OF THE CHRISTIAN REVOLUTION?

When Jesus was led away to Caiaphas, the high priest, where scribes and elders and all the Council were assembled, the high priest said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the son of the living God.

Jesus saith unto him, thou hast said.

Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying he hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses? Behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy.

This admission by Jesus, which he did not have to make, was a violation of Roman law and its pagan religion of Polytheism. It was civil disobedience. It meant death, and he was crucified. It was the triumph of the spirit over the power of the Caesars.

BUT MORE ABOUT DEMONSTRATIONS

Nothing has aroused as much controversy around the Civil Rights Revolution as demonstrations.

Fearing bloody race riots and violence, real friends of Negro civil rights seriously urge that the Civil Rights Revolution be taken out of the streets back into the courts.

While civil rights organizations are committed to nonviolent direct action, no leader, in the nature of things, can guarantee that no violence will ever occur during demonstrations, or when no demonstrations are being staged.

On the whole, the participants in demonstrations have maintained a pattern of behavior which has been peaceful, disciplined and dignified. This was incredibly true of the great interracial March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 28, 1963. Wherever violence has attended civil rights demonstrations such as the great demonstration in Birmingham, the police and white racists have deliberately promoted it with dogs, fire hoses, electric cattle prods and gunfire.

But what about the cowardly assassination of Medger Evers, official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi. And the notorious hate bomb deaths of the little Negro girls in church one Sunday morning in Alabama, the state of Governor George C. Wallace, peripatetic peddler of poisonous racial prejudice.

But because there may be violence in some demonstrations Negroes cannot and will not abandon their constitutional right of peaceable assembly, petition and free speech.

There is no doubt about the fact that a protest movement of the dimensions, depth and determination of the Civil Rights Revolution is certain to provoke opposition and be attended by disorders, serious disorders, during the long, hot summer. But disorder is less to be dreaded that suppression of the right to protest in various forms. In our constitutional system this right is one of fundamental importance. It is also a basic means of resolving deep-seated problems, the loss of which threatens dangers of a much higher order.

Think of what might have happened if the Founding Fathers had given up their right of petition and peaceable assembly to win independence because of the fear of violence and bloodshed? The United States would not exist but there would still be British imperial colonies in this land.

In very truth, the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights, 1791, and the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 to the Constitution do not only restrain violent prejudiced citizens but the government itself from interference with peaceful assemblies; but it must restrain the restrainers as well.

Every white American, friend and foe of civil rights, alike, must recognize that he or she is a member of the majority that has dominated the American society and its law-making machinery for centuries and cannot escape moral responsibility for the years of callous indifference to the demands of the Negro citizens. This apathy and unconcern have created the anger, resentment and frustrations that now find vigorous expression in the current demonstrations.

After decades of denial of basic citizenship rights, is it any wonder that demonstrations show such deep emotion, or that some actions have been taken which inconvenience the public or even interfere with the rights of other citizens? While we do contend that every civil rights demonstration has confined itself to constitutionally-protected protests, we would remind every American who feels adversely affected by this activity that he and she is involved in the current interracial crisis; he and she must face the issue of the deprivation of Negro rights - rights having dignity, personal dignity, in the Judeo-Christian traditions, equal to any white American.

In the final analysis it is redress of the grievances and deep, cruel wrongs that measure the living value of the right to protest. In employing this time-honored American right, the Negroes passionately engaged in this Civil Rights Revolution have created an awareness of the extent of deprivation and the justice of the cause of civil rights that never before existed among Americans. Yet, ignorance of the problems of race bias persists, sometimes from almost conscious self-deception, more often from an unreal sense of distance, lack of contact and communication and non-involvement in this challenging domestic issue which affects the image of the United States throughout the world. Truly, no American is free from involvement.

The blot of inequality, of persisting vestiges of that slavery the Civil War and Thirteenth Amendment undertook to abolish, is a curse upon the head of every American and threatens the security with which we all, black and white, enjoy the fundamental rights of an American. Until this lesson is sharply and thoroughly brought home, until the grievances to which it relates are, in fact, completely redressed, America may expect an increasingly persistent employment of the right of protest.

LABOR VIOLATED LAW IN STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS

It is a matter of common historical knowledge that the holding of meetings by workers to form trade unions to fight for higher wages and shorter hours of work, when our Republic was young, violated the law of conspiracy. The workers did not shrink from the task of building unions even though it involved the violation of the unjust law of conspiracy.

THE WHITE BACKLASH

Because of the development of the so-called "white backlash" some of our fair-weather friends evaluate and construe this development as an adverse reaction to demonstrations in the streets for civil rights and counsel slowing down on mass protests. The unusually significant votes Governor George C. Wallace received in Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland have been magnified to frighten civil rights friends and encourage its enemies.

But this white backlash is not a strange socio-racial phenomenon. Even though this manifestation of racism may increase, it does not warrant or justify abandoning the exercise of the right of protest in the form of demonstrations but, on the contrary, it indicates the need to step up demonstrations, the purpose of which is to attract attention and stimulate the interest of public opinion in the issues of civil rights, which is the recognized and accepted procedure in a democratic society to achieve freedom.

PROTESTS AGAINST AND FOR SLAVERY

If we take a look at the history of slavery in the United States, prior to its abolition in 1865 by the Thirteenth Amendment, you will find that it was the object of vigorous public attack and support in the North, as in the South. In fact, practically any issue, racial or nonracial, propounded in a democratic pluralistic society usually provokes opposition. This develops public debate which is healthy and tends to make for clarification.

William Lloyd Garrison, a leading abolitionist, was a pacifist; the agitation he led and countenances did not, like the present civil rights struggle, include physical violence or go beyond the bounds of colorful speech and symbolic burnings of the Federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and of court decisions enforcing it.

Determined efforts to stop his nonviolent agitation for abolition involved disorderly public demonstrations and unlawful threats in several northern cities. For example, on his return in 1835 from London, where he spoke against slavery, Garrison was criticized in the New York newspapers and met at the pier by a throng of 5,000 persons opposing abolition. His appearance in Boston was met with placards urging that he be tarred and feathered. Prominent people, including members of the clergy, joined in denouncing the abolitionists, and Boston's Fanueil Hall, that historic cradle of liberty, was packed with a crowd of the "best people" to listen to speeches denouncing the abolitionists, and in support of states' rights and slavery. A month later a mob gathered in front of the Boston office of Garrison's newspaper, The Liberator, and dragged him through the streets at the end of a rope. In 1838, a mob opposing abolitionists rioted for several days in Philadelphia and in the process burned down the newly built Pennsylvania Hall.

For years, abolitionists could not meet in New York City without encountering organized disturbances. And even during the Civil War, the New York City Draft Riots of 1863, which in large part reflected anti-Negro sentiment, resulted in thousands of deaths and several lynchings of Negroes. Southern states, such as South Carolina, of course handled abolition agitation very simply by threatening to hang any abolitionist who might fall into their zealous hands.

Even though Garrison refused to support or condone them, violent demonstrations also supported the cause of abolition. The enforcement of the Federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, requiring the return of escaped slaves, met with violent resistance. In 1854 the capture and return of Anthony Burns was met with riot in Boston, as well as by Thoreau's famous denunciation, "Slavery in Massachusetts."

The Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision of 1857, holding that an escaped slave remained the property of his master, aroused indignation and protest throughout the entire North. The raids, violence and killings in the struggle to determine whether Kansas would be a free or slave state culminated in John Brown's raid on the Federal Arsenal at Harper's Ferry seeking to arm volunteers, white and Negro, to invade the South and free the slaves. Although Brown was promptly captured and hanged, his truth that slavery is an abomination did indeed go marching on and all of the violence on both sides merged into the Civil War.

(1)After the ultimate violence of that fratricidal war, in which more Americans were killed than in any other war in which the United States participated, the struggle to secure the freedom and equal rights of Negroes "guaranteed" by the Thirteenth 1865, the Fourteenth 1868, and the Fifteenth 1870 Amentments, continued. The strongest measures were taken by the Federal Government, including the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875, and the series of Reconstruction statutes imposing military rule on the defeated South until 1877 when President Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, elected over Samuel J. Tilden, Democrat, in 1876,

(1) How Americans Protest - American Civil Liberties Union

withdrew federal troops, sole protection of the Freedmen, from the South.

During this period, as at present, Negroes demonstrated to obtain in fact the equal treatment under the laws which the Civil Rights Acts undertook to grant them. As now, their peaceful protest actions were met with counterattacks and physical violence. For example, in May,1871, in Louisville, Kentucky, Negroes who insisted on riding in streetcar seats reserved for whites were dragged off the cars by fellow riders and bystanders and beaten. When the United States Attorney General promised federal court action to support the rights of the Negro riders, the streetcar company capitulated and allowed passengers to sit where they pleased. The Kentucky press approved this desegregation of the streetcars as a model of good race relations and the community accepted the new state of affairs.

The Supreme Court's 1883 decision in the civil rights cases, holding invalid the Act of 1875 which prohibited discrimination in public accommodations, brought to a halt that era of demonstrations to support the rights of Negroes. The 1954 decision in the school segregation cases was the forerunner of the protests currently developing.

Wholly apart from the many forms of pro and anti slavery agitation, our history has recorded many vigorous public protests, either against action taken by state or federal authorities or urging action to be taken.

Even under Articles of Confederation it was necessary for state authority to cope with such uprisings as Shay's Rebellion.

In 1794 the militia of the infant federal government was called to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania against the federal excise tax on liquor. Public agitation against the Senate's ratification of the Jay Treaty, terminating the War of the Revolution with Great Britain, was so violent and extensive that John Jay, who negotiated the treaty for the United States, was burned in effigy in 1795 at the culmination of public meetings of protest in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Savannah, and other cities.

Convictions under the infamous Sedition Act of 1798 were protested by large assemblies before the jails demanding the release of prisoners. In later demonstrations, the Suffragettes helped secure voting rights for women; supporters of the Anti-Saloon League contributed to the enactment of prohibition; a Bonus Army of thousands of jobless veterans marched on Washington in 1932; farmers in the Middle West protested against foreclosure of farm mortgages during the Great Depression of the 1930's; and extensive agitation and picketing accompanied the attainment by labor of the right to organize.

All of these uses of the right of assembly and petition give solid precedent for the current demonstrations against unequal treatment of black Americans.

BOUNDS OF DEMONSTRATIONS

The Supreme Court has made it clear that the right of assembly is a relative right, not an absolute right, subject to regulation to protect the rights of others. But it may be regulated only to protect substantial rights, not merely to avoid inconvenience or even public unrest or violent opposition by some elements, such as White Citizens Councils that oppose civil rights.

Now, there is no doubt some demonstrations have not only exceeded the proper limits of the constitutionally-protected right of protest but the bounds of common sense.

One threatened demonstration of stall-ins to block traffic on the highways to the opening of the World's Fair, while admittedly was as senseless as it was dangerous to innocent, helpless citizens, was merely an effect of a cause; namely, race bias in its varied and variegated forms.

Civil rights groups don't have the moral right to dream up fantastic gimmicks to arouse public attention that may cause injury and possible death to citizens,even to advance the cause of civil rights. Moreover, it is important to note that different forms of demonstrations, such as sit-ins, lie-downs, boycotts and civil disobedience, are tactics, not principles. They are neither sacred or eternal.

Like all tactics, strategies, methodologies and procedures that are employed to advance the recognition and acceptance of certain basic moral principles, they should be subjected to frequent analysis, review and evaluation. They should be modified, or even eliminated, in response to changing situations. Civil disobedience should only be resorted to when objective conditions indicate no alternative tactical maneuver successfully to deal with intolerable oppression.

For instance, because a school boycott may be a sound and constructive course of action today is no evidence that another school boycott should be staged tomorrow or within several months;

nor is it necessarily logical to assume that another school boycott is not warranted by the context of the social situation. In other words, a tactic should be projected only with respect to time, locale and the objective socio-racial problems since it is quite possible, in accordance with the law of diminishing returns, that a course of action instead of constituting a social-ethnic utility may become a disutility or setback, or defeat.

Therefore, in order that demonstrations may be effective there should be continuous consultation. While no civil rights organization may necessarily consider itself bound by any common form of demonstration at any specific time, periodic consultations among all of the civil rights organizations, for the discussion of proposed demonstrations and the timing of different types of tactics, would make for more unity and effectiveness of civil rights action.

TIME OF CONSULTATION

Since demonstrations are to the Civil Rights Revolution what strikes were and still are to Labor's Revolution, the time is rapidly approaching when a major phase of the Civil Rights Revolution will be transferred to the conference table for discussion while keeping the tactic of demonstrations ever ready, the powder dry. Demonstrations attract public attention to the problem of civil rights but the problems cannot be solved in the streets.

While Labor has made great progress in realizing the goals of its revolution, which began in the middle of the nineteenth century, it has never abandoned the right to strike to win new rights and maintain old ones.

POLICE ATTACKS UPON THE REVOLUTION

Now, one of the problems Negroes encounter in exercising the right of peaceable assembly is police brutality. While it is obviously difficult, if not impossible, for a city to maintain law and order without the police, it is also impossible for a city to maintain law and order with the police if they abuse the citizenry or any part of it with brutality. Civil rights demonstrations are plagued with this condition, North and South, but most outrageously in the South.

Why is this? It is unsound to assume that police brutality is due to the fact that the police hate Negroes or are opposed to civil rights. The police do not particularly hate Negroes. Nor are they for or against civil rights. This is the only logical conclusion one can reach in the light of the fact that the behavior of Negro and white police is the same. Moreover, black and white police don't know what this crusade for civil rights is all about. Besides they have no respect for Negroes, not because of race but because of class. They have no respect for the poor, black or white.

The original historical as well as present role of the police, who are recruited from the poor, was and is to protect the rich from the poor; the propertied from the propertyless, the bosses from the workers, the haves from the have-nots. In the South, the police come out of the class of poor whites, the same class from which the slave masters secure the overseers of the slaves on the cotton plantations.

It is pertinent to understand that the brutality perpetrated by the police upon Negroes involved in the upheavals, convulsions and commotion in the streets incident to the Civil Rights Revolution, has been and still is the lot of organized labor when on strike, whether white or black, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, men or women. The path of the workers, in their long night of struggle to win recognition of their unions as the bona fide collective bargaining agents in the negotiation of wages, hours of work and rules governing working conditions, is wet with blood and tears.

What can be done?

One important and basic remedy is to enable an individual citizen to institute legal action, as a part of his constitutional right, against the police responsible for the brutality and the city which is responsible for the police. In addition to this, the police need to be educated to understand the historical origin and purpose of civil rights demonstrations. To this end, race relations or minority group consultants should be appointed to status positions in every police department. The purpose and role of the consultants should be to systematically analyze, interpret and evaluate racial or minority group phenomena. Regular classes in the history, sociology, psychology, politics and economics of the plight, struggles and progress of Negroes as well as Labor should be held, which the police should be required to attend.

Although the appointment of Negroes to the police force where none exist, and additional Negro policemen to the force that have them, is no cure for police brutality it will serve to correct the glaring racial imbalance of the force and tend to create a more healthy racial climate which may help the forces of law and order. Let me add that the remedy does not lie in warfare against the police force since all members of the force are not guilty of police brutality.

Moreover, it must be realized that the objective of a just and progressive society is not the attainment merely of law and order, without which, of course, there can only exist social chaos and confusion, if not anarchy, the goal is not law and order but freedom, racial and social justice.

BLACK RACISM

Out of the blazing fires of racial conflict, during and following the Reconstruction Democracy, which gave rise to the Ku Klux Klan, lynching, mob law and all forms of racial segregation and discrimination, legal and de facto, culminating in the White Citizens Councils, has emerged Black Racism, a defense and escape mechanism against the violence and humiliation of white racism.

Both of these racial phenomena are unsound, indefensible and a danger to our American democratic society. Both are based upon racial fallacies, fictions and myths. The dogma of black supremacy is as silly, specious and infantile as white supremacy.

To be caught in the web of hatemongering and contend that all white are bad because they are white is just as vicious, provocative and pernicious as the reverse; namely, that all Negroes are bad because they are black. Thus, leaders that are perepatetic peddlers of prejudice, whether because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, render the country and themselves a catastrophic disservice. Besides, any group of people who persistently preach the gospel of hate against any people is sowing the wind which can only wind up in their reaping the whirlwind. It is a matter of psychological fact that hate begets hate, and hate makes for frustration which may express itself in intermittent eruptions of racial violence.

Thus, hatemongering movements, whether against white people or black people, Jews or Gentiles, Protestants or Catholics, native or foreign, are not only evil and morally wrong but are invariably and inevitably self-defeating and self-destructive. They must be exposed and opposed.

ALLIES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

Therefore, instead of alienating our white brothers and sisters by a campaign of human hate, Negroes have a stake in building an alliance of civil rights organizations - labor, liberal and church forces.

The idea of building a coalition of conscience and action, as underpinning of the Civil Rights Revolution, is based upon the assumption, and a valid one at that, that the Negro cannot win the war for civil rights alone.

It is a matter of simple arithmetic that the Negro, who represents one-tenth of the population, cannot win a fight against nine-tenths of the population for civil rights, if the nine-tenths, or a simple majority, oppose them. But the Gallup polls show that the majority of the American people favor civil rights for Negroes. However, this majority is yet to be galvanized into a conscious,

COMMUNISTS AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Are there Communists in the civil rights movement? J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, says Communists are in the movement. It would be passing strange were there no Communists in civil rights organizations. How are you going to keep them out? Identification is hardly possible except through Communists themselves or by the F. B. I.

But while there may be a few Communists in the civil rights movement, there is definitely no massive infiltration of Communists in the civil rights organizations, nor do any Communists exercise any influence upon policy or hold any responsible position in the movement. Whenever Communists are discovered, the civil rights leaders, who are anti-Communist, see to it they are thrown out. But though Communists may be few in numbers, it only takes a few to rule or ruin a movement, and hence they deserve to be watched, without instituting a witch hunt.

active force which will move to help translate a fleeting feeling of racial justice into reality.

This is why the development of a coalition of conscience and action, appropriately raised and called for by Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers and vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, has basic meaning and value not only to civil rights but also to a massive war on poverty.

Since Negroes constitute one of the minorities of the opoulation, with two strikes against them on account of color, sound strategy dictates the identification of the cause of civil rights with the cause of other groups in the population with comparable and similar problems.

For instance, it is estimated that there are from 40 to 50 million Americans in the country whose annual income is $4,000 or less, and therefore fall within the boundaries of poverty. According to Vivian W. Henderson, chairman of the Department of Economics and Business Administration at Fisk University, sixty percent of Negro families in this country today still have incomes of less than $4,000 annually, compared with twenty-eight percent of the white families.

Thus, it is interesting and revealing to note that there are twice as many white families existing upon a poverty level in the country than Negro families. But, of course, the percent of Negro families that are victims of poverty is practically three times that of white families.

Here, then, are two important segments of the population, one black, the other white, but both with basic economic interests in common; namely, to escape from the economic trap of poverty, regardless of differences in racial attitudes. There can be no better basis of alliance between Negroes and whites than a common revolt against poverty. It can also serve as the grounds for a common demand for first-class citizenship for all Americans regardless of race or color, in order that all citizens may possess the weapons with which to wage war against the common enemy of all Americans - poverty.

SECOND BASIS OF ALLIANCE

The second basis of alliance between black and white Americans is unemployment. Over four million Americans are jobless. The unemployment rate has ranged above five percent for more than six years. However, the rate of unemployment of Negroes is two and a half times the rate of whites or roughly fifteen percent, but there are practically three times as many white workers unemployed as there are Negroes unemployed.

As a result, the fight by the unemployed for the unemployed can be most effectively carried on when the unemployed, black and white, are united. In fact, there is little hope for the unemployed until they develop a common voice and movement. Such a movement will reinforce and sharpen the battles of the organized labor movement for justice to the jobless, without regard to race or color. It will develop more power with which the workers, unemployed and employed, can use in confrontation with the revolution of automation. Besides, the support by labor of the civil rights movement in the fight for civil rights legislation has been of incalculable value. And the moral struggle of the Church - Jewish, Catholic and Protestant - has been a tower of strength.

This coalition for the attainment of the goals of a great moral revolution for human dignity must be strengthened and maintained.

SECOND EMANCIPATION

Now, the Negro came into the twentieth century faced with the new task and responsibility of charting a new course of struggle to bring about a second emancipation.

To this end, the mantle of leadership fell from the sturdy and courageous shoulders of Frederick Douglass, the symbol of black anti-slavery leadership, upon Negro leaders who no longer were confronted with chattel slavery of the body but with the black serfdom of segregation of the mind and body.

Albeit history had placed this assignment into the strong hands of two able black giants, Booker T. Washington, the educator, and W. E. B. DuBois, the agitator, and a host of other Negro leaders dedicated to the achievement of a future of freedom, it was obvious the battle for interracial brotherhood must transcend the boundaries of the black race and involve the full range of democratic forces in the nation to halt the devastating march of racism.

Harassed, hounded and humiliated by the leaders of the Confederate Counterrevolution: Vardaman of Mississippi, "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina, and Hoke Smith of Georgia, who inspired and glorified by a new and savage breed of racist propagandists symbolized by Thomas Dixon, author of the Klansman, Dr. DuBois, with a few courageous white liberals such as Mary White Ovington and Oswald Garrison Villard, formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910. The mission of the movement was to achieve first-class citizenship for colored Americans.

RACE PROBLEM CARRIED TO THE COURTS

Following the logic of the context of the times, the NAACP proceeded to go into the courts to establish the illegality of racial segregation and discrimination under the Civil War Amendments. The Association achieved some measurable success in favorable judicial decisions, but encountered great difficulty in implementation.

It was not until the memorable decision of the U. S. Supreme Court of 1954, on the desegregation and integration of public schools, were the American people brought to their feet of attention to the problem of racial injustice. But, under the doctrine of deliberate speed, the pace of implementation of the decision has been and is far too slow.

It is a notorious fact that although ten years have passed since the school decisions nearly two-thirds of the previously segregated school districts still deny the right of all children to an unsegregated education, according to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

It is also important to note that many school districts listed as integrated offer only token integration, since an all-white school with a single colored student is classified as a desegregated institution. Thus, it is obvious that at the rate which school desegregation has proceeded in the past ten years, it will take more than one hundred years to secure compliance with the Supreme Court's decision. Besides, the picayune desegregation which has been brought about against bitter, intransigeant southern opposition has been attended by an incredible series of disgraceful "Little Rocks."

Not one Negro today attends a public school with a white person in Mississippi. Not one of Mississippi's eighty-five Negro high schools is an accredited high school.

As a result of a quarter of a thousand years of slavery and a hundred years of cultural, educational, economic, political and social deprivation because of segregation, Negro youth naturally fail to make comparable achievement levels with white youth.

In the light of the obvious irreparable damage the system of public school segregation wreaks upon Negro youth, and the apparent wide unconcern about its abolishment, is there any good reason for wonder why Negroes fiercely reject tokenism and gradualism as a pattern of the solution of the problem of race bias?

In the desegregation cases the United States Supreme Court spoke out definitively on the dread effect of school segregation upon the children of minority groups when it stated: "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis

of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does -- to separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

And, it might be added that not only are children of minority groups given a false sense of their inferiority, but white children are given a false sense of their superiority, which renders both unprepared to play creative roles in our democratic society.

With this decision the Supreme Court sounded the death knell of all segregation where the exercise of state power is involved.

The immediate effect of emancipation was to intensify race prejudice and provide for the Negro a freedom more fictional than real. This was due to two reasons: One, the entry of the ex-slave into competition with the ordinary, poor white man, as worker in the labor market and, two, as a citizen in public life.

In order to block the progress of the freedmen, demagogic southern white leaders in politics, press, and pulpit raised the cry of black domination. And, it worked.

Thus, to the end of the nineteenth century, and far into the twentieth century, the legally-free Negro citizen was denied the franchise, excluded from public office, assigned to inferior

and segregated schools, herded into black ghettos, directed to the back of the bus, treated unequally in the courts of justice, and segregated in sickness, religious worship, and even in death.

Since the Federal Government, under Presidents Andrew Johnson and Ulysses Grant, had aided and abetted in bringing about the collapse of the Reconstruction Democracy, it appeared that the dire prediction of Alexis de Tocqueville, French nobleman, that the whites and Negroes could exist together on the American continent only as masters and slaves or as armed combatants, had a large measure of validity.

But the Civil Rights Revolution shows that his prophecy was wrong. However, the final chapter of the struggle of black Americans for freedom, equality and human dignity is yet to be written.

THE FINAL CHAPTER

What kind of chapter will it be? This depends upon what is done by men and women of good will today to move ahead with the unfinished business of American democracy; abolition of second-class citizenship based upon race or color in a first-class nation.

Let us take a look at the Negro's problem of trying to be a citizen, aside from paying taxes and giving of his life upon fields of battle fighting in defense of the country.

Can a person be a citizen without the right freely to register and vote for those who make and administer the laws of our government? The answer is implicit in the question.

And yet, according to the report of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission on the voting statistics in one hundred hard core southern counties, indicating the percentage of eligible voting-age Negroes who had been allowed to register to vote, the following notorious facts strike you in the face:

In thirteen Alabama counties, 12 percent of the Negroes are registered; in five Florida counties, 3½ percent; fifteen Georgia counties, 14 percent; fifteen Louisiana counties, 7 percent; in seven North Carolina counties, 15½ percent; in five South Carolina counties, 7½ percent. But, ture to its character, Mississippi leads the field in these statistics too. In thrity-eight Mississippi counties, 172,866 whites are registered.- that's 69 percent of all whites of voting age, while 2,267, or 1.1 percent of potential Negro voters are registered. Six of these thirty-eight Mississippi counties haven't a single Negro voter; twelve others have less than ten. Despite the institution of fifty-five voting rights suits by the Department of Justice between 1957 and 1963, today 92 percent of the 668,000 voting-age Negroes in these hard core counties of the South still cannot cast a ballot.

Such is the story of democracy at work in the Black Belt, and it constitutes an explosive element in the socio-racial spectrum in this era of the Civil Rights Revolution.

The will of the South to keep the Negro practically voteless, in order that he may exercise little, if any influence upon the state government under which he lives, may be noted from the following political items:

A young Negro veteran in Jackson Parish, Louisiana was rejected on his first attempt to register to vote because the registrar found an error on his application card. He, himself, was unable to find it after checking and rechecking and when he got up to leave he inquired, "Ma'am, would you do one thing for me?"

"What is that?"

"Will you tell me the mistake I made?"

"Oh, sure, you underlined "Mr." when you should have circled it."

This delicious bit of American civilization in this mid-twentieth century requires no comment.

The glaring difference between white and Negro voter registration in certain states of the Deep South is so tremendous it is impossible to account for it on any other basis except racial discrimination. In a government sampling of counties in old Confederate states it was found that while some counties had more registered white voters than the actual number of white inhabitants, no Negroes were registered.

In some areas of the South the fear of the Negro vote is so strong that violence and fraud are resorted to in an effort to drive the Negro from the polls.

In Belzoni, Mississippi, the minister who led a Negro voting drive was shot down on the courthouse steps in broad daylight by men who warned him against carrying on his campaign.

In Selma, Alabama, last year, hundreds of Negroes ran a gauntlet of armed state troopers and stood in line eight hours

without food or water, in an attempt to register.

In Fayette County, Tennessee, Negroes who registered suffered serious economic retaliation. Many Negroes lost their jobs. The Civil Rights Commission report for 1961 says: "A list of 'culprits' was circulated. White merchants quit trading with them. Pressure was brought to prevent suppliers in Memphis from selling to them. Their credit was stopped; their loans called; their mortgages foreclosed. They could not buy the necessities of life." One white banker was quoted as saying, "My secretary's got the names of 325 who registered. I tell them, anybody on that list, no need coming into this bank. He'll get no crop loans here. Every store has got that list."

Such experiences are common in some regions of the South. Intimidation is sufficiently widespread so that the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, in its 1963 report, says it is persuaded that "the right to vote, in large sections of the South, is still denied to many citizens, solely because of their race."

This outrageous violation of Negroes' constitutional rights has not been unknown to the Federal Government since the adoption of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution following the Civil War. But practically nothing has been done about it. This is one of the reasons for the current racial convulsions in the streets of the country and the bitter cry for FREEDOM, NOW!

Thus, dogs or no dogs, fire hoses or no fire hoses, electric cattle prods or no electric cattle prods, the Civil Rights Revolution will roll on with increasing vitality and challenge.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

The U. S. Department of Labor finds that Negroes have steadily and consistently fallen behind in terms of employment and income and that the gap is widening. Its statistics show, for instance, that while in 1947 the non-white unemployment rate was 64 percent higher than the rate for white workers, in 1952 it was 92 percent higher; in 1957 it was 105 percent, and in 1962 it was 125 percent higher. For Negro men, twenty years of age and over, unemployment totaled 11.9 percent in the first three months of 1963, compared with 5.4 percent for whites. During the past eight years the rate of unemployment has been two and one-half times greater among Negroes than among whites.

The fact is Negro workers are rapidly losing ground. The income gap between Negro and white workers is steadily widening. While the median income of Negro families jumped from only 37 percent of white income in 1939 to 57 percent in 1952, it dropped from its high of 57 percent of white income in 1952 to 53 percent in 1962, according to Charles E. Silberman of FORTUNE MAGAZINE.

Negroes face a major crisis because a gap between Negro education and training and the requirements of the labor market is also widening. Automation, new management techniques, changes in consumer-spending patterns, are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor and increasing employment in professional, managerial, clerical and sales jobs, many of which require considerable education and training which

Negroes do not possess. These white-collar occupations account for no less than 97 percent of the total increase in employment that has occurred since 1947.

Negroes are poorly prepared to compete in modern automated workshops. Three Negro men in five now work in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs that are being liquidated at the frightful rate of two million a year. Negro teenagers who drop out of high school at the bewildering rate of as high as 75 percent in most of the metropolitan centers and who therefore are ineligible to become apprentices to learn skilled trades requiring a high school diploma, may at the early age of thirty years,or even less, never get another job but will be compelled to live on public welfare.

As a result, Negroes, in an affluent American society, are becoming poorer and poorer and are automatically moving into the economic boundaries of poverty.

It is a significant and disturbing fact that the Civil Rights Revolution cannot solve the problem of unemployment since it can not make new jobs. It seeks to compel the assignment of existing jobs upon a basis of equity. In very truth, the demands of the civil rights movement cannot be fulfilled within the present context of our American society which is being rapidly shaped by the march of the revolution of cybernation.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that Negroes are trying to enter a social community and a tradition of work-and-income which are vanishing even for the hitherto privileged white workers. "Jobs are disappearing under the impact of highly efficient, progressively less costly machines," according to the Committee on the Triple Revolution in a recent report to President Johnson on the problem of the revolution of cybernation and unemployment. Cybernation is a revolution in production. It is a product of the second scientific revolution. It is not concerned with the civil rights of fair employment practice.

With this revolution in production the economic plight of Negroes - an untrained segment of the workforce, and disadvantaged because of color - is worsening, while the National Gross Product reaches an all-time annual high of more than six billion, with the rate of economic growth increasing and profits soaring.

This is a problem to which Negro leaders must address themselves while there is day, for the night cometh when no man can work. It is also interesting, as well as alarming, that in this period of vitality of the American economy the rate of unemployment still hovers just above five percent with no immediate prospects of its falling.

NEGROES NEED SPECIAL TREATMENT

Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, is right when he points out that Negroes, because of hundreds of years of cultural and educational deprivation, like the distressed people of Appalachia, need preferential treatment. Not in the form of taking a job from a white worker and giving it to a Negro; this is no cure for unemployment for Negro or white workers. In the final analysis, the problem of Negro joblessness cannot be solved until the problem of joblessness of white workers is solved. Therefore, Negro and white workers must unite to bring about this remedy.

But the preparation of Negroes to function in this rapidly changing world requires preferential treatment to help them catch up in the parade of progress or at least prevent them from falling farther and farther behind.

Nor is the so-called quota system of job apportionment the answer since it places a limitation upon progress. Moreover, since Negroes are farther behind because of race bias in unions, industry and government, Negroes may need more jobs than some other segments of the workforce.

STATE OF THE RACE SUMMIT CONFERENCE

Because it is apparent that the Civil Rights Revolution has come upon a crisis, as shown by increasing signs of a growing racist counterrevolution, sometimes referred to as the white backlash, and because of internal conflicts and cross-currents, I propose that a State of the Race Summit Conference be held in Washington, D. C., either during the debate on civil rights legislation in the Senate or soon after the Senate takes action on it.

There is the problem of building a stronger base for a coalition of conscience involving the Negro community, the Church community and Labor community. This concept is based upon the assumption that while Negroes must continue to lead the Civil Rights Revolution they cannot win first-class citizenship alone.

Some discussion of tactics and goals by the leaders of the major Negro fraternal, civic, women's, student and church movements is essential at this time. An appraisal of the relation of the revolution of cybernation to the Civil Rights Revolution should be made.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Marshall Plan

(1) Federal Government should establish a Marshall Plan with billions to invest in massive public works to eradicate poverty in the nation. Without extensive public works that may employ unskilled workers, millions of Negroes, some as young as thirty years of age, may never work again.

(2) A minimum wage of two dollars an hour with unlimited coverage will reach 16 million workers that are unprotected by any form of social insurance.

(3) Establish a 35-hour workweek to increase jobs.

(4) Expansion of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to meet the problem of school dropouts and unemployment of teenagers.

(5) National Planning Agency. Experience has shown that America cannot rely upon the blind forces of the marketplace for full employment, full production and effective use of the resources to meet most urgent national needs.

(6) High wage and fringe gains. Increased purchasing power needed to provide market for high level production for full employment.

(7) Organization of unemployed to fight for jobs and help wage war on poverty.

(8) End of racial discrimination in labor unions, industry and government to provide fair employment.

(9) Integration of minority into apprenticeship training programs.

(10) Development of community clinics and enactment of appropriate legislation to cure the sickness of drug addiction, and crime wave resulting therefrom, that stem from poverty.

Now, let me hail and salute President Lyndon B. Johnson on his consistent fight for civil rights in the South as well as the North.

I hail and salute the leaders in the House of Representatives and Senate, Democrat and Republican, who have carried on the battle for meaningful civil rights legislation.

I hail and salute the Negro and white masses who have poured into the streets to demonstrate for civil rights.

I hail and salute the civil rights organizations for their aggressive fight for first-class citizenship.

REMARKS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
DINNER, N. Y. HILTON HOTEL,
NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 10, 1964

I share in the fellowship spirit of this occasion as an awardee with great humility.

There is something missing from this splendid affair tonight. It is the lovable, gentle, placid, friendly, heart-warming countenance of your friend and my friend, Father John LaFarge.

He was the Founder and heart and soul of the Council. He was fortunate in having as his strong right arm the unselfish and dedicated and able services of our good friend George Hunton, who served as Executive Director of the New York Catholic Interracial Council for some twenty-eight years.

The friendship I enjoyed with Father LaFarge for almost a generation is a priceless jewel which I shall ever treasure in my heart and mind. Verily, all of us have been strengthened and enriched in the spirit, mind and soul by our association with him.

Now, we are in the midst of a revolution. It's a Civil Rights Revolution. It seeks to effect a transition from second-class to first-class citizenship. This transition is being attended by interracial tension and tumult, conflict, commotion and convulsions. But this socio-economic-political behavior pattern has emerged in every period of profound social change.

A people who have suffered through a long night of oppression, exploitation and humiliation are bound, sooner or later, to resist, reject and resent the racial mores, myths, fictions, vestiges and remnants of the old order, which will give expression to frustration, if not desperation, and intermittent eruptions of interracial violence and disorder.

But the motivation of these outbursts is not racial. They are the expression of the centuries of economic, social and cultural deprivation. But this is only a psychological explanation, not a moral justification of violence, disorder, hoodlumism and lawlessness of any kind, at any time, anywhere.

Thus, the Negro Community is morally bound to cooperate with the police, and the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish Communities, in putting an end to aggression against persons and property of Jews or Gentiles, white or black.

Let me add that these Negro teenagers are not bigots, racists, demagogues or criminals, but they are hungry, jobless, ragged, homeless, friendless and hopeless. They want somebody to know their names! They attack people, black or white, because of hunger, not hate. Most of the violence by these young Negroes are upon Negroes in the Negro Community, not only in New York but in most of the big cities. They are the poor, downtrodden outcasts, rejected, alienated, socially discriminated against and socially unpopular, even among their own.

They are the victims of the slum landlords, the scab employer, the insolent bureaucrat, the marginal merchant, the loan shark, the bribable building inspector, the corrupt policeman, the double-dealing politician, and a whole array of parasites whose own power or profit or status or livelihood depends upon the continuance of the poverty of mind, body and spirit of the poor.

Now, let me end with an expression of the wisdom of a great American, a great humanitarian, a great man of God, Father John LaFarge:

> "It is important to realize that one can do something about it. There is nothing more fatal and absurd than the notion of inevitable, unbreakable patterns of prejudice and discrimination. Racial prejudice is itself not inborn; it is acquired: acquired, it is true, early in childhood, imperceptibly, but nevertheless not as a necessary trait of our nature. The problem as such is not insoluble. On the contrary, experience surprisingly shows how much can be accomplished with comparatively little effort by willing hearts and minds. We discover how fruitful and how rewarding is any effort in this direction, if it is undertaken in an intelligent fashion with a humble understanding of one's own limitations and a clear picture of just what we are trying to accomplish here and now..."

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT HISTADRUT HUMANITARIAN AWARD DINNER
NEW YORK HILTON HOTEL, NEW YORK, N. Y.
JUNE 13, 1964

It is with deep humility and gratitude that I accept this award from Histadrut, the authentic voice of the workers of the Republic of Israel. I do so in the name, not of or for myself alone, but of and for the members of the organizations I have the honor to be associated with - the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Negro American Labor Council, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the two hundred fifty thousand black and white Americans who marched on Washington, August 28, 1963, to bear witness to their commitment to the God-given right of every human being, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It was a powerful symbol of the coalition of conscience of the civil rights movement, organized labor, and the Church, including Jews, Catholics and Protestants, for the recognition and respect for the human rights of all men.

It was a massive manifestation of the Civil Rights Revolution and its objective of effecting a transition of the Negro from the status of second-class citizenship to first-class citizenship.

It had been preceded by the dramatic demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, when Negro citizens who were exercising their constitutional right of petition and peaceable assembly were subjected to attacks by savage police dogs, fire hoses, electric cattle prods and the brutal inhumanity of racist police.

But, June 10, 1964, on the floor of the United States Senate, the forces of civil rights stopped the southern filibuster against civil rights for the first time in the history of the Congress, and enactment of meaningful civil rights legislation is in the offing.

Both the Negroes and Jews are fighting for freedom. It was Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, first president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who declared: "The destiny of Israel, more than any other people, depend on the establishment of universal freedom."

To this end, the Histadrut, the Israeli Labor Federation, organized in 1920, and one of the great social forces of these times, built a great welfare republic in Israel, sometimes referred to as an act of faith.

In confrontation with an hostile environment and, no doubt, considerable natural skepticism among some of the followers, limitless initiative, invincible courage, and an everlasting faith were required of the pioneers of Histadrut when they put their hands and hearts to the monumental task of building a new self-governing state in Palestine.

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the First Lady of the World, described Israel as "the spiritual home of all mankind." And Gus Tyler, ILGWU Assistant President, has aptly stated:

"There are close links between the workers of Israel and the United States. We had our Mayflower and Israel had its Exodus. Both nations were built by pioneers holding a plow in one hand and a gun in the other. Both have welcomed a large number of immigrants, which accounts for their pluralistic societies in which democracies are safe." "Labor's goal, observed Tyler, "is to preserve world peace, for without peace the world cannot survive. The foundations of peace can be strengthened by strengthening the foundations of the free labor movement."

Accordingly and properly the American Trade Union Council for Histadrut has called upon the American government "to guarantee the territorial integrity and independence of Israel and all other countries of the Middle East and to use its good offices to reduce tensions in that area by withholding economic aid from any nation which continues to violate the spirit of peaceful coexistence in the Middle East."

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, in its May, 1962 session at St. Louis, issued a statement urging the U. S. Government to discontinue all aid to any country in the Middle East which refuses to pledge complete compliance with the United Nations Charter and its provisions for maintenance of peace. The Executive Council declared it was deeply disturbed by the ambitious nuclear armament program of Egypt's President Nasser. and equally dismayed by the United Arab Republic's constitutional provision stating the avowed purpose of destroying another member state of the United Nations - the Republic of Israel.

"These are ominous developments seriously undermining the precarious peace which has prevailed in the Middle East for nearly seven years," the Council said. The statement welcomed President Kennedy's firm assurance that the United States would, if necessary, take action outside the United Nations to halt any aggression in the Middle East. It urged the government to appeal to each United Nations member in the Middle East to pledge its adherence to the U. N. Charter. It also asked the government to request that the U. N. guarantee the integrity of the territories of all Middle East member states, on pain of the imposition of economic and political sanctions against offenders. "American aid to the Egyptian people and the Nasser regime," the Council said, "should be used to advance the well-being of the people and in preserving the peace of the Middle East."

Now, I hail and salute Kibbutzim, an outstanding landmark of social invention for the advancement of community development and economic security. It is a monumental tribute to the creative capacity of the Israel society.

And let me applaud our trade union brothers and sisters of Histadrut upon the conception and building of the Afro-Asian Institute, which is appropriately described by Henry C. Fleisher as "alma mater" for hundreds of students from Africa and Asia, and a point of interest for labor and government officials throughout the entire free world.

While financial aid is needed by the emerging new nations of Africa, nothing can serve the young men and women of Africa and Asia and the coming leaders more than to be exposed to and learn how modern Israel has tackled the problem of building up from scratch.

For the Afro-Asian students to watch the operation of the cooperative farms or consumer co-ops, or trade unions at work in factories and shops, to look at the projects for irrigation and the experiments in scientific agriculture, and to discuss how the same techniques may be used back home in Nigeria or Kenya or Ceylon, in fact, in practically all of the Afro-Asian countries where freedom is new and fragile and the problems are big, is a valuable lesson in self-help.

Association by African and Asian leaders with the purpose and spirit, as well as the pragmatic life of Histadrut, is a basic lesson in creative experience. The heart of the lesson is the wisdom of one's "letting his bucket down where he is."

While the new Afro-Asian states may not possess the technology and capital to build a steel mill today, all of them can build producers' and consumers' cooperatives and credit unions, schools and health centers, so as to vigorously and successfully tackle poverty, illiteracy and disease.

An evidence of the practical, sound value of the Institute is the fact that the alumni have become advocates of the principle that trade unionism is indispensable to the formation of a democratic society and should cooperate with but not be the instrument of government; that the small farmer and Labor should work jointly towards common goals, and that cooperatives offer the best means for efficient farming in underdeveloped territories.

Ladies and gentlemen, I propose a toast: To the independence, stability and progress, freedom, peace and plenty for the State of Israel, one of the pillars of the free world.

June 15, 1964

As leaders of organizations having nationwide responsibility, we wish to express a profound interest and concern about the porposed HARYOU-ACT Project. Without passing judgment on the parties involved in the present controversy, we wish to address ourselves to the important principle involved.

The Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HARYOU) program is designed to increase the chances of contructive lives for the bulk of the youth of Central Harlem. It is also a part of the larger anti-poverty program and must be given the opportunity, resources and conditions for success.

The HARYOU program plan seeks to deal with a most important and a difficult aspect of the total civil rights struggle. It addresses itself to the complex problem of preparing Negro youth for that equality of opportunity which must be a reality in their lifetime.

Our concern in this matter stems from the recognition of the fact that the success or failure of the HARYOU program plan may well set a pattern for what happens in the Harlems throughout America.

If this and similar programs are to be successful and are to be taken seriously, they must be free to select their staffs and must be operated in terms of the needs of the community and its youth. Professional considerations must be given priority over any personal or political interests. Successful attempts to dominate or control these programs in terms of the political needs of any individual or group of individuals would reduce their effectiveness and make them a cruel mockery of the urgent needs of our youth.

President Johnson's drive against poverty and the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development programs are crucial attempts to strengthen the foundations of American Democracy. Responsible political power -- the prestige of high elected officials -- must be used to protect the professional integrity of these programs and thereby assure their chances of success.

Signed By:

James Farmer	Roy Wilkins
A. Philip Randolph	Whitney Young

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT CONVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL UNION
OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
STATLER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.
SEPTEMBER 22, 1964

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

Greetings and felicitations from the officers and members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council.

One great sage has said no force on earth ~~can stop and~~ suppress an idea whose time has come.

Such an idea was proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. In essence, it was this: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

This is the idea of liberty, human liberty. It was born in the final chapter of American colonial history, which was marked by the restrictive policies of British mercantilism. It was this mercantilism which provided an economic impetus to the American Revolution, just as the natural rights philosophy of the European Enlightenment set its ideological framework.

Mercantilism, an economic arm of the rising nationalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had as its major objectives national self-sufficiency and prosperity for the dominant merchant and banking class. A favorable balance of trade was particularly important to the mercantilist doctrine, for if more goods and services were sold abroad than were imported, gold and silver would come into the country and the nation's total economic strength would be augmented rathen than depleted.

Since each nation desired a favorable balance of trade, the great mercantilist powers of Europe turned to securing and maintaining overseas possessions as a source of economic strength. For colonies existed solely to be exploited by the mother country - to produce essential raw materials cheaply, to provide an unlimited market for surplus manufactured goods, and to offer a minimum of economic competition.

This is why Great Britain, in spite of protests of the colonists, levied, in rapid succession, the Sugar Act of 1764, the Currency Act of 1764, the Stamp Act of 1765 and the Tea Act of 1773 which taxed and regulated the colonial economy and restricted colonial self-rule.

In reply to these punitive legislative measures, and the Boston Massacre of 1770, against the colonists, the Sons and Daughters of Liberty and Committees of Correspondence were organized by Samuel Adams, expressing popular resentment against England, eventuating in the famous Boston Party of 1773 and, finally, the First Continental Congress in 1774, indicating a mounting sentiment for independence. And thus the Revolutionary War of Independence began in 1775 at Lexington and Concord bridge, where embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard round the world. And in 1776, in the Second Continental Congress, the Thomas Jefferson draft of the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

Negro soldiers were at Lexington and Concord. Five thousand black slaves and free Negroes fought in the Continental Army for American independence and for the freedom of white men, a freedom they had never known. Verily, it was a black man, Crispus Attucks, who was the first to fall in battle.

Negro soldiers fought in practically all the big battles of the war - Bunker Hill, Monmouth, Red Bank, Saratoga, Savannah, Princeton and Yorktown. They were with General Washington when he made the famous crossing of the Delaware. Washington, who rejected the recruiting of Negro soldiers at first, sent an officer from Valley Forge in 1778 to ask the Rhode Island Assembly to authorize the enlistment of Negro slaves. There were Negroes from every one of the original thirteen states, including South Carolina and Georgia, in the Continental Army.

IDEA OF DEMOCRACY

While England's oppressive rule had been swept away, a new political system was yet to be put in its place. Throughout the revolutionary crisis class lines were evident. A conservative group composed of wealthy southern planters and northern merchants, bankers, lawyers and speculators sought independence to be free of British mercantilist restrictions and an intolerable burden of debt to the mother country. But they wanted no fundamental social and economic change within the colonies themselves. The status quo was to be maintained after independence was assured, with political power remaining in the possession of the wellborn, the educated and the rich.

On the other hand, the yeoman farmers, mechanics, artisans and small businessmen who made up the radical patriots sought a twofold revolution. Political ties to England were to be broken merely as a first step towards a revolution at home, and a new democratic government, based upon popular rule and responsive to the will of the people, was to destroy the social and economic privileges enjoyed by the colonial aristocracy.

COMMON MAN MAKES BID FOR POWER

Andrew Jackson's election in 1828, like Thomas Jefferson's in 1800 and Franklin D. Roosevelt's, more than a century later in 1932, marked a significant change in American social and political thought for Jackson thoroughly symbolized the widespread democratic impulse and dynamism of the 1820's and 1830's. A half century earlier Jefferson had declared as the philosophical basis of the Declaration of Independence that proposition that "all men are created equal"; and in the bloodless "Revolution of 1800" a crumbling Federalism had been laid low by the determined disciples of Jeffersonian Democracy. Yet the Jeffersonians were themselves essentially aristocratic in outlook and definitely suspicious of popular rule. They believed in government of and for the people, but not necessarily by the people. It was not until the age of Jackson that equalitarianism became a pervasive theme and concern of American life.

It is important to note that political institutions underwent a profound transformation and political control was rapidly transferred from an aristocracy of education, position and wealth to the common man, the average American. In the newly admitted western states, severe restrictions upon the suffrage of adult white males were removed. Property qualifications for office were abolished.

Jacksonian democracy also brought a new equalitarian concept of public office: that all men were essentially of equal talents, that each white American of normal intelligence was capable of holding any position in government.

The Jacksonian period was a time of the burgeoning of myriad social and economic reform movements such as Free Public Schools, Women's Rights, Abolitionism, Robert Owen's New Harmony Plan in Indiana, the golden age of American literature, arts and philosophy, with such luminaries as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth, Longfellow, John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry David Thoreau, William Ellery Channing, Nathaniel Hawthorne, James Russell Lowell, Walt Whitman, Oliver Wendell Holmes,and others.

With the steady growth of industry in the Northeast, the labor movement received an important impetus,for the squalor and impoverishment of the new urban working class were in striking contrast to the contemporary ideals of equality and material well-being for all Americans.

Undoubtedly, many of the new struggling labor unions and workingmen's parties passionately supported the warrior-statesman, Andrew Jackson.

But labor unions remained relatively weak because of alternating good and hard times; workers, under the Homestaed Act of 1862, could migrate West and secure free land; and the confrontation between northern industrialism and southern plantation agrarianism which was rapidly escalating into the irrepressible Conflict of the Civil War, diverted attention from the problems of the working class.

While local unions and city labor bodies sprang up ever and anon, only to be liquidated by recurring cyclical depressions, a national labor union appeared in 1860, followed by the Knights of Labor in 1869 and the American Federation of Labor in 1886

LABOR AND BRASS KNUCKLES ECONOMICS

Faced with a type of Brass Knuckles economics in the new industries such as railroads, steel, mining and public utilities, made possible by a dynamic Industrial Revolution and the ruthless exploitation of the workers, organized labor struck back in major work stoppages that shook the nation. Strikes swept over the country, paralyzing industry after industry. Railroads were stopped in 1877, steel halted at Homestead in 1892, Pullman was tied up in 1894; the Haymarket Riot of 1886 grew out of the struggle for the eight-hour day. There were strikes in the garment industry in 1914 and a nation-wide strike in 1919. And no one will ever forget the CIO sit-down strikes to organize the automobile and other mass industries during the Roosevelt era.

Organized Big Business struck back with the American Plan, embracing the company union, yellow dog contract, court injunctions, Pinkerton goons of violence, Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 and the Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959.

The press, pulpit and politicians sent up the cry of labor violence, and that the workers were moving too fast. But labor did not stop until it had established bona-fide labor unions in the mass production industries in the country, and not only the workers and their families but all America is the beneficiary of this historic labor union crusade for security, freedom and human dignity.

FARMERS FIGHT ECONOMIC OPPRESSION

In the face of declining agricultural prices and rising monopoly prices of the goods in the industrial market, the farmers,in the 1870's, '80's and '90's, formed the Granger Movement and the Populist People's Party to resist the abuses of discriminatory railroad freight rates and the excessive interest rates of banks. The farmers fought for the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. They supported William Jennings Bryan in his dramatic appeal of a monetary policy of the free coinage of silver with a formula of 16 to 1.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Now, since the Civil War Revolution was never completed because northern industrialism and financial capitalism had saved the Union, effected the centralization of political power in a strong Federal governmental system, and achieved the national, economic unification of the country, there was no further need to continue a fight for full, first-class citizenship for the black Freedmen.

Thus, the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 were struck down by a furious and violent Confederate counterrevolution in 1865, winked and connived at, if not aided, by Presidents Andrew Johnson and Ulysses S. Grant and, of course, Rutherford B. Hayes in the notorious Hayes-Tilden election of 1876 which resulted in the withdrawal of the Federal troops from the South, the sole protection of the former slaves from their former masters.

As a result, the Negro entered the twentieth century voteless, moneyless, landless, friendless, without protection of the law or opportunity for education. They were neither free citizens or free workers. They were hunted, harassed, harangued, mobbed, lynched, and even burned at the stake by Klansmen. They were driven from the ballot box with shotguns and fraudulent voting tactics, while southern states enacted the Poll Tax, White Primaries, Grandfather Clauses. The sole purpose of this reign of terror against the Negro was to break his spirit and compel him to accept low wages, long hours of work and poor working conditions, and to divide the black and white workers upon a basis of race to prevent trade union organizations from fighting against exploitation of black and white workers by southern plantation owners and city industrial and commercial interests.

In 1896 the Supreme Court handed down the decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson, proclaiming the doctrine of Separate but Equal, upon which racial segregation has been established and maintained for a hundred years.

Now America is in the midst of a Civil Rights Revolution, the purpose of which is to complete the incompleted Civil War Revolution and secure for the Negro the recognition of his God-given right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

To this end, as a result of the courageous and relentless struggle of the Negro, expressed through the great demonstrations in Birmingham and the historic March on Washington, August 28, 1963, and the uncompromising, consistent and vigorous fight for civil rights legislation by the late President Kennedy and President Johnson, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been enacted by the Congress.

Our next and present concern is the implementation of this civil rights legislation.

WHITE BACKLASH

Now, out of fear and ignorance, some of our white brothers claim Negroes are moving too fast and that they seek to take their jobs away, break down Union seniority and lower property values by buying the house next door. It is reported by some pollsters that in certain industrial areas the belief is that the civil rights legislation will deprive white workers of their hard-won gains in job security and homes. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The fact is, there is nothing in the Civil Rights Act which has anything to do with seniority rights or job quotas.

It is a matter of common knowledge that there are some twenty states, more or less, that have had Fair Employment Practice laws for over a decade. There is no evidence that the seniority rights or jobs of any worker, white or black, has been adversely affected by these laws.

It is also important to point out that during the Civil Rights Revolution, while there is more unemployment than is necessary, there are more workers employed today than at any previous time in our history. And the rate of economic growth is higher today than ever before, with the National Gross Product ranging above six hundred billion.

May I inquire what created the Great Depression when millions of white and black workers were jobless? There was no Civil Rights Revolution then. Thus, the white backlash has no basis in reason or fact, experience or morality.

It has been aptly pointed out by Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League, that despite the claim Negroes are moving too fast, they have not been able to catch up with their white brothers and sisters. For instance, in the period 1949-59, the median income of white workers rose from $2,434 to $4,102 annually, a gain of $1,668, while the median annual income of Negro workers rose from $1,341 to $2,273, a gain of just $932.

Relative to depreciation of property values as a result of the occupation of property by Negroes, may I ask the question: Does any white backlasher think that he can purchase a home in Harlem today for the price that same property sold for ten years ago? Certainly not.

Real estate speculators spread specious propaganda about the depreciation of property values because of the color of the occupant. This tactic is unsound and indefensible.

While much ado has been made about the White Backlash since Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama barnstormed through Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland and was apparently hailed for his opposition to civil rights, it is significant that in Tennessee, Congressman Ross Bass, who voted for the Civil Rights Act, swept to victory over former Governor Frank Clement. Clement, who was critical of the Bass vote, was expecting approval of the white backlash.

In Missouri, Congressman Richard Bolling made no apology for his support of civil rights, yet easily triumphed over a know-nothing candidate who, too, was depending on the white backlash.

In Michigan, Congressman John Dingell, who voted for civil rights, routed Congressman John Lesinski, the only northern Democrat to vote against the Civil Rights Act.

And even in the Deep South, Congressman Charles Weltner of Georgia, who voted for the Civil Rights Act, won by a 13,000 majority over his challenger who pledged to see the repeal of the Act.

Thus, it is apparent that the white backlash monster, which has been played up to frighten white liberals and moderates from civil rights, is about as much fiction as fact.

GOLDWATERISM

Permit me now to turn to the major challenge today to the Negro and white workers. It is the election of Lyndon Baines Johnson, President of the United States.

Verily, it is that and more! The challenge is not only to elect President Johnson but to elect him by such an avalanche of votes as to defeat Senator Goldwater and bury Goldwaterism in the graveyard of political oblivion.

Why?

Because Senator Goldwater opposed and voted against the

civil rights legislation.

Because he equates civil rights legislation with lawlessness in the streets. If that is so, why is he not against civil rights if enacted by the states? If civil rights legislation is the cause of violence in the streets, how could there be any difference if civil rights legislation was enactedby states?

Because he is against the Federal Government launching programs to reduce unemployment and help create new jobs.

Because he is against President Johnson's War on Poverty program to raise the living standards of millions of poor families.

Because he is against Social Security providing hospital costs for the elderly.

Because he is trigger-happy and might plunge the world into a nuclear world war and destroy mankind.

Because he is against trade unions being free to negotiate union security clauses in labor-management contracts.

Because he is against a federal program to increase classrooms and teachers to provide a first-class education to our children.

Because he is against public housing programs to provide more and better dwellings for our people.

Because he is against an increase in the minimum wage and extended coverage.

Because he is against the government giving help to solve the problem of automation.

Because he is against the treaty banning nuclear tests that poison the atmosphere.

Because he is against the government helping economically hard-hit communities, such as Appalachia, to develop new industries and jobs.

Because he is against the progressive income tax, under which the poor are taxed at a lower rate than the rivh.

Because he is opposed to unions engaging in industry-wide bargaining.

Because he is against trade unions playing a role in politics.

Because he is against the President having sole control of nuclear weapons.

Because he is against the principle of people coming before profits.

It is thus plain that Goldwaterism is an American edition of German Hitlerism and constitutes a grave danger to civil rights, labor's rights, our national security, American democracy, and the position of the United States as the leader of the Free World.

Since Senator Goldwater stands for everything Labor and Negroes are against, Negroes and Labor should be against Goldwater. Moreover, since President Johnson supports the policies Negroes and Labor support, Labor and Negroes should support President Johnson and work and fight for his election.

Eloquently has President Johnson stated, North and South, his position on human rights:

> "Every American has the right to be treated as a person. He should be able to find a job, educate his children, vote in elections and be judged on his merits as a person. This is the fixed determination of our party and our nation. So long as I am your President, I intend

to carry out what the Constitution demands and justice requires - equal justice under law for all."

This is the voice of a President who is fully committed to civil rights and labor's rights.

This position of President Johnson is in sharp contrast to the petty, ignoble and dishonorable bid to bigotry by Senator Goldwater's cynical practice of fishing in the white backlash waters of lawlessness in the streets.

But let me add that I, along with all civil rights leaders, uncompromisingly condemn violence in the streets, hoodlumism, vandalism and looting of stores, and attacks upon citizens, white or black, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant.

Civil rights demonstrations have nothing in common with mob action. The vandalism which broke out in the rioting in Harlem, Rochester, Philadelphia and New Jersey was the outburst of the frustrations, if not desperation and hopelessness of Negro teenagers who, out of school, out of work, and bored, in the black ghettos of deprivation and degradation, struck out blindly against white storekeepers and white landlords whom they regard as symbols of oppression. While the teenagers are not by any means hardened criminals there were, no doubt, some criminal elements who took advantage of the riots.

However, Senator Goldwater, bent upon discrediting the Civil Rights Revolution by attempting to brand demonstrations as the work of criminals, overlooks and is silent about the cold-blooded murder of three civil rights fighters in Mississippi; the assassination of a Negro Army officer on a lonely Georgia highway; the bombing to death of four Negro little girls in a Sunday school in Birmingham and the burning of twenty-five churches.

I invite Senator Goldwater, instead of attempting to exploit social tensions, to direct some attention to the reign of terror which has been let loose upon Negro and white civil rights fighters in Mississippi, Alabama and Florida.

It is interesting to note that the nation's chief law enforcement officer, Acting Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, in an address to the Federal Bar Association, September 18, took issue with Senator Goldwater's efforts to link street riots to the civil rights movement.

Mr. Katzenbach said that riots such as those in Harlem, Philadelphia, Jersey City and elsewhere, are tied to rising crime rates and grew out of the Negroes' long social and economic deprivation. To tie the difficult problems of racial adjustment to the equally serious problems of crime and delinquency, he said, can only obscure, obstruct and politicize. The facts, he said, are that the great increase in crime has been for offenses against poverty, not against the person; that the greatest number of offenders are juveniles, and that the rise in juvenile crime rates parallels the large increase of persons in this age group - 15 to 24 years.

Most of those involved in the street riots, Mr. Katzenbach pointed out, were Negro youths. But the significant fact is not the race of those involved. It is that the rate of unemployment and school drop-outs among Negroes in the affected cities is two to three times greater than for whites.

"During the debate on the Civil Rights Act in Congress," Mr. Katzenbach said, "there were frequent references to the crime rate of Washington, D. C. whose population is 54 percent Negro, but I do not recall a single reference to Phoenix, Arizona - a city I pick at random - the population of which is 95 percent white and the whole crime rate is a third higher than that of Washington. Phoenix is Senator Goldwater's hometown."

Obviously, Senator Goldwater's attack upon civil rights legislation, which is designed to secure recognition of and respect for Negroes' human rights, places him in defiance of and opposition to the overwhelming national consensus of the Judio-Christian traditions.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

First, a coalition of conscience involving Negroes, Jews, trade unionists, Puerto Ricans, Catholics and Protestants must be developed for the sole purpose of electing President Lyndon Baines Johnson who has already demonstrated himself to be one of the great presidents of our country.

This coalition must roll up such a mountain of votes for President Johnson as to retire Senator Goldwater to political obscurity from which he should not even be permitted to emerge.

Next, this same coalition should remain intact to help change attitudes of the groups that compose the coalition so as to help stop fighting each other over jobs that are not enough to go around; to stop fighting over houses at reasonable rentals that are not enough to go around for the population; to stop fighting over not enough good, integrated, quality schools for our children.

This coalition should join heads, hearts and hands to call upon the next Congress and the President to appropriate a huge fund ranging in the billions, some $25 billions or so, to start projects and strengthen the economy to supply enough jobs; enough housing, with no more ghettos anywhere, and decent, integrated, quality schools for all children, regardless of race, religion or national origin.

Because the controversy over bussing and boycotts is sowing seeds of racial ill will, hatred and bitterness, let us stop fighting over the bussing of school children which has been going on for decades throughout the country. It is not a basic issue in the problem of quality education and school integration.

It is unsound to employ the generalization that bussing is either good or bad. Bussing is simply a device which is good or bad according to the use to which it is put . . . and the use to which it is put should be determined on a basis of an analysis and evaluation of specific objective situations. It could be useful in one situation and harmful in another. The main objective is quality and integrated education - a basic part of civil rights which the national consensus approves.

And while we must continue to demand the abolition of police brutality and insist that the police respect the person of every citizen, regardless of race or color, we must also insist that all citizens respect the person of the police who are workers the taxpayers employ to protect citizens and to maintain law and order which every community needs since while there may be law and order without freedom, there can be no freedom without law and order.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT CONVENTION OF UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
CONVENTION HALL, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
SEPTEMBER 23, 1964

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

Greetings and felicitations from the officers and members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council.

One great sage has said no force on earth can stop and suppress an idea whose time has come.

Such an idea was proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. In essence, it was this: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

This is the idea of liberty, human liberty. It was born in the final chapter of American colonial history, which was marked by the restrictive policies of British mercantilism. It was this mercantilism which provided an economic impetus to the American Revolution, just as the natural rights philosophy of the European Enlightenment set its ideological frameowrk.

Mercantilism, an economic arm of the rising nationalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had as its major objectives national self-sufficiency and prosperity for the dominant merchant and banking class. A favorable balance of trade was particularly important to the mercantilist doctrine, for if more goods and services were sold abroad than were imported, gold and silver would come into the country and the nation's total economic strength would be augmented rathen than depleted.

Since each nation desired a favorable balance of trade, the great mercantilist powers of Europe turned to securing and maintaining overseas possessions as a source of economic strength. For colonies existed solely to be exploited by the mother country - to produce essential raw materials cheaply, to provide an unlimited market for surplus manufactured goods, and to offer a minimum of economic competition.

This is why Great Britain, in spite of protests of the colonists, levied, in rapid succession, the Sugar Act of 1764, the Currency Act of 1764, the Stamp Act of 1765 and the Tea Act of 1773 which taxed and regulated the colonial economy and restricted colonial self-rule.

In reply to these punitive legislative measures, and the Boston Massacre of 1770, against the colonists, the Sons and Daughters of Liberty and Committees of Correspondence were organized by Samuel Adams, expressing popular resentment against England, eventuating in the famous Boston Party of 1773 and, finally, the First Continental Congress in 1774, indicating a mounting sentiment for independence. And thus the Revolutionary War of Independence began in 1775 at Lexington and Concord bridge, where embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard round the world. And in 1776, in the Second Continental Congress, the Thomas Jefferson draft of the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

Negro soldiers were at Lexington and Concord. Five thousand black slaves and free Negroes fought in the Continental Army for American independence and for the freedom of white men, a freedom they had never known. Verily, it was a black man, Crispus Attucks, who was the first to fall in battle.

Negro soldiers fought in practically all the big battles of the war - Bunker Hill, Monmouth, Red Bank, Saratoga, Savannah, Princeton and Yorktown. They were with General Washington when he made the famous crossing of the Delaware. Washington, who rejected the recruiting of Negro soldiers at first, sent an officer from Valley Forge in 1778 to ask the Rhode Island Assembly to authorize the enlistment of Negro slaves. There were Negroes from every one of the original thirteen states, including South Carolina and Georgia, in the Continental Army.

IDEA OF DEMOCRACY

While England's oppressive rule had been swept away, a new political system was yet to be put in its place. Throughout the revolutionary crisis class lines were evident. A conservative group composed of wealthy southern planters and northern merchants, bankers, lawyers and speculators sought independence to be free of British mercantilist restrictions and an intolerable burden of debt to the mother country. But they wanted no fundamental social and economic change within the colonies themselves. The status quo was to be maintained after independence was assured, with political power remaining in the possession of the wellborn, the educated and the rich.

On the other hand, the yeoman farmers, mechanics, artisans and small businessmen who made up the radical patriots sought a twofold revolution. Political ties to England were to be broken merely as a first step towards a revolution at home, and a new democratic government, based upon popular rule and responsive to the will of the people, was to destroy the social and economic privileges enjoyed by the colonial aristocracy.

COMMON MAN MAKES BID FOR POWER

Andrew Jackson's election in 1828, like Thomas Jefferson's in 1800 and Franklin D. Roosevelt's, more than a century later in 1932, marked a significant change in American social and political thought for Jackson thoroughly symbolized the widespread democratic impulse and dynamism of the 1820's and 1830's. A half century earlier Jefferson had declared as the philosophical basis of the Declaration of Independence that proposition that "all men are created equal"; and in the bloodless "Revolution of 1800" a crumbling Federalism had been laid low by the determined disciples of Jeffersonian Democracy. Yet the Jeffersonians were themselves essentially aristocratic in outlook and definitely suspicious of popular rule. They believed in government of and for the people, but not necessarily by the people. It was not until the age of Jackson that equalitarianism became a pervasive theme and concern of American life.

It is important to note that political institutions underwent a profound transformation and political control was rapidly transferred from an aristocracy of education, position and wealth to the common man, the average American. In the newly admitted western states, severe restrictions upon the suffrage of adult white males were removed. Property qualifications for office were abolished.

Jacksonian democracy also brought a new equalitarian concept of public office: that all men were essentially of equal talents, that each white American of normal intelligence was capable of holding any position in government.

The Jacksonian period was a time of the burgeoning of myriad social and economic reform movements such as Free Public Schools, Women's Rights, Abolitionism, Robert Owen's New Harmony Plan in Indiana, the golden age of American literature, arts and philosophy, with such luminaries as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth, Longfellow, John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry David Thoreau, William Ellery Channing, Nathaniel Hawthorne, James Russell Lowell, Walt Whitman, Oliver Wendell Holmes,and others.

With the steady growth of industry in the Northeast, the labor movement received an important impetus,for the squalor and impoverishment of the new urban working class were in striking contrast to the contemporary ideals of equality and material well-being for all Americans.

Undoubtedly, many of the new struggling labor unions and workingmen's parties passionately supported the warrior-statesman, Andrew Jackson.

But labor unions remained relatively weak because of alternating good and hard times; workers, under the Homestaed Act of 1862, could migrate West and secure free land; and the confrontation between northern industrialism and southern plantation agrarianism which was rapidly escalating into the irrepressible Conflict of the Civil War, diverted attention from the problems of the working class.

While local unions and city labor bodies sprang up ever and anon, only to be liquidated by recurring cyclical depressions, a national labor union appeared in 1860, followed by the Knights of Labor in 1869 and the American Federation of Labor in 1886

LABOR AND BRASS KNUCKLES ECONOMICS

Faced with a type of Brass Knuckles economics in the new industries such as railroads, steel, mining and public utilities, made possible by a dynamic Industrial Revolution and the ruthless exploitation of the workers, organized labor struck back in major work stoppages that shook the nation. Strikes swept over the country, paralyzing industry after industry. Railroads were stopped in 1877, steel halted at Homestead in 1892, Pullman was tied up in 1894; the Haymarket Riot of 1886 grew out of the struggle for the eight-hour day. There were strikes in the garment industry in 1914 and a nation-wide strike in 1919. And no one will ever forget the CIO sit-down strikes to organize the automobile and other mass industries during the Roosevelt era.

Organized Big Business struck back with the American Plan, embracing the company union, yellow dog contract, court injunctions, Pinkerton goons of violence, Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 and the Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959.

The press, pulpit and politicians sent up the cry of labor violence, and that the workers were moving too fast. But labor did not stop until it had established bona-fide labor unions in the mass production industries in the country, and not only the workers and their families but all America is the beneficiary of this historic labor union crusade for security, freedom and human dignity.

FARMERS FIGHT ECONOMIC OPPRESSION

In the face of declining agricultural prices and rising monopoly prices of the goods in the industrial market, the farmers,in the 1870's, '80's and '90's, formed the Granger Movement and the Populist People's Party to resist the abuses of discriminatory railroad freight rates and the excessive interest rates of banks. The farmers fought for the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. They supported William Jennings Bryan in his dramatic appeal of a monetary policy of the free coinage of silver with a formula of 16 to 1.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Now, since the Civil War Revolution was never completed because northern industrialism and financial capitalism had saved the Union, effected the centralization of political power in a strong Federal governmental system, and achieved the national, economic unification of the country, there was no further need to continue a fight for full, first-class citizenship for the black Freedmen.

Thus, the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 were struck down by a furious and violent Confederate counterrevolution in 1865, winked and connived at, if not aided, by Presidents Andrew Johnson and Ulysses S. Grant and, of course, Rutherford B. Hayes in the notorious Hayes-Tilden election of 1876 which resulted in the withdrawal of the Federal troops from the South, the sole protection of the former slaves from their former masters.

As a result, the Negro entered the twentieth century voteless, moneyless, landless, friendless, without protection of the law or opportunity for education. They were neither free citizens or free workers. They were hunted, harassed, harangued, mobbed, lynched, and even burned at the stake by Klansmen. They were driven from the ballot box with shotguns and fraudulent voting tactics, while southern states enacted the Poll Tax, White Primaries, Grandfather Clauses. The sole purpose of this reign of terror against the Negro was to break his spirit and compel him to accept low wages, long hours of work and poor working conditions, and to divide the black and white workers upon a basis of race to prevent trade union organizations from fighting against exploitation of black and white workers by southern plantation owners and city industrial and commercial interests.

In 1896 the Supreme Court handed down the decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson, proclaiming the doctrine of Separate but Equal, upon which racial segregation has been established and maintained for a hundred years.

Now America is in the midst of a Civil Rights Revolution, the purpose of which is to complete the incompleted Civil War Revolution and secure for the Negro the recognition of his God-given right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

To this end, as a result of the courageous and relentless struggle of the Negro, expressed through the great demonstrations in Birmingham and the historic March on Washington, August 28, 1963, and the uncompromising, consistent and vigorous fight for civil rights legislation by the late President Kennedy and President Johnson, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been enacted by the Congress.

Our next and present concern is the implementation of this civil rights legislation.

WHITE BACKLASH

Now, out of fear and ignorance, some of our white brothers claim Negroes are moving too fast and that they seek to take their jobs away, break down Union seniority and lower property values by buying the house next door. It is reported by some pollsters that in certain industrial areas the belief is that the civil rights legislation will deprive white workers of their hard-won gains in job security and homes. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The fact is, there is nothing in the Civil Rights Act which has anything to do with seniority rights or job quotas.

It is a matter of common knowledge that there are some twenty states, more or less, that have had Fair Employment Practice laws for over a decade. There is no evidence that the seniority rights or jobs of any worker, white or black, has been adversely affected by these laws.

It is also important to point out that during the Civil Rights Revolution, while there is more unemployment than is necessary, there are more workers employed today than at any previous time in our history. And the rate of economic growth is higher today than ever before, with the National Gross Product ranging above six hundred billion.

May I inquire what created the Great Depression when millions of white and black workers were jobless? There was no Civil Rights Revolution then. Thus, the white backlash has no basis in reason or fact, experience or morality.

It has been aptly pointed out by Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League, that despite the claim Negroes are moving too fast, they have not been able to catch up with their white brothers and sisters. For instance, in the period 1949-59, the median income of white workers rose from $2,434 to $4,102 annually, a gain of $1,668, while the median annual income of Negro workers rose from $1,341 to $2,273, a gain of just $932.

Relative to depreciation of property values as a result of the occupation of property by Negroes, may I ask the question: Does any white backlasher think that he can purchase a home in Harlem today for the price that same property sold for ten years ago? Certainly not.

Real estate speculators spread specious propaganda about the depreciation of property values because of the color of the occupant. This tactic is unsound and indefensible.

While much ado has been made about the White Backlash since Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama barnstormed through Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland and was apparently hailed for his opposition to civil rights, it is significant that in Tennessee, Congressman Ross Bass, who voted for the Civil Rights Act, swept to victory over former Governor Frank Clement. Clement,who was critical of the Bass vote, was expecting approval of the white backlash.

In Missouri, Congressman Richard Bolling made no apology for his support of civil rights, yet easily triumphed over a know-nothing candidate who, too, was depending on the white backlash.

In Michigan, Congressman John Dingell, who voted for civil rights, routed Congressman John Lesinski, the only northern Democrat to vote against the Civil Rights Act.

And even in the Deep South, Congressman Charles Weltner of Georgia, who voted for the Civil Rights Act, won by a 13,000 majority over his challenger who pledged to see the repeal of the Act.

Thus, it is apparent that the white backlash monster, which has been played up to frighten white liberals and moderates from civil rights, is about as much fiction as fact.

GOLDWATERISM

Permit me now to turn to the major challenge today to the Negro and white workers. It is the election of Lyndon Baines Johnson, President of the United States.

Verily, it is that and more! The challenge is not only to elect President Johnson but to elect him by such an avalanche of votes as to defeat Senator Goldwater and bury Goldwaterism in the graveyard of political oblivion.

Why?

Because Senator Goldwater opposed and voted against the

civil rights legislation.

Because he equates civil rights legislation with lawlessness in the streets. If that is so, why is he not against civil rights if enacted by the states? If civil rights legislation is the cause of violence in the streets, how could there be any difference if civil rights legislation was enactedby states?

Because he is against the Federal Government launching programs to reduce unemployment and help create new jobs.

Because he is against President Johnson's War on Poverty program to raise the living standards of millions of poor families.

Because he is against Social Security providing hospital costs for the elderly.

Because he is trigger-happy and might plunge the world into a nuclear world war and destroy mankind.

Because he is against trade unions being free to negotiate union security clauses in labor-management contracts.

Because he is against a federal program to increase classrooms and teachers to provide a first-class education to our children.

Because he is against public housing programs to provide more and better dwellings for our people.

Because he is against an increase in the minimum wage and extended coverage.

Because he is against the government giving help to solve the problem of automation.

Because he is against the treaty banning nuclear tests that poison the atmosphere.

Because he is against the government helping economically hard-hit communities, such as Appalachia, to develop new industries and jobs.

Because he is against the progressive income tax, under which the poor are taxed at a lower rate than the rivh.

Because he is opposed to unions engaging in industry-wide bargaining.

Because he is against trade unions playing a role in politics.

Because he is against the President having sole control of nuclear weapons.

Because he is against the principle of people coming before profits.

It is thus plain that Goldwaterism is an American edition of German Hitlerism and constitutes a grave danger to civil rights, labor's rights, our national security, American democracy, and the position of the United States as the leader of the Free World.

Since Senator Goldwater stands for everything Labor and Negroes are against, Negroes and Labor should be against Goldwater. Moreover, since President Johnson supports the policies Negroes and Labor support, Labor and Negroes should support President Johnson and work and fight for his election.

Eloquently has President Johnson stated, North and South, his position on human rights:

> "Every American has the right to be treated as a person. He should be able to find a job, educate his children, vote in elections and be judged on his merits as a person. This is the fixed determination of our party and our nation. So long as I am your President, I intend

to carry out what the Constitution demands and justice requires - equal justice under law for all."

This is the voice of a President who is fully committed to civil rights and labor's rights.

This position of President Johnson is in sharp contrast to the petty, ignoble and dishonorable bid to bigotry by Senator Goldwater's cynical practice of fishing in the white backlash waters of lawlessness in the streets.

But let me add that I, along with all civil rights leaders, uncompromisingly condemn violence in the streets, hoodlumism, vandalism and looting of stores, and attacks upon citizens, white or black, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant.

Civil rights demonstrations have nothing in common with mob action. The vandalism which broke out in the rioting in Harlem, Rochester, Philadelphia and New Jersey was the outburst of the frustrations, if not desperation and hopelessness of Negro teenagers who, out of school, out of work, and bored, in the black ghettos of deprivation and degradation, struck out blindly against white storekeepers and white landlords whom they regard as symbols of oppression. While the teenagers are not by any means hardened criminals there were, no doubt, some criminal elements who took advantage of the riots.

However, Senator Goldwater, bent upon discrediting the Civil Rights Revolution by attempting to brand demonstrations as the work of criminals, overlooks and is silent about the cold-blooded murder of three civil rights fighters in Mississippi; the assassination of a Negro Army officer on a lonely Georgia highway; the bombing to death of four Negro little girls in a Sunday school in Birmingham and the burning of twenty-five churches.

I invite Senator Goldwater, instead of attempting to exploit social tensions, to direct some attention to the reign of terror which has been let loose upon Negro and white civil rights fighters in Mississippi, Alabama and Florida.

It is interesting to note that the nation's chief law enforcement officer, Acting Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, in an address to the Federal Bar Association, September 18, took issue with Senator Goldwater's efforts to link street riots to the civil rights movement.

Mr. Katzenbach said that riots such as those in Harlem, Philadelphia, Jersey City and elsewhere, are tied to rising crime rates and grew out of the Negroes' long social and economic deprivation. To tie the difficult problems of racial adjustment to the equally serious problems of crime and delinquency, he said can only obscure, obstruct and politicize. The facts, he said, are that the great increase in crime has been for offenses against poverty, not against the person; that the greatest number of offenders are juveniles, and that the rise in juvenile crime rates parallels the large increase of persons in this age group - 15 to 24 years.

Most of those involved in the street riots, Mr. Katzenbach pointed out, were Negro youths. But the significant fact is not the race of those involved. It is that the rate of unemployment and school drop-outs among Negroes in the affected cities is two to three times greater than for whites.

"During the debate on the Civil Rights Act in Congress," Mr. Katzenbach said, "there were frequent references to the crime rate of Washington, D. C. whose population is 54 percent Negro, but I do not recall a single reference to Phoenix, Arizona - a city I pick at random - the population of which is 95 percent white and the whole crime rate is a third higher than that of Washington. Phoenix is Senator Goldwater's hometown."

Obviously, Senator Goldwater's attack upon civil rights legislation, which is designed to secure recognition of and respect for Negroes' human rights, places him in defiance of and opposition to the overwhelming national consensus of the Judio-Christian traditions.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

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Introductory Remarks by A. Philip Randolph
at the American Negro Leadership Conference
on Africa, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C.
September 24, 1964

First of all, permit me to congratulate the Call Committee and the leaders of the national Negro organizations and, especially, Theodore Brown, Conference Director, upon the calling of this conference on Africa at this time.

The newly emerged African nation-states are passing through a crucially dangerous crisis.

There is opportunity for them to move their frontiers of progress forward. There is also danger that they may collapse as a result of civil wars or Communist subversion or Fascist oppression, and sink into a welter of chaos, destruction and disaster. The latter of which need not and must not happen.

I take it that it is the primary purpose of this Conference to help Africa to survive this crisis.

In order that we may approach the broad spectrum of problems of Africa in the light of objective realities, let me pose a few assumptions that appear to have relative validity.

One, that the new nation-states of Africa and Asia, with the exception of South Africa and Japan, are underdeveloped.

Two, that the gap--cultural, economic, political and social--between the underdeveloped countries and the Western power nations is widening, not narrowing.

Third, that this gap is the natural and inevitable result of centuries of cultural, social, economic and political deprivation and imperialistic colonial oppression and is not inherent in the human condition.

Verily, history passed Africa and Asia and a number of South and Central American countries by.

Fourth, that this widening gap can be arrested and appreciably narrowed.

What is to be done?

The first indispensable factor in weathering the storms of the existing crisis is the achievement and maintenance of the political stabilization of the new African nation-states.

Two, the development of an educated and dedicated middle class to provide leadership in government, education, professional and social areas, business and industry, with managerial ability.

Third, building capital formation, with aid from within and without, to build a viable and progressive economy.

Fourth, creation of a strong trade union movement, with allegiance with the world free, democratic trade union movement, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Labor Organization. A strong trade union movement is imperative in order to make the African nation-states free and keep them free, and to prevent them from oppressing the people.

Fifth, as basic pillars of the economy, consumers' and producers' cooperatives and credit unions should be developed as primary agencies for the creation of capital formation.

The growing power and progress of the Republic of Israel is an instance in proof of the value of a trade union-cooperative-voluntary collective and free enterprise mixed planned economy.

Finally, the African nation-states, in ivew of the revolution of automation and cybernation, are too far behind the Western power-nations to build viable economies and even to become politically stable and survive as modern progressive national communities without outside aid, especially from the United States and those imperialist powers that maintained colonies for centuries solely for their mercantilist value to the mother countries, including England, France and Belgium, Germany, Spain and Portugal.

Hence, this Conference should call upon the United States to double its aid to African states, together with increasing technical assistance. Of course, the Peace Corps, a creative bit of social invention, should be continued.

May I observe that it is fast dawning upon the United States that economic growth cannot be sustained in one nation of the modern world unless it is a widely shared phenomenon.

We would have to be concerned with international development as a basic element in our foreign policy even in the absence of Soviet-Chinese Communist drive to replace our system with theirs, because of the ever growing evidence that our economy is dependent upon foreign sources of supply and market outlets.

In a very real sense we are competing, whether we like it or not and whether Africans or Asians like it or not, for the adherence of more than a billion people to a system that is compatible with our survival against an attempt to attach them to a system that is dedicated to the destruction of free and democratic institutions. This is likely to prove to be the most important issue in international policies for many generations to come.

The United States and the western European powers in self-defense have no alternative save to provide a new and coluntary framework for trade and investment based on mutual respect, accommodation and mutual benefit. This requires the rounded economic development of the less developed countries and their attainment of higher levels of living, political freedom and respected social status.

What is Africa to Me?
Copper sun or scarlet sea
Jungle star or jungle track
Strong bronzed men, or regal black
Women from whose loins I sprang
When the birds of Eden sang.
Countee Cullen

REMARKS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT CITY-WIDE RALLY FOR THE ELECTION
OF PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, OCTOBER 23, 1964

CRISIS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The Johnson-Goldwater Presidential election is a crisis election.

Now, a crisis election is an election in which there is opportunity to move forward to new frontiers of freedom. There is also danger that the frontiers of freedom may be pushed back. Whether the frontiers of freedom will be moved forward or backward will depend upon the candidates for President and the forces backing them.

Who are the candidates?

President Johnson is not only a master of the science and art of legislation but he has also demonstrated in crisis decisions and crisis action, both in domestic and foreign affairs, that he is unquestionably one of the great Presidents of the United States.

He is bearing the torch of freedom, racial and social justice with dignity, firmness and compassion.

He has sought to do the right as he sees the right, and he has courageously refused to retreat when faced by the forces of evil, reaction and bigotry.

He took up the reins of leadership of civil rights legislation in the Congress and pushed it forward victoriously after that noble and beloved warrior, the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, was struck down by an assassin's bullet.

And be it ever remembered, dear friends, that all of us were struck down on that tragic and fateful day!

And let me add that President Johnson is backed by the moral forces of the nation. He is supported by the organized labor movement, the civil rights movement, the outstanding beacon lights of American journalism, many of the major institutions of American business, major segments of the Church, American liberalism, and the enlightened South.

Now, who is Goldwater?

While I would not brand him as a Fascist or Nazi, those forces that back him are unquestionably the ultra Rights of the nation. In Germany they would be listed as Nazi; and in Italy as Fascists.

Who are these forces? They are the John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens Councils, and the worst elements of bigotry, anti-semitism and racism in the country.

This is the same John Birch Society which calls for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, who handed down the great decision on public school desegregation and integration. These Birchites are anti-labor, and so is Senator Goldwater.

The Senator stands for right-to-work laws. He is against the minimum wage and the liberalization of Social Security. He would emasculate the TVA.

He would not only set back the clock of racial and social justice, he would stop it!

Moreover, the Senator appeals to the prejudices of the so-called "white backlash" and seeks to discredit the

Civil Rights Revolution by attempting to identify and link it with lawlessness in the streets.

While I am unqualifiedly opposed to vandalism, hoodlumism and looting, as are all responsible Negroes, it is a definite distortion of the civil rights movement to charge it with violence in the streets, as though the recent street riots are the only disorders in the streets which have occurred in American history. What about the Boston Tea Party of the American Revolution, and labor's revolution and the revolution for women's suffrage?

Thus, Senator Goldwater must not only be defeated overwhelmingly but Goldwaterism must be buried in the graveyard of political oblivion from which it must never emerge for it is a danger to freedom, democracy and world peace.

STATEMENT OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT 41st ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR LABOR ISRAEL
HOTEL COMMODORE, NEW YORK CITY,
NOVEMBER 28, 1964

MY VISIT TO ISRAEL

When I was graciously invited by representatives of Histadrut to visit Israel, I began to think of the idea of the land and the people, an idea given classic form by Amos, one of the great prophets of Israel, who said:

> "And I will plant them upon their land.
> And they shall no more be plucked up
> Out of the land which I have given them,
> Saith the Lord they God."

I thought of Israel in association with,and/or the place of some of the world-shaking events of mankind, including the destruction of the first Temple and Commonwealth, the Babylonian Captivity, the birth of Christ, and the long, dark, hapless night of the Diaspora.

With financial aid from Baron Edmond de Rothschild, father of the Jewish resettlement in the Holy Land, and the advent of Theodor Herzl, founder of the Zionist Movement which became the foundation of the State of Israel, together with the political statesmanship of Dr. Chaim Weizmann which gave rise to the Balfour Declaration in 1917, in which the British government gave recognition to the right of the Jews to a national home in Palestine, the age-old dream and struggle of the Jews to return to the land took a new turn.

After reeling under the blow of the wicked British White Paper, on November 29, 1947, the United Nations, at an historic hour, voted for the establishment of an independent Jewish State in part of Palestine, but its security and stability was only made definite after the gallant Jewish warriors in the War of Liberation routed and hurled the invading armies of Arab states back across the borders.

And, yet, as you no doubt have noted only recently, citizens of Israel must live dangerously in their own land because of periodic eruption of gunfire from across their borders in utter violation of the integrity of the sovereignty of the country.

But, withal, Israel is a burgeoning, blossoming, blooming and growing country. It presents a personality of pioneering, dynamic, exciting, western style and design democracy, but with a deeper sense of the concept and function of social property, without a totalitarian orientation either from the Left or Right. The economic base of the State is a mixed economy; this is graphically expressed in the kibbutzim and moshavim. Everywhere you go there is agricultural and industrial activity, reflected in endless housing and manufacturing developments.

While here in the United States we talk about,and fight over, the integration of Negroes into the economic, political, social and educational fabric of the country, in Israel integration of Oriental Jews, Arab and Druse, with a cultural lag because of long educational deprivation, moves ahead.

What is back of this bewildering upsurge and challenging forward thrust of Israel?

There are many causal factors, among which is the Histadrut, a new design of free, democratic trade union organization and action. It is a labor movement which provides an opportunity for the workers to pool their knowledge and resources in consumers and producers cooperatives and in building public works simultaneously as contractors and laborers.

Histadrut even initiates and develops whole new communities, a veritable miracle in the management of men, money and materials. Here is a community of workers responsible to itself but dedicated to the welfare of the people and workers of Israel and the growth, strength and progress of the country.

This is possible because Israel's labor economy is not to be viewed as a doctrinaire experiment. Expediency, not dogma, circumstances, not theories, dictated the channels of development and the form of labor enterprise in Israel. Their national and social idealism did not prevent the creators of its labor movement from solving problems pragmatically.

The founder and architect of Histadrut and Israel was David Ben-Gurion, one of the world's great statesmen, who is as rugged and indestructible as the Negev Desert where he now lives. I enjoyed an interesting conference with him (now retired) in his modest home on the desert. He was friendly and gracious, and expressed great interest in the Civil Rights Revolution in America.

The present able, guiding spirit of the Histadrut is Secretary-Treasurer Ahron Becker, a man of obvious dynamic, resourceful leadership. His is the monumental dual job of a labor leader and a corporate executive. But he is fortunate to be assisted by a woman leader of labor of unquestioned strength, idealism and dedication, Yehudit Simhoni. She expresses her philosophy with force and conviction, an outstanding phase of which is that it is absolutely essential to inspirt trade unions in the new independent states with a sense of responsibility for the economic advancement of their countries and to gain their cooperation in carrying on development programs. "But this sense of responsibility," says Mrs. Simhoni, "cannot be dictated from above. It has to grow out of conviction and participation of national planning."

It was my great pleasure and delight to have had a wide-ranging conference with the brilliant, forceful and impressive Minister of Foreign Affairs, Madam Golda Meier, in her office in Jerusalem.

The Foreign Minister discussed, with a glow of joyousness, the role she played, with her daughter and all the freedom fighters of Israel, in the great War of Liberation in 1948.

I had the pleasure of sharing my enriching experience in Israel with my colleague and co-worker, Benjamin McLaurin, Eastern Zone Supervisor of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a member of the Board of Higher Education, who was conducting a tour of labor union members in Israel.

Finally, one of the shattering, traumatic experiences of my life was a visit to the museum known as Lochamei Hagetaot, between Haifa and Nahariva, which houses a shockingly brutal exhibition of a reign of terror and horror against the Jews which resulted in six million Jews being put to death. The museum contains huge photographs of laughing German soldiers cutting the beards off orthodox Jews; there are shining plaster models of a neat Warsaw ghetto and of a concentration camp. It is a gruesome record of human savagery, unspeakable suffering and hideously blasphemous bigotry, of anti-Semitism, before which it is impossible to remain unmoved.

Now, one of the least known but,undoubtedly, in terms of pragmatic educational utility, one of the most valuable, important and constructive agencies in the Middle East is the Afro-Asian Institute in Tel Aviv.

Its major concern is in providing knowledge of the science and art of building consumers and producers cooperatives, credit unions and trade union organizations for the advancement of the welfare of the workers and peasants, with emphasis upon their great value in developing a sound, economic foundation for the stability of the newly emerging African and Asian States.

Verily, the Afro-Asian Institute, supported by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, is a veritable oasis of hope, inspiration and aspiration in a vast desert of poverty, illiteracy and disease.

It teaches the young African and Asian students the know-how of Operation Self-Help. It enables them to utilize that which they have, namely their minds and bodies, and through the science and art of social technology to create material technology, or capital formation.

Being poor,and largely without skills, training and education, nothing can be more important and practically useful to the African and Asian than to possess knowledge of the techniques with which to help himself in farming and the handicrafts. In this area Israel is a beacon light to the peoples of the Middle East.

Now, with regard to the Congo debacle .... anyone with any sense of humanity naturally deplores the tragedy of the murder of white missionaries and black Africans by the rebels, who are alleged to have been inflamed by Chinese communists now engaged in a great power struggle with Russian communists over Africa. Communists, whether Moscow or Peking, will fish in muddy waters for the advantage of communists - not Africans.

While there may be some factuality to this charge, the basic reason for this eruption of shockingly brutal violence is that although the white colonial forces, from Belgium and other imperialist countries, spent millions and gave their lives and knowledge to take out of Africa diamonds, gold, ivory and pearls for profit, they never gave any thought - with the exception, of course, of some dedicated missionaries who risked their lives to teach and preach to the Africans - to bringing forth the diamonds, gold, ivory and pearls in the minds, hearts and souls of the Africans through sound education.

This is the manifestation of the great failure of Christianity and civilization in the Congo. This is the basic cause of the breakdown of civilized social behavior in the Congo in relation to the white missionaries, and also Africans of different tribes and political persuasion.

The only remedy is freedom, justice and equality, and the abolition of illiteracy, poverty and disease.

Israel is a great stake of democracy and the free world in the Middle East. Its program must not be permitted to be arrested by the flames of war which could escalate into catastrophic global dimensions.

I profited immesnely from my visit to this educational agency. It does not attempt to present any special fashion or design for the building of a society, but set forth basic economic and social principles that may be utilized and adjusted to different social situations.

Possessed of an energy and a dedication rarely recorded in humankind, the architects of the State of Israel, with generous financial and moral aid of Jewry in the free world, apply themselves to the manifold tasks that must be accomplished if the State to justify its existence: keeping the gates open to the ingathering of the exiles, the fashioning of a single national community out of a hundred divergent origins, long-term economic viability, a defensive organization of deterrent quality, and a dedicated youth movement.

Within that protective compass, a society is to arise that shall give materiality to the spiritual and moral values of Judaism, mirroring the justice which the Prophets enjoined, insuring equality and opportunity for all citizens. In short, a true democracy! Beneath it all there is the mystic, but real hope, that in their own land and spiritually refreshed, the Jews will once again send a message of healing and faith in human brotherhood to a frightened and tortured world.

I hail and salute the great State of Israel. May God give you the strength, faith and courage, vision, conviction and wisdom to move ahead to the goals of freedom, progress, peace and plenty!

OPENING REMARKS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT CONFERENCE OF NEGRO LEADERS,
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, NEW YORK, N.Y.
JANUARY 30-31, 1965

CRISIS OF VICTORY

The Civil Rights Revolution has been caught up in a crisis of victory; a crisis which may involve great opportunity or great danger to its future fulfillment.

This victory consists in the winning of civil rights, through the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, for which Negroes have struggled over a hundred years.

OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE AHEAD

There is, therefore, opportunity for the civil rights movement to mount and carry out a vigorous program of implementation of the Act, and also to look beyond civil rights to the larger goal of human freedom - political, social, industrial and economic. While civil rights is a phase of freedom, it is not to be equated with basic freedoms. Negroes enjoy civil rights in the North but they do not possess basic freedoms.

The socio-ethnic dynamism generated by the struggle for civil rights may be made available to help attain the goal of full freedom as a way of life, namely, freedom from poverty, freedom from ignorance, freedom from disease and freedom from fear, freedom from racial bias, religious bigotry, freedom from war - freedoms, the attainment of which will involve basic structural changes in our society and institutions.

But let me hasten to add, the achievement of these freedoms is far beyond the power of any single segment of our society for it is a fundamental challenge to the American Establishment.

However, unless the fight is waged and won for the larger freedoms, civil rights, like civil liberties in times of war, may not be permanently secure.

It is difficult to find a social group which has been in possession of civil rights and civil liberties over a long period of history without economic rights, economic freedom, economic citizenship and public power. Thus, Negroes have no alternative except to seek as a major objective the enlargement and broadening of the base of civil rights to involve the basic freedoms.

DANGER OF FAILURE

Moreover, there is danger the crisis of victory may plunge Negroes into a debilitating state of psychological and emotional relaxation which may not only undermine the morale of the civil rights activists and the rank and file civil rights workers, but weaken the entire organizational structure of the civil rights movement. Already, the membership of every civil rights organization has begun to decline. This is probably as inevitable as the night following the day.

But this behavior pattern of weakness following a showing of strength is not peculiar to the civil rights movement. Let us take a look at the behavior patterns of labor, organized labor.

During the early Roosevelt era in the 1930's, a veritable second labor revolution broke upon the country in a blitz of sit-down strikes in the automobile industry and a paralyzing wave of strikes in the mass production industries, resulting in a bloody massacre in south Chicago in the Republic Steel plant, sparked and directed by the C.I.O. composed of a group of unions which had split from the A.F.L.

The year 1937 brought the Wagner Labor Disputes Act, hailed by labor and liberals as the Magna Charta of the workers. Next came the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 which gave recognition, for the first time in Federal law, to the principle of the minimum wage and the shorter workweek.

Within the frame of reference of this pro-labor climate of the New Deal, union membership grew into Big Labor, for confrontation with Big Business and Big Government. But it lost its evangelism and could no longer claim to be the conscience of the country, fighting the battles of the unskilled workmen, neglected migrant farm laborers, and the Jim Crow, underclass black laboring masses.

And, withal, the American labor movement became richer in body but poorer in spirit.

Thus, ten years following the winning of the historic Wagner Labor Disputes Act organized labor became the victim of the Taft-Hartley Act which included Section 14B under which "right-to-work" laws limiting the right of collective bargaining were enacted in some twenty states, more or less. In 1959 the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Bill with its varied restrictions and regulations became Federal law.

While increased union membership has brought affluence and strength to Labor, the growth of membership has been practically arrested by the spread of right-to-work laws, especially in the South and Middle West. Without compulsory union membership required by Federal law, Big Labor might not be so big.

My point is that Labor, too, has been caught up in the crisis of the victory of Federal law legislation, which provoked a sense of relaxation and weakened the will to struggle and resulted in the loss of much of its freedom.

COUNTERREVOLUTION

Besides, a counterrevolution, which follows a revolution as reaction follows action, is already under way, as shown by the defeat of a California fair public housing act and the victory of Proposition 14, with a vote of 2 to 1. Fair housing ordinances have also been struck down in Detroit and Akron. These developments may be a signal of the beginning of an erosion of the national consensus for the Civil Rights Revolution which was chiefly responsible for the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Any severe loss of public approval of the cause of the Negro freedom movement can constitute a grave threat, not only to the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 but to the struggle to improve and strengthen it . . . indeed, even to its maintenance without emasculating amendments.

FATE OF BLACK FREEDMEN

Look at the black Freedmen! Though the Union forces won the war and the slaves were emancipated, when the roaring thunder of the Revolution of Abolitionism was no longer heard virtually every vestige of freedom and citizenship status of the Freedmen, including the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments and the Civil Rights Act of 1875, were swept into political oblivion by the angry winds of the Confederate Counterrevolution. The brief period of the Reconstruction democracy came to an ignoble end. The Federal Government withdrew its support of the cause of the Freedmen and they became the victims of a new plantation feudalism, as sharecroppers, peons and tenant farmers - landless, voteless, moneyless and friendless, if not hopeless and helpless.

Black Freedmen no longer held the center of the stage of American history. The Farmers' Revolt of the 1870's, 80's and 90's, reflected by the Populist political movement, and the Workers' Revolution, marked by bloody and devestating strikes by the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, together with the glittering tinsel of the gilded age of American capitalism, tended to make the ex-slave the forgotten man of the period. He continued thus until the rise of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910, the U. S. Supreme Court decision on the desegregation and integration of public schools in 1954, and the coming of the Civil Rights Revolution.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

BRIDGE THE GULF BETWEEN THE NEGRO MASSES AND CLASSES

First, the psychological and social gulf between the Negro masses and Negro classes - the professionals and intelligentsia such as teachers, students, doctors, lawyers, preachers, businessmen - must and can be bridged. This gulf is here . . . it is widening instead of narrowing. It is marked by a sense of skepticism and cynicism, by many employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled and unemployable Negro workers and some of the so-called middle class, when approached by Negroes of the leadership class, unless the leaders are rabble-rousers spitting fire and brimstone of black nationalism and anti-whiteism. This climate of black racism, which is created by white racism, presents a major problem.

Negro masses must be won to the civil rights movement by Negro leadership; the survival, strength and progress of the freedom movement depend upon the unity of these two forces. The masses must supply the manpower for mass activities, moral witness to the Civil Rights Revolution for their own freedom, and the money with which to carry on the liberation movement. This is not an easy task. However, significant progress has been made in this direction by the NAACP, SCLC, CORE and SNCC . . . but not enough. But it can only be done by participation of the Negro masses in the fight to carry on and maintain the civil rights movement, including mass demonstrations of various kinds and voter-registration in the North and South.

Inspiring the Negro masses to play a creative role in the Civil Rights Revolution is extremely difficult without the development of huge, massive demonstrations in which they can be involved since all that is required is energy and the will to march. But, the day of demonstrations of tremendous dimensions for civil rights, such as the great March on Washington, August 28, 1963, like the big strikes by Labor, are practically over. There is hardly enough of the spirit of evangelism in the civil rights movement today, following the Congressional Civil Rights Act, to stage another great march or Birmingham nonviolent uprising.

In fact, a transition from the politics of confrontation of the civil rights forces with the anti-Negro freedom forces in the streets, to the politics of confrontation in the market places of ideas of the conference, is under way.

While Negroes will and ought to take to the streets in demonstrations against pockets of outrageous racial bigotry as objective socio-racial realities dictate, (such as the Selma, Alabama voter-registration drive) the increasing complexity and difficulty of de facto ghetto schools and housing segregation, which require complex remedies, demand professional, qualified and specialized talent successfully to grapple with these problems around the conference table. Dedication, which is indispensable, is not enough. In our socio-ethnic spectrum of our community life,more of the luminous and less of the thermal rays is essential to racial progress.

REEXAMINING THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

Verily, the civil rights organizations, facing new and different tasks and problems incident to a great historic legislative victory, must undergo a basic and comprehensive reexamination, not only involving tactics and strategy but policies and objectives.

The freedom movement cannot any longer build strength around the traditional, classical concept of civil rights which has served as its major goal for a hundred years. The reason for this is the advent of the revolution of radical technology which has wrought a fundamental change in the processes of production and exchange of goods and services.

FUTURE OF NEGRO LABOR

Because of the Revolution of Automation, sometimes called Cybernatics, the future of Negro workers is by no means promising.

While an unrelenting fight must be waged to break down all barriers to apprenticeship training courses in order that Negro workers may get an opportunity for training in the crafts, apprenticeship training is no answer to the problem of unemployment and poverty among Negroes. Nor is selective placement of the Talented Tenth of Negroes in the higher echelons of administrative and executive responsibility in the great corporations an answer to the problem of Negro unemployment.

Although Negroes have fought for a Federal Fair Employment Practice Act for a generation, the present fair employment section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will not create sufficient jobs to make a significant dent in the problem of joblessness among Negroes. Fair employment practice, while absolutely necessary, will not be meaningful without full employment. Fair employment practice legislation now exists in eighteen or twenty states, but Negro joblessness is still a grave problem in these states.

But in the light of the bewildering pace and magnitude of productivity under the computerization of various and varying machine systems with their decision-making capability, and with the possibility of a small portion of the workforce producing sufficient wealth for the maintenance of the entire population, it is hardly possible for the economy to provide full employment for the available workforce. Thus, Negro workers as young as thirty years of age may never work again, especially those without skills, training and education.

WAR ON POVERTY

Since, with the abolition of all racial barriers, it is hardly possible for the Negro workforce to catch up with the white workforce and bridge the widening gap of the annual average median wage between these two groups, Negro civil rights organizations must lead the war on poverty in the interest of developing a socio-economic order which will bring about the humanization of the Revolution of Automation.

To this end, Negroes must take the leadership in building a coalition of conscience including the black poor and white poor, black unemployed and white unemployed, black workers and white workers, civil rights organizations and organized labor, Negroes and Jews, Catholics and Protestants, liberal intellectuals and progressive businessmen, to create a national consensus for the Federal Government to build decent, low-cost housing for all, integrated quality schools for all, and jobs or a guaranteed decent income for all.

Because of the bewilderingly accelerated pace of change the Revolution of Automation is bringing about, Negroes must move ahead with their fellow white poor and citizens of good will, or history will again pass us by.

Address by A. Philip Randolph to the
North Jersey Chapter, Jack and Jill of
America, Inc., East Orange High School,
East Orange, New Jersey, April 19, 1964

THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION - ORIGIN AND MISSION

On the fourteenth day of July, 1789, in Paris, when Louis XVI heard, from the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, of the fall of the Bastille, the liberation of a few prisoners, and the defection of the Royal Troop under popular attack, the famous dialogue that took place between the King and his messenger is revealing. The King, we are told, exclaimed: "It's a revolt!" Liancourt corrected him: "No, sire. It's a revolution!"

When the King declared that the storming of the Bastille was a revolt, he asserted his power to deal with conspiracy and defiance of authority. But his messenger replied that what had happened there was irresistible and irrevocable, and beyond the power even of the King. Behind these ominous words a mighty multitude of the poor and downtrodden, whom every century before had hidden in darkness and shame, poured like torrents of molten lava of an erupting volcano, into the streets of Paris, which was not only the capital of France but of the entire civilized world.

It was not long following this historic dialogue before this Bourbon king of France lost his head by the judgement of history in the raging reign of terror.

When the gathering storm clouds of the Civil Rights Revolution broke over the country it startled and stunned the nation.

In a worsening mood of anger, resentment and frustration, if not desperation, over the snail-like pace of the desegregation and integration of public schools following the momentous decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1954, Negroes have initiated and developed waves of demonstrations against racial bias, North and South.

These demonstrations have taken varied forms: Sit-ins, lie-ins, lie-downs at construction sites, bus boycotts, freedom rides against Jim Crow bus and airline terminals, efforts at prayer-ins in white churches, school boycotts, and marches against city halls, state capitals and the Nation's Capital. The black mass protest and petition, under the leadership of Rev. Martin Luther King, against white oppression in Birmingham, Alabama, where the police turned savage dogs upon Negro citizens and used electric cattle prods and fire hoses to frighten them into silence, have shaken and shocked America.

In Raleigh, North Carolina, five hundred college students launched a drive for total integration by a demonstration at the Governor's mansion. In this same city, one thousand Negroes attempted to sit in at two move houses and a public cafeteria.

Verily, the storm winds of the Black Revolt raged against the white world through Selma, Alabama; Jackson, Mississippi; Jacksonville, Tallahassee and St. Augustine, Florida; Little Rock and New Orleans, and in the ghettoes of New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, San Francisco and Englewood, New Jersey. And the end is not yet!

LACK OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

In these vast movement of mass protest against racial segregation and discrimination, tens of thousands of Negroes, men, women and children, and many whites, in utter disregard of their civil liberties, have been thrown into jails, with hundreds refusing bail. And, needless to say, America must never be permitted to enjoy relief from the guilt for the tragic Sunday morning when four innocent little Negro girls in church were blown into eternity by a racist hate bomb, the culprit for which horrible crime is yet to be apprehended. And there is the cowardly murder of Medgar Evers, courageous representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi. When will a white man in the South ever pay the price for the commission of a crime against a Negro, asks the illiterate as well as the literate Negro?

The angry, violent Negro-white confrontation in Birmingham in the summer of 1963 involved the black, jobless, poor masses who, enraged by police dogs tearing at the bodies of Negro citizens, broke through the psychological barriers of apathy, despair and hopelessness and surged through the streets with small groups of their educated, middle-class brothers and sisters, facing white Alabama for the first time in a fight for freedom.

And, like Louis XVI, blinded by power and a long, irresponsible rule, southern white leaders cynically still talk about Negroes being satisfied with their lot - whatever that is - and of Negroes staying in their so-called place.

Albeit, this was not all!

Following hard upon the Birmingham drama of a people embittered and aroused by a long night of oppression, battling the mailed might of a prejudiced police force and white power structure with their bare hands, a massive multitude of black and white Americans from the four corners of the country marched on Washington, for jobs and freedom and to bear witness to their commitment to the principle of the God-given right of every human being to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

And, yet, the finest flower of Southern political progress, such as Senators Richard Russell of Georgia, J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, James Eastland of Mississippi and Lister Hill of Alabama have brazenly stooped to the use of every trick and maneuver to block the democratic process of free debate and voting and are now staging a filibuster to kill the civil rights bills in the Senate.

CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

Truly, these demonstrations are the manifestations of a revolution - a civil rights revolution, and a full-dress one at that.

What is its historic mission? It is to effect a transition from the status of second-class citizenship to first-class citizenship, or a reversal of the relationship between the Negro and white America. This means the liquidation and elimination of the old racial habit systems that provide for and perpetuate the concept of the heriditary racial inferiority of the Negro. Upon this concept the entire structure of segregation and discrimination was erected and justified, with a body of weird racial myths, fictions, fantasies, eccentricities and idiosyncrasies.

Thus, the basic Civil Rights Revolution consists not in the current demonstrations, though valuable and indispensable, but in the complete orientation of the Negro from an old slave psychology to that of a free man, and the knowledge that his status of the "under-class", or social, economic and political substratum of the American society, is not inherent and an inevitable part of his human condition but it can be changed and, further, that it is his responsibility to change it.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Verily, the behavior patterns of the Civil Rights Revolution are not drastically unlike the behavior patterns of the American Revolution which resulted in the overthrow of British colonial rule and the achievement of independence.

The Boston Tea Party of 1773 and the Boston Massacre of 1768 did not constitute the Revolution; they were manifestations of it. Its roots extended back to 1215 when, at the Battle of Runnymede, the Magna Charta was exacted from King John, and to 1265 when the common people of England won the right to elect representatives to Parliament, which was the background of a rich heritage of struggle for liberty which the Pilgrim Fathers brought to the New World.

The cry of "taxation without representation is tyranny," was raised by Samuel and John Adams, Patrick Henry and James Otis, against the Stamp Act in 1765, long before Lexington and Concord in 1775. Besides, Samuel Adams had initiated and employed the Committee of Correspondence, and the Sons and Daughters of Liberty, to break down the loyalty of the people to British colonial rule; advocated and aroused the unity of the colonies and prepared the way for the formation of the First Continental Congress in 1774, culminating in the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

ORIGIN OF THE BLACK REVOLUTION

Now, the Civil Rights Revolution had its birth in the fact that while the Civil War Revolution emancipated the slaves from chattel slavery, it failed to transform them into free workers, independent peasant proprietors with a government grant of acres of land, and into full-fledged, first-class citizens.

The reason for this was that the new capitalism, under the Republican leadership of Abraham Lincoln, which waged the Civil War had completed its major objective when it saved the Union. It had had also overthrown the Cotton Plantation Order, centralized political power in a strong federal system and effected the national economic unification of the country. Thus, the Union federal forces no longer needed the black freedmen, two hundred thousand of whom had helped win the war and, during the Reconstruction period, voted to keep the Republican Party in power in the former slave states, thereby enabling it to control the federal power of taxation to be used to levy and maintain a protective tariff for the bolstering and advancement of the growing capitalist economy.

Therefore, although the Civil War Revolution had achieved important civil rights gains, such as the 13th Amendment of 1865, the 14th Amendment of 1868, and the 15th Amendment of 1870, together with the Congressional Reconstruction Acts of 1867 and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 for the protection of the freedmen, they were soon swept into political oblivion by the wild fury of the Confederate Counterrevolution.

When the eloquent voices of the "Great Commoner," Thaddeus Stevens, in the House of Representatives, and Charles Sumner, uncompromising leader of the anti-slavery movement in the Senate, were no longer heard in defense of the rights of the freedmen, the Reconstruction democracy came to an ignoble end.

It was the year of the Hayes-Tilden election, 1876. Samuel J. Tilden, Democratic candidate for President of the United States, was far in the lead of Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, with both popular and electoral votes. But historical necessity, in the interest of the national destiny, had virtually decreed that the power of the federal government should reside in the hands of the Republican Party, the political voice of nascent capitalism, the dominant force in the nation.

Hence, a deal was made. It involved a shift of the electoral votes of Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina and Oregon over to Hayes, with the provision that he, when elected, would withdraw the Federal Army - sole protection of the freedmen - from the South. Then, with the United States Supreme Court decision of Plessy versus Ferguson in 1896, the doctrine of "separate but equal" was handed down, which has formed the foundation of the structure of racial segregation for practically a hundred years.

Add to these attacks upon the ex-slaves, the anti-Negro legislative devices of Grandfather Clauses, White Primaries and the Poll Tax, along with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan with its cross burnings and midnight terror accompanied with a wave of lynchings that, according to Tuskeegee Institute, reached 4,733 persons who died from mob action from 1882 to 1901, and anyone can understand how the Confederate Counterrevolution, with prejudicial courts and hostile police, drove the freedmen from civil life back upon the cotton plantation, to be robbed of his labor and made prisoner of black serfdom for virtually a hundred years.

As a result, the freedmen entered the twentieth century not as first-class citizens and free workers but as debt peons, sharecroppers and farm laborers. They were voteless, moneyless, landless, jobless and friendless, with no status in the civic life as citizens or the free labor market as workers.

AWAKENING OF THE NEGRO

Negro slaves never meekly accepted their lot; they have ever rejected, resisted and resented human bondage. This was attested to by some 250 recorded slave revolts that frightened the slave power structure, though the leader of each revolt was put to death. This tragic story was written blood and tears in a continuing exodus of slaves in the famous Underground Railroad, under the brave, black woman conductor, Harriet Tubman.

Under the leadership of three black giants, Frederick Douglass, eloquent orator; Booker T. Washington, noted educator, and William Edward Burghardt DuBois, brilliant agitator, Negroes resorted to the federal courts and education. They had set their feet upon the path of a long journey to complete an incompleted Civil War Revolution.

To this end, Dr. DuBois and a few genuine white liberals - Mary White Ovington, Oswald Garrison Villard and John Haynes Holmes - organized the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910.

Being increasingly subjected to fraud and violence and anti-Negro legislation in the former slave states, by such demagogic politicians as Vardaman of Mississippi; Hoke Smith of Georgia, and "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina, the N.A.A.C.P. went into the federal courts to establish the illegality of racial segregation and discrimination.

The strategy worked!

Grandfather clauses, in the constitutions of southern states, lily-white primaries, the poll tax and restricted covenants were declared unconstitutional. Finally, came the memorable decision of the United States Supreme Court for the desegregation and integration of public schools in 1954 which, on account of the snail-like pace of implementation, caused widespread frustration.

Baffled, impatient and angry, Negroes, by the hundreds and thousands, took to the streets and staged nonviolent, direct mass action with various forms of civil disobedience, in protest against race bias and petition for direct and immediate remedy.

Be it understood that it was not the leaders who surged into the streets, but masses of Negroes. Nor is the remedy sought only for the leaders, but for all Negroes. Nor is the remedy based upon merit, knowledge and ability, but upon need, justice and rights. The problem is all-inclusive, relating to the entire Negro community, and the remedy must be all-inclusive, affecting, as it were, all Negroes. No handful of Negroes can solve the problem of race bias and no handful of Negroes should benefit by the solution of the problem.

Progress in our modern world can only be made by collective man in relation to individual man, and individual man to collective man. Wars are won by vast armies not by individual generals, though they are necessary. Strikes, for the benefit of workers, are won by workers in a whole plant, railroad, hotel or factory, not by lonely leaders.

Thus, Negroes, like the Italians, Irish, Jews, and southern whites, must use their mass power to win recognition of their mass interests and power, as a means of providing opportunities for the gifted, talented, and the specially professionally, scientifically and artistically-trained among us.

The order of Negro-white relations was to stress the importance and status of one or two Negroes, usually picked out by the white power structure for the Negro community. But this is no more.

With the rate of unemployment of Negroes being two and a half times higher than whites, the demand today is for jobs and training for all Negroes, not for only the talented. The desegregation of segregated schools, whether by law or custom, is for all children, Negro and other minorities and, for that matter, white children too, and not for just a few. The desegregation of housing and abolition of slums are for all Negro and white citizens, not onoy for the so-called elect.

THE NEW AWAKENING

One of the unmistakable signs of a new awakening of Negro Americans was the great exodus of black Americans from the Egypt of southern bondage in the early part of the twentieth century, upon the call of the first and second world wars, in quest of the Promised Land of the milk and honey of jobs and freedom. Hundreds of thousands swarmed North; they went into the automobile factories, steel mills, meatpacking industries, shipyards and hotels. Many of these Negro workers joined unions and walked with their white brothers on the picket lines for higher wages and better job conditions. They were learning their lessons for the struggle for fair employment practice.

Moreover, hundreds of thousands were drafted into the armed forces, under practices of racial bias, to fight with American white men against white men in Europe, Asia and Africa to make the world safe for democracy.

Meanwhile, a blaze of illumination in novels and poetry from the hearts and minds of black writers gave birth to the Negro Renaissance, centered principally in Harlem in New York City and other metropolitan areas such as Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco and Washington.

Along with the flowering of the artistic life of the New Negro was heard the challenge of the strident voices of a new Negro radicalism, led by the MESSENGER MAGAZINE which opposed the Negro joining the Army to fight for a democracy abroad he could not enjoy at home. Following the end of World War I and the return of Negro soldiers with a new spirit to fight for their rights, race riots swept over the land from Chicago to Longview, Texas.

Verily, the lamps of freedom that had been lighted by the black leaders, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, James Weldon Johnson, Monroe Trotter, Mary McLeod Bethune, Mary Church Terrell, are still burning. May they never go out. If they do, they may not be relighted for a hundred years.

These developments of struggle against race bias, and the expression of the human spirit in literary and artistic forms, tended to break down traditional racial inhibitions and to set the black impoverished masses on the march from the obscurity of their misfortunes. They streamed into the market place of American life to attain visibility and status.

The view began to dawn upon the Negro that the shackles of the

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL

REMARKS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
APRIL 29, 1965

I am indeed joyously thrilled and immensely delighted to have been chosen to receive this citation from a distinguished educator, Dr. Logan, under the auspices of the Conference of the Division of Social Sciences of this great seat of learning. I receive it with a sense of deep humility and in the name of the brothers, sisters and officials of my organization, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and of the Negro American Labor Council.

I know that achievement is a social process and it is almost impossible to tell where the line of effort of an individual begins and ends. In fact, in our modern life, individual achievement can rarely be separated from the struggles of the people with whom the individual is related. I want to commend the chairman of this conference for the fine program which has been presented here.

I think it is tremendously significant and important that not only the youngsters but all of us become increasingly aware of the grave crisis which confronts America, the Negro in America, and, for that matter, the entire world.

I am greatly interested in stepping up the pace of the Civil Rights Revolution. We need to complete it at as early a date as possible because the Civil Rights Revolution will not solve the basic problems of freedom; it is largely concerned with the conventional, traditional, classical concepts of civil rights.

Civil rights that we are now struggling to achieve, when we receive them, when we get them, will leave us where the white worker is today. He has civil rights but he, too, is not fully free.

He does not possess all the basic freedoms - freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom from ignorance and disease.

To achieve these rights we must complete this incompleted Civil Rights Revolution or, as a matter of fact, the Civil War Revolution - because if the Civil War Revolution had been completed we would not now be engaged in this struggle for civil rights. We are fighting a battle which should have been won a hundred years ago. This is why we are behind.

Now, we face another great revolution. That is the revolution occasioned and brought about by the march of science, industrialism and technology. This presents a problem because of the bewilderingly high accelerated pace of change in our society, a pace which is sufficient to sweep a timid person from his feet. We are face to face with problems that we are not equipped to solve by ourselves alone. But we must get around to the problem of facing these issues today. This is why I want to see the Civil Rights Revolution completed so that we may begin to deal with the problems that arise as a result of the profound, basic change that is coming upon the world as a result of what is known as the revolution of automation, or revolution of cybernation.

I am greatly concerned about our position today. The cause has been indicated here. The large majority of the poor are white, but the white poor, too, are better off than the black poor. The white poor at least have their civil rights. The black poor are not only poor, but have no status in our American society.

I think it is fortunate that in this period we have a President in the White House who sees the necessity of placing Federal power back of the civil rights struggle. President Johnson has been able to comprehend the importance of this particular struggle. President Kennedy also saw the necessity of placing Federal power back of this struggle.

Even though there is Federal power back of the struggle for civil rights, the burden of the struggle - the responsibility for completing the struggle - rests upon the shoulders of Negroes themselves, and for this reason I am proud of the young Negroes today. I was proud to see the Negroes marching in Montgomery and Selma. The youngsters gave me a tremendous thrill because, in the final analysis, he who would be free must himself first strike the blow. If we don't fight for freedom, nobody else will fight for it for us.

At the same time we must utilize the principle of the national consensus - get this national consensus to back the struggles of the Negro because in our type of society we have numberless groups fighting for their rights.....fighting for various objectives. All of them are seeking the support of a national consensus and of Federal power. There is competition for this, and this is the reason why Negroes have had to resort to the tactical maneuvers of demonstrations, marching in the streets, sit-ins, and so forth.

Why? We had to secure the attention of the public; we had to enlist the interest of public opinion. Inasmuch as all of these various groups in America are fighting for a place in the sun, we can't win our place unless we are able to secure the attention and and enlist the interest of the national consensus of public opinion.

However, we are rapidly reaching the point now where the revolution is not going to move forward through our old tactical maneuvers. In shifting our strategy, we must shift and change our tactics because we have broken down the legal basis of racial segregation and discrimination. That fight has been won by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was started by the brilliant DuBois, one of the great intellectual wheels of the Western world. The NAACP carried the fight to the United States Supreme Court and won the decision, in 1954, outlawing segregated schools. Of course, the revolution started long before that. However, it gave a tremendous thrust to the struggle.

And, so, now here we are, getting ready to embark upon the basic struggle for the basic freedoms.....freedom to learn and freedom to earn. This is where we need the alliance of organized labor. We need alliance with Jews, we need alliance with Catholics, we need alliance with Protestants, we need alliance with the white poor. When we achieve this alliance we will not only win a victory for the Negro but we will also help emancipate and liberate the white poor.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
at
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
NEW YORK, N. Y.
JUNE 3, 1965

SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

One incontrovertible evidence of the comparable common social and psychological roots and aims of totalitarian Nazism, or Fascims, and totalitarian Communism is the fact that since the destruction of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany, anti-Semitism, as an official state policy, and anti-Semitic propaganda have become more pronounced in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The present Kremlin rulers are blaming the Jewish population of the U.S.S.R. and making them scapegoats for the evil consequences of the regime's unsound economic policies. The same technique of scapegoatism was used against the Jews in Nazi Germany. The Jews were accused of being responsible for the defeat and for the post-war chaos. All the failures and inadequacies of the German people were transferred to the Jews.

The Kremlin has singled out Jews for persecution for so-called economic crimes. Thousands of Russian Jews have suffered the severest penal sentences, including, in many instances, the death penalty, for offenses that nowhere in the civilized world would even be considered crimes. Criminal offenses are being fabricated in order to carry out campaigns for absolving the ruling Communist Party clique of blame for their own mistaken policies.

Trials of accused Jews are set to mislead the public rather than to assure justice. Toward this end, Soviet newspapers and broadcasts issue reports designed to whip up anti-Jewish hysteria.

The Jewish names of the accused are emphasized. At times they are accused of having committed their crimes in the local synagogue. Their family ties in Israel and elsewhere are pointed up. The persecution of Jews is employed to foster the Soviet policy of intensifying hostility against Jews in the Arab world, with a view of preventing Arab-Israeli peace.

Far more than other religious communities Jews are denied the most elementary requirements for practicing their religion. Jewish culture, which was brutally suppressed under Stalin, is being stifled today. The Jewish theatre has been suppressed; the teaching of Yiddish and Hebrew to the young stopped; books in Yiddish prohibited, and a systematic program is being carried out to uproot and destroy all aspects of Jewish cultural life.

May I say that I reflect the sentiment of the civil rights organizations when I call for the application of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights, in our own country and in all others, and demand that Soviet Russia cease its persecution and discrimination against the Jewish people in the U.S.S.R.

In this connection we strongly urge the United States Senate to ratify the U. N. Genocide Convention which was unanimously adopted by the United Nations fifteen years ago and which has since been ratified by 64 countries.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AT PILGRIM BAPTIST CHURCH, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, JUNE 20, 1965

And Jesus spake unto his disciples: "I have compassion upon the multitude because they continue with me three days and have nothing to eat; I will not send them away fasting for they may fall by the wayside, for divers come from far."

Jesus Christ was concerned about the poor, the forgotten man, the worker, the disinherited, the propertyless and the oppressed.

When the Lowly Nazarene said, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls; for my yoke is easy and my burden is light," and followed this declaration with this admonition to his disciples, "And again I say unto you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God," he expressed the central doctrine of the Christian Revolution.

It was the first time since the days of the old Hebrew prophets that a religious or government leader expressed the concept of equalitarian status of the Ancient Lowly or the common laborers, the camel drivers, the publicans and sinners with the high priests of the scribes and Pharisees, Sadducees, the conquering warriors, philosophers and kings.

Even the great Athenian philosophers, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, voiced no concern about the cruel oppression of the poor. Verily, the democracy of Athens and the Golden Age of Pericles, with its superlative excellence in art, literature, science and philosophy, were based upon human slavery.

But Jesus made it unmistakably clear where he stood with respect to the house of "haves" and the house of "have nots" when he cried out: "Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayer; therefore you shall receive the greater damnation."

And when Jesus came to Nazareth where he had been brought up and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias. And when he had opened the book, he found the pages where it was written: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering the sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised."

Such was the mission of the Christian Revolution well-nigh two thousand years ago. This is the mission of the Civil Rights Revolution today. Not only is the Civil Rights Revolution, through sit-ins, wade-ins, lie-ins and lie-downs, marches, boycotts and picket lines, shaking America, if not the world, into consciousness of the black Americans' will to win freedom, racial and social justice and human dignity, but it is awakening and arousing the white workers, white liberals, leaders of the church of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths, and the white poor, to the magnitude and importance of the problem of poverty to Negroes and white Americans, alike.

Yes, in this age of revolutions, this time of trouble, in this era of restless man, Asian and African revolutions of rising expectations against colonialism and imperialism have shaken and continue to shake the world. Out of these upheavals have emerged independent, sovereign Afro-Asian nations-states, and now, as nonaligned political international forces, are playing a significant role in the United Nations.

But the rising winds of change have not only swept across the ancient world of color, the winds of change have swirled through the Americas, fanning the fires of revolution for civil rights and civil liberties.

Practically contemporaneously the revolution of science, technology and industrialism is transforming the world and creating new crucial crises of change, including nuclear war weaponry and the revelation of the possibilities of the discovery of new worlds of the universe.

This revolution of technology, variously known as automation or cybernation, is creating the foundation of a social revolution, the fundamental mission of which is the achievement of a more equitable distribution of the wealth of our affluent society which constitutes problems which the Civil Rights Revolution cannot reach.

Although the Civil Rights Revolution has the limitations of a bourgeois revolution that provides primarily the attributes of first-class citizenship, it has brought about a revival of the fires of a fighting faith in freedom in America for all men. It has stressed the truism that freedom is not free; it must be fought for. It has a price; namely, struggle, sacrifice and suffering.

Wounded and angry, helpless and hopeless in the darkness of the squalor, depression, poverty and frustration of the ghetto, the black masses have fled to the streets, the common forum for the poor, to light the lamps of liberty and tell their story of social misery and economic wretchedness and social injustice to the mountains.

Verily, there is no alternative for the thousands of unemployed, low wage, unskilled Negro and Puerto Rican workers except to escape from the dilapidated, rat and roach infested, filthy, stinking tenements into the free air of the streets.

Yes, the streets are jungles! Teenagers and adults alike congregate on the street corners and the stoops of old rundown apartment houses and play checkers, blackjack, and shoot craps on the sidewalks or in the alleys. The streets are the locale of the gang wars, bookies, numbers racket; of pimps, narcotics pushers, prostitutes and parasites of poverty; the scene of riot eruptions, of roaming unemployed workers, youth dropouts from school, attacks upon law-abiding citizens by dope-crazed addicts and fights of mobs with the police whom they consider an enemy.

But the streets were also the arena of the battle of Birmingham for civil rights, and the highways for those who walked in the great boycott of jim crow buses in Montgomery, and the mighty March on Washington, as well as the Selma-Montgomery crusade for a free ballot.

The streets are where the long, hot summers of violence, lawlessness, looting, vandalism of stores by mobs of teenagers and unemployed, reckless adults, take place in the big cities of the country.

FACTORS OF LONG HOT SUMMERS

Continuing growth of Negro population, resulting in overcrowded housing, defacto segregation in the schools, police brutality, unemployment and teenage dropouts, tend to make for social unrest eventuating in frustration, violence, resentment, outbreaks of gathering crowds on street corners upon the least provocation, culminating in the throwing of bricks, bottles, molotov cocktails at citizens, white and black, windows of stores, overturning of garbage cans and looting of stores.

But long hot summers of lawlessness, looting, riots, vandalism, with attacks upon person and property, for any reason or cause, cannot and should not be condoned, excused or tolerated, for freedom and civil rights are impossible of realization without law and order, and law and order is impossible of realization without freedom and civil rights.

Of course, because of the complexity and variability of the nature of social phenomena, whether the coming summer will be long or hot, and in which areas the so-called long hot summer will occur, is highly unpredictable. However, unless some meaningful action is taken to provide some jobs and hope for an increasing population of unemployed teenagers and adults, the probability is that there may be intermittent riotous, racial eruptions of lawlessness and ugly scenes of violence which could get out of hand.

Both the Negro community and the law enforcement agencies of the big cities should cooperate to prevent these manifestations of socio-racial sickness from afflicting the communities. Some teenagers and adults who participate in these riots are well-meaning but misguided. Others are drug addicts and hoodlums who take advantage of these racial upheavals to pillage and loot stores, have no interest whatever in the freedom movement and neither care or know anything about the Negroes' struggle for civil rights.

POLICE BRUTALITY

Unfortunately, because of the long reputation of the police for brutality upon the poor, especially the black poor, the great mass of Negroes in the ghettoes look upon the police as their enemy and, therefore, the police encounter suspicion and distrust and sometimes opposition when they attempt to enforce the law.

In fact, the history of the police has been to protect property, not human rights. They brutalize white and black workers on the picket line during strikes for the benefit of employers. They evict tenants at the behest of the landlords.

In the South, following the Civil War, the job of the police was to oppress, suppress, intimidate, harrass, beat up, shoot and jail the black freedmen in order to break their spirit and reduce them to the status of segregated serfs, sharecroppers and peons.

POLICE REVIEW BOARD

Thus, police review boards that are established agencies of the city government to which a citizen, Negro, Puerto Rican or white, may present a complaint about police brutality, which will fairly and impartially analyze and weigh the evidence with a view to giving both the complaining citizen and the accused policeman in question a fair and impartial hearing and assess a just discipline or acquittal, should be set up.

Such a board will tend to eliminate police brutality on the one hand and mob brutality against the police on the other. It will enable the minorities' communities and the police to cooperate on a basis of mutual interest for the maintenance and protection of civil rights and civil liberties of citizens, regardless of color or status, and maintain law and order.

Verily, Negroes as citizens who suffer most from crimes in the slums have a responsibility to mount community-wide crusades, composed of all the responsible organizations, to sweep crime from the streets or the criminal elements, including the narcotics pushers, drug addicts, thieves, frustrated teenagers, hungry unemployables armed with guns and switchblades, may take over the communities. It is a matter of common knowledge that women, black and white, and even men walk the streets of the big cities in fear of attacks in broad daylight to say nothing about prowling criminals in the night.

DEMONSTRATIONS

These periodic summer riots must not be identified with civil rights demonstrations. Civil rights demonstrations constitute a major tactic of the Civil Rights Revolution. They are the most effective social instrumentality for awakening and arousing the public conscience to express its committment against race bias. Of course, this is not to suggest that all demonstrations advance the cause of the black freedom movement. Some demonstrations do and some don't because they reflect the emotionalism and irrationality of mere gimmicks. But, as a rule, tactical maneuvers that smack of the ridiculous meet with public scorn and rejection as they, of course, deserve. We cannot afford to demean the dignity, nobility and high moral promise of the Civil Rights Revolution by short-cut, illy-advised improvisation of action of extremist orientation.

Demonstrations are all the more a basic force of the Civil Rights Revolution because it is only through marches in the streets that the so-called lower-lower stratum of the race, the unskilled and illiterate, unemployed and unemployable black workers, can play an effective role in the fight for their own liberation. The so-called talented black tenth don't represent large numbers necessary to change and shape the course of American social-racial history.

Verily, the talented black tenth need the non-talented nine-tenths, and the non-talented black nine-tenths need the talented tenth of the black bourgeoisie. Unfortunately, the black untalented nine-tenths have not had much faith in the black talented tenth, not without some good, varied and various reasons, and the black talented tenth have tended to discount the non-talented black nine-tenths because of their lower level of literacy.

But, the Civil Rights Revolution is beginning to change the fallacious and regrettable status-oriented intraracial outlook at the problem. In very truth, there is no hope for the Civil Rights Revolution without a working and effective unity between these two basic forces. One indispensable factor of a creative unity is that the talented tenth tell. the untalented nine-tenths the truth about the promises and limitations of the Civil Rights Revolution, even when it is unpopular.

They must not be lulled into a false sense of security by glowing, glittering generalities about racial progress that cannot eventuate into reality, nor be thrown into the desperate darkness of despair by descriptions of inevitable racial hopelessness.

Negroes must be made to understand that there is no one panacea for the solution of the race or American problem. It is not the ballot, or education, or jobs, or freedom to enjoy public accommodations, or school integration, or business development, but all of these factors are necessary for a solution of the problem.

They must be informed of the fact that the lot of the civil rights movement is tied up with the lot of labor's rights movement because neither labor or the Negro is fully free and both have a stake in the maintenance and strengthening of our political, democratic system, within the framework of which along can civil rights and labor's rights be realized.

Thus, they must be alerted to the folly, fallacy, futility and danger of black racism as well as white racism, and of the menace of Communism, either of the Peking or Moscow vintage.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Negroes are making progress, as shown by the incontrovertible fact of the existing Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the soon to be enacted Voting Rights Act of 1965, hopefully with a ban on the poll tax.

But it is also obvious that the big task is the implementation of these Acts. We must get on with this business immediately! Well, has the immortal Shakespeare mused:

> There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound
> in shallows and miseries,
> On Such a full sea are we now afloat;
> And we must take the current when it serves,
> Or lose our ventures.

NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LABOR ALLIANCE

It will be obvious to him who runs and reads the signs of the times that in this world where machines displace men and have shown capabilities for decision making, no one group struggling for a place in the sun of opportunity, freedom and achievement can win their goals alone.

Thus, just as the civil rights movement needs the power of organized labor, so organized labor needs the power of the Negro civil rights movement. Hence, an alliance between these two forces is natural.

Be it said to the great credit of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, it has put, under the leadership of George Meany, its full weight back of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

By the same token, the civil rights movement must place its full weight back of labor's fight to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which is the basis of the deceptive and sinister antilabor and anticivil rights "right-to-work" laws that are on the statute books of 19 states. The "right-to-work" laws are backed by the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils and the John Birch Society, the known enemies of civil rights and labor's rights. Practically all of the southern states have "right-to-work" laws as well as jim crow laws, and also the highest poverty level and lowest literacy rate.

HAIL TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON

And now, let me hail and salute our great President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, upon the fact that he has demonstrated a high order of statesmanship in placing the full power of the Federal Government, and his own brilliant genius in the art and science of government, back of the struggle for civil rights by the Negro Americans and their white allies of labor and the Church, Jewish, Catholic and Protestant, and the liberal intellectual community.

In the President's recent speeches before both Houses of the Congress and at Howard University, he gave a new momentum to, and fired the faith of, the must humble men of color in the Civil Rights Revolution of rising expectations.

Be it said to the great credit and honor of the President that in these times of trouble, trial and tension, he has maintained an uncompromising position of support for full, first-class citizenship for black Americans, and wisely proposed a White House Conference on Civil Rights in September, 1965 to draft a program of action to give reality to the promise of civil rights legislation. This is a tribute to his greatness as an American and World Statesman. It is his finest hour.

He has also courageously placed the bill for the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act before the Congress, a major goal of labor.

May God give him the faith, courage and strength to bear the cross history has placed upon his shoulders.

Let me also hail and salute our great Vice-President, Hubert H. Humphrey, and honored son of the Twin Cities. He led the fight in the Congress for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and has, brilliantly over the years, served as one of the champions of liberalism in America.

In honor of the great heroic struggle of the Civil Rights Revolution, I salute those young, brave, dedicated, fallen warriors in the memorable cause of civil rights, liberty, and the indestructibility of the human spirit; Andy Goodman, James Chaney and Michael Schwerner, as well as the Reverend James Reeb, Viola Luizzo, Medgar Evers, and a gallant host of unknown soldiers who gave their all for human dignity, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin.

Although the North cannot be said to be thoroughly anti-segregationist, the great March on Washington and the Selma-Montgomery crusade showed that there is a minority of whites in the North who view racial segregation and discrimination with perfect hatred and who publicly bear witness of commitment to human dignity.

It is these white leaders and ordinary men of labor, religion, business, government and education who constitute the marching millions throughout the nation and who, with their black brothers and sisters, sing the stirring lines "We Shall Overcome" and the noblest war song of the ages to the tune of John Brown's Body:

> Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,
> He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of
> wrath are stored,
> He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible
> swift sword,
> His truth is marching on!

Remarks by A. Philip Randolph
International President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Vice-President, AFL-CIO

Delivered at Plenary Session
ICFTU Congress
Amsterdam Holland
14 July 1965

Mr. Chairman and Brothers in this mighty House of Labor:

I bring you warm greetings from the Civil Rights revolution that is now so dramatically sweeping throughout the United States of America.

I specifically bring you the greetings from the stalwart, heroic and gallant men and women, black and white, who suffer day after day to bring freedom to black men in my country.

I am elated to report that all rights for Negroes will surely be realized soon in the United States. In fact, the President of our country, Mr. Johnson, has placed not only the full power of the government behind the freedom movement, but, against great odds, has placed the great prestige of his office behind our moral crusade for dignity and justice. Many major goals of our struggle have already been achieved.

But far beyond the specific objectives of the civil rights movement, the spirit of this revolution and its peaceful techniques - many borrowed from labor struggles - have spread throughout our land and have revealed contradictions in our society. The result being that trade unions, religious groups - catholic, protestant and jewish - students, intellectuals, and ordinary citizens have taken on a determination to eradicate all poverty and injustice from our land.

Brothers, you should know that the trade unions in my country, under the able leadership of President George Meany and Vice President Walter Reuther, have played a vanguard and mighty role in the quest for freedom for the Negro and the Puerto Rican peoples.

Scarcely a major project - from the historic Montgomery Bus Protest in 1955 through the great struggle in Birmingham in 1963 - could have succeeded without the aid of the trade unions. The massive March on Washington in 1963, the greatest demonstration ever staged in the United States in the cause of liberty - if not the greatest in the world - owes much for its impact and power to the tens of thousands of American workers who jammed our Nation's capital on that historic day.

The civil rights revolution will remain eternally grateful to the labor movement for the time, the energy, the money and the inspiration it has poured into the fight for human dignity and for economic freedom.

Just as the trade unions of the United States are fighting for total freedom and dignity there, so I hope that the ICFTU - which to date has played so vital a role in African freedom and independence - will leave no stone unturned to support our black brothers still held captive in Africa.

So long as the people of South Africa, Mozambique, Angola and Southern Rhodesia are not free, not one person in this room, not one man who loves freedom is safe - for freedom is indivisable.

We are, thus, obligated to join with all other world-wide progressive forces to bring every possible pressure on the governments of Great Britain, Portugal and South Africa, urging them to respect and to exercise the most basic of democratic principles - that of "one man one vote" - to do so is our duty - a sacred duty.

Furthermore, all men who cherish freedom must see that no area of this globe is so crucial to the existence and extension of democracy as is Africa. This is not merely a moral conclusion; it is a practical reality. In a world where two-thirds of the world's population is colored, Asia and Africa have a power far beyond that which is physically measurable:

Yet today a militant, reckless and dangerous Communist China is threatening the whole of Asia. China's geo-political position, the poverty of Asia, the vast population of Asia, the dispersement of millions of Chinese nationals throughout Asia, and China's possession of nuclear power - all these elements leave in serious doubt whether the free and democratic nations can, in fact, strengthen democratic elements in areas where China exerts pressures and possesses influence. We must, of course, try to do so.

However, these ugly facts cause Africa to emerge as the continent of democracy's defence - cause Africa to emerge as the place where, perchance, freedom for all mankind may yet be determined.

It should be clear for all who have eyes to see that only a free Africa, a strong Africa - an Africa free from all colonialism, free from all neo-colonialism - that is, a truly democratic Africa can bear so awesome a burden.

It is also true that within Africa, no institution can do so much as the democratic and free trade union movement to eradicate the four problems that most cripple many African nations: tribalism, disease, hunger and ignorance.

After spending several days and nights in intimate and brotherly discussions with our representatives from Africa, I should like to make four recommendations that I sincerely believe will help us in our relations with our brothers on that great continent:

One I propose that the free trade unions of the world launch a massive educational drive in Africa. Nothing short of a multi-million dollar vocational, technical and academic plan, well conceived and well executed will do, if, in time Africans are to meet the challenges of automation, cybernation and other aspects - moral, economic and cultural - of the technological revolution that engulf us all.

Two I propose that the image of the ICFTU in Africa can be greatly strengthened if the next Congress is held in black Africa. Specifically I would like to propose Addis Ababa which has magnificent facilities in Africa Hall, a superb climate and adequate hotel accommodations.

Three I propose, in order to deal with the psychological problems our enemies pose, it will in time be essential to propose an African as President of the ICFTU. I am not proposing any African; I am free to make this proposal since we are blessed with several men of great distinction from Africa.

Four I propose that the ICFTU assist our African brothers in establishing regional newspapers in Africa in order that the problems of the trade unionist in Africa can be debated in a systematic and thorough manner; in order that the true relationship of the ICFTU to the African movement can be truthfully reported, etc.

Mr. Chairman, may I conclude, in urging all of us to make a real effort to understand the basis of the great problems that African trade unionists face. To organize workers, as we know, is an arduous task anywhere. In Africa, it often seems hopeless. Yet our brothers deserve our every thanks for a job well done against superhuman odds.

We in Europe and America can only face Africa when we with humility recall our own history. We must realize that most developing countries were not exposed to the vast, long range and often brutally violent series of revolutions and social conflicts and developments that we in Europe and America experienced. We, in humility, must realize that gradually over a number of centuries we extended freedom and democracy. We did not do it over-night.

We must realize that Africa was not affected by the Magna Carta; nor by the American and French revolutions. Africa did not experience Europe's Renaissance. Africa had no Reformation. Africa experienced no Industrial Revolution. Yet, freedom as we both conceive it and practise it sprang, in large part, from these profound historic developments.

We must see that we expect Africa to do in a few years what Europe and America were permitted, by objective conditions, to do in as many centuries.

It is, I say, our duty to understand and to help. For Africans have the same spiritual and intellectual capacities as the great builders of Europe and America.

Africans are well aware that they have an awesome job to do and, may I say, they ask only what is essential to achieve ends that are of mutual benefit to the entire free trade union movement. This is surely accepting the responsibility of freedom.

I am thoroughly convinced that if we keep faith with Africa, if we have a sympathetic approach to Africa's problems, if we appreciate Africa's unique position in world politics, if we extend all the educational assistance we are capable of doing - I say again, I am convinced that Africa - out of her own democratic institutions - will emerge a continent in the vanguard of justice, freedom and peace for all men, everywhere, regardless of color, race or creed.

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT TO THE FIFTH TRIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, SEPTEMBER 12-17, 1965, DEL PRADO HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

International Officers and Delegates to the Fifth Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Officers and Delegates of the Fourth Triennial Convention of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Brotherhood:

Greetings, felicitations and congratulations upon this Fortieth Anniversary of our great Brotherhood.

In retrospect, we can see a handful of porters in a huddle in a tenement house in Harlem on a hot night in August, 1925, mulling over the question as to what can be done about forming a bona fide labor union.

This was the era of the American Plan with its company unions, yellow dog contracts, and court injunctions against strikes of workers, and violent warfare of Big Business with its Pinkerton goons and the police against the struggles of organized labor for the right of collective bargaining, more wages, shorter hours of work and improved working conditions.

But despite the reactionary post-World War I years, Pullman porters, some of whom had seen service Over There, fighting and dying to "make the world safe for democracy," and chafing under a species of southern racial paternalism and reflecting the desire of parctically all workers for a better life, made possible with higher wages, shorter hours of work and improved working conditions, began joining the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which was setting the Negro communities on fire with the message to unite and fight for their rights as workers, for they had nothing to lose but their chains; they had the world of economic justice, freedom and human dignity to gain.

Porters rallied to the banner of the Brotherhood in the face of either indifference, condemnation, or outright opposition from Negro leaders from coast to coast.

Shocked, shaken and stunned by this aggressive, militant and determined will of the porters to go forward with the building of the Brotherhood, Pullman, one of the blue ribbon corporations, accepted the challenge and began ruthlessly wielding the ax, chopping off the head of porter after porter, while striking at the porters' morale by unleashing an underground stool-pigeon campaign which sought to put the finger on every porter who by speech or action exposed his labor heresy.

Before the Brotherhood won the nation-wide representation election under the supervision of the National Mediation Board in 1935, some 500 or more porters had been fired. Some of the stalwart, dauntless, dedicated Brotherhood fighters had been struck down. Needless to say, this murderous assault upon the porters put fear and frustration into their hearts. Some apparently strong Brotherhood men fell by the wayside. The dynamism of the organization drive became less evident, but while the Brotherhood reeled under the impact of the blows by Pullman, it remained on its feet. It never collapsed.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Of course, there were other obstacles that blocked the Brotherhood's path to victory. One of the most effective was the Great Depression which hit the country and, especially, the workers' union movement in 1929, and waxed menacingly stronger on into the 1930's. But this was not strange. Even the A.F.of L. lost 850,000 members, or 29 percent, between 1930 and 1933. Overseas, the powerful British labor unions' general strike of 1926 was defeated.

Thus, while the Brotherhood's batallion was desperately holding a defensive perimeter against the intrenched Pullman division armed with heavy artillery, it was,naturally, unlikely for it to launch a militant bayonet charge. Hence, the Brotherhood dug in and proceeded to rebuild its forces.

Though the Brotherhood's head was bloody, it was unbowed. The leadership, local and national, continued to fight on. They continued to organize the porters. They continued to carry the story of the porters' struggle to smash the Pullman company union and to build a bona fide trade union of their own to the public.

During these hard, bleak, gloomy days there was no money. Frightened by the firing of hundreds of their fellow brothers, porters, on the whole, paid but little dues. But there were some, the pure in heart, those who would never say die, who continued to pay, if clandestinely.

LEADERSHIP

And the leaders? Well, they never quit. The slogan was, "A winner never quits and a quitter never wins." Because the porters paid little, the leaders got little, and,generally, no pay. There were times when there wasn't a quarter in the till. But they fought on with the conviction that, "It matters not how straight the gate/ how charged with punishment the scroll/ I am the master of my fate/ I am the captain of my soul."

THE WOMEN FOUGHT TOO

Be it said to the eternal credit and glory of the women - wives of the army of porters and the leaders - they helped wondrously. They worked to put bread in the larder and to put the furniture on the streets back into the house. They formed auxiliaries in every local division of the Brotherhood in the country and gave parties and teas to help keep the lamp of trade unionism burning.

In New York City, the women, fired with a burning passion to keep the banner of the Brotherhood flying, took to the streets and shocked Old New York by marching down Fifth Avenue singing, "WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED"; "HOLD THE FORT, FOR WE ARE COMING"; "UNION MEN BE STRONG"; and "Before I'll be a slave I'll be buried in my grave, and go home to my father and be free."

Voices were heard asking the question: Who are they . . . just who are they? A voice answered: Who are they? They are the wives, sisters, daughters and mothers of Pullman Porters who have organized a labor union to fight for their rights.

With that unerring, divine spark of intuition, the women knew that the black workers stood at the crossroads. It was now or never! History had placed the porters in the vanguard of the black workers' struggle for a better tomorrow, the right to organize and bargain for wages commensurate with decency, comfort and health; for hope and promise for the children; the status of free men, and human dignity.

After the thunder and lightning of the battle between the Brotherhood and Pullman was spent, representatives of management and the porters sat down in conference for the first time in 1935, after the fight began in 1925, a period of twelve years, and drafted and signed an agreement covering rates of pay, hours of work and rules governing working conditions.

Upon completing the signing of the agreement, the vice-president of the Company promptly rose, walked around the table, grim but gracious, and extended his hand and said: "Well, gentlemen, the fight is over. Let me assure you that Management will live up to this agreement." The leadership of the porters shook hands and replied, "The Union will do likewise."

Of course the leaders of the Brotherhood knew that this was the beginning of a conflict over the determination of the meaning of the rules of the agreement. And so it was. We are still at it!

WHAT WAS ACHIEVED?

The most important achievement was the fact that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters had been recognized as the bona fide collective bargaining agent of the porters to negotiate agreements and represent the porters in the settlement of grievances and claims with the Pullman Company and railway carriers.

What has this meant to the porters in wages, hours of work and working conditions?

Briefly, when the Brotherhood made its bow to the world of organized labor and the Negro community Pullman porters received $67.50 a month, or less than a thousand dollars a year. Today, porters on Pullman and various railroads have a minimum wage of $450 a month, more or less, with a yearly wage income ranging from five to six thousand dollars.

Employees on practically all railroads with which the Brotherhood has contracts enjoy fringe benefits covering four weeks' vacation for employees with a service record of twenty years; eight paid holidays and hospital and medical insurance. Job stabilization is pending negotiation on all railroads with which the Brotherhood has contracts. It will be vigorously pressed to finalization.

Progress, along the same lines the Brotherhood has made for the porters on American railroads, is being made on the Canadian Pacific by the Brotherhood, under the supervision of Second International Vice President Bennie Smith and International Representative A. R. Blanchette.

It is also important to note that our Canadian brothers encountered the very same type of exploitation, oppression and persecution by the Canadian Pacific that the porters faced with Pullman in the United States. And while there were some brothers who retreated under fire, there were others who courageously stood their ground.

And be it said to the great credit and honor of our Canadian sisters, they uncompromisingly rallied to the support of our brothers when the days of struggle for recognition of the Brotherhood as the collective bargaining agent were dark and dismal.

FORTY-HOUR WEEK

One of the major and outstanding accomplishments of the Brotherhood for its members is the 40-hour week. It achieved three important objectives: One, created more jobs. Two, increased the rate of pay per hour. Three, demonstrated the vision, courage and power of the black workers.

In this struggle the Brotherhood was face to face with the mighty financial power, topnotch professional, legal and economic brains of the combined railroads in the country, representing around $23 billion.

Let us not forget that winning the 40-hour week, or 174-hour workmonth, was only less difficult than winning union recognition. This is the story: After failing in direct conferences with Pullman and the railway carriers, invocation of the services of the National Mediation Board was the next step. When the National Mediation Board was notified by the Brotherhood that negotiations had been broken off and a strike date had been set, President John F. Kennedy appointed an Emergency Board which held numerous hearings in Washington, Chicago, and Palo Alto, California.

The Brotherhood presented one of the most brilliant, exhaustive, comprehensive and scientific cases for the 40-hour week in the history of railroad labor, but the findings of the Board were unfavorable and we turned them down, to the astonishment of Pullman, the railroads, and the Emergency Board. Whereupon, the Brotherhood set a new strike date which reflected a crisis climate in the short time allowed for settlement. With the imminence of a nation-wide strike on the railroads, the White House promptly moved in and the ace trouble shooter of the Department of Labor, James Reynolds, was assigned to take over the case. He immediately called J. E. Wolfe, spokesman for all the railroads, into an emergency conference just a day before the final strike date.

Without recounting details of the conference, not only was the contract signed for the 40-hour week but an understanding was signed, known as the Wolfe-Randolph Agreement, which provided that when a railroad took over its cars from Pullman the porters involved would not be any worse off following the takeover than they were prior to the change.

Such is a brief story of one of the greatest dramas of railroad labor yet recorded.

But there is more to this story. The Brotherhood, which is one of the smaller international railway unions, never could have achieved this monumental victory had it not been for its affiliation with the AFL-CIO and the Railway Labor Executives' Association. It was primarily because these two federated labor bodies publicly expressed support of the Brotherhood's fight for the 40-hour week, indicating their intention to respect the Brotherhood's picket line, that the railway carriers and Pullman were convinced that a Brotherhood strike could stop the trains. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, appeared on television and radio,and at a press conference with Brotherhood leadership vigorously assailed the railroads and Pullman and expressed complete support of the porters' fight for a 40-hour week. Support of the Brotherhood's fight was also publicly made by Walter Reuther and George Harrison, vice-presidents of the AFL-CIO.

UNION AFFILIATION WITH UNIONS

The victory of the Brotherhood in the fight for the 40-hour week simply proves that if United States Steel, with all of its power, needs the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, certainly an international union needs membership in and support of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, not only at the bargaining table but also to fight against antilabor legislation and fight for prolabor legislation in city councils, state legislatures and the Congress.

While the workers need to have their union to bargain with employers from a position of strength,for higher wages and improved working conditions and fringe benefits, they also need their union to join with other unions in the AFL-CIO to fight for benefits from state legislatures and the Congress they don't possess the economic power to win through collective bargaining.

Verily, it is becoming increasingly clear that if the workweek is to be reduced further from the 40-hour week to, let us say, the 35-hour week and, possibly, to a 30-hour week, it is going to have to be won with labor's political action. The same thing is true with securing a minimum wage of two dollars an hour.

We need only to look at Social Security, Railroad Retirement, Unemployment Insurance, Medicare, Workmen's Compensation, and a number of other measures that affect labor unions directly and union members as citizens.

This is why every member of the Brotherhood should support the AFL-CIO Committee of Political Education and the Railway Labor Executives' Association. The expenses involved are quite picayune in comparison with the benefits porters and attendants enjoy on account of the legislative battles for the workers' rights organized labor has won and will continue to fight for.

NEGRO-LABOR ALLIANCE

But not only should Negro workers join unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, the civil rights organizations also should work to the end of developing and maintaining a Negro-Labor alliance. The value and necessity of such an alliance was amply demonstrated in the fight for the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Be it said to the great credit of the AFL-CIO that no organization did any more for the victory of civil rights legislation in the Congress, with the exception of the civil rights organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Negro American Labor Council, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which, of course, is involved in the fight for labor's rights and civil rights.

Andrew B. Biemiller, director of legislative action for the AFL-CIO, worked diligently with Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP and Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. of Americans for Democratic Action to work out the tactics and strategy to protect and advance the civil rights bills. Donald Slaiman, director of the Civil Rights Department, and his staff, under the direction of William Schnitzler, chairman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, have done a constructive job in the interest of advancing the cause of civil rights in the House of Labor.

While there is much more to be done, definite progress has been made and continues to be made in breaking down the barriers of race bias in trade unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO has become one of the most powerful and aggressive forces in the country in waging warfare against racial discrimination in the labor movement in particular, and the country in general.

However, this is not a one-sided picture. Let it be noted that the civil rights organizations helped the AFL-CIO to defeat the vicious "right-to-work" laws in California, Ohio and, recently, in Oklahoma. They also rallied to the support of the fight of organized labor for repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act in the 89th Congress.

This Negro-Labor alliance must be expanded, strengthened and maintained, for the Negro's rights and Labor's rights are fundamentally the same. They have the same common enemies - the White Citizens Councils, Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society, the Rightist forces of reaction, and the Leftist forces with totalitarian orientation.

It must be remembered that the Rightist forces, led by the John Birch Society, are growing and expanding and constitute a grave danger to civil rights and labor's rights and the whole cause of democracy and freedom.

CANADIAN CIVIL RIGHTS

Let me hail and salute our Brotherhood leaders and members in Canada upon their active participation in and support of the civil rights movement in Canada, and also the sound position the Canadian Labour Congress has taken on the cause of human rights.

CONGRATULATIONS TO C.B.& Q. BROTHERS

One of the most notable, significant and timely victories the Brotherhood has chalked up this year is the licking the officers and members of the C.B.& Q. Local Division gave the so-called Burlington Organization Committee. The misguided leaders of the Burlington Organizing Committee were given a whipping they will never forget.

But this unnecessary representation election among the dining car employees on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad was an expense which resulted from sheer ignorance and selfishness of a handful of dining car employees who should have enough common sense to know that a group of isolated employees could not buck the powerful C.B.& Q. Railroad. They are more to be pitied than censured. Let me give congratulations to the splendid leadership and members of the C.B.& Q. Local which is one of the finest local divisions of the Brotherhood. The fight was ably directed by International Vice President T. D. McNeal and J. L. Shackelford, Jr., president of the Chicago Division.

ROCK ISLAND ABANDONS SLEEPING CAR SERVICE

A major blow to the porters and the Brotherhood was the loss of thirty-seven jobs incident to the abandonment of sleeping car operations this year by the Rock Island Railroad. As a result of several conferences, with the participation of a mediator of the National Mediation Board, a separation allowance was secured for the men.

Probably the biggest problem confronting the Brotherhood and, for that matter, all railway unions, is the loss of jobs as a result of the decline of the passenger business and the progress of automation in the industry. The deterioration of the passenger business is largely due to the apparent determination of railway management to do away with the passenger service, alleging that it is a deficit operation, a financial loss. But with an improvement in the equipment and service and convenience in train schedules, railway passenger service could be revitalized and made a paying business.

In view of the population explosion in the country, the increasing dangerous congestion of the highways with the increasing number of automobiles and trucks, the maintenance and development of railway passenger service is indispensable. If private enterprise is unable and unwilling successfully to grapple with this problem then the public should demand government ownership and operation of the railroads in the interest of service to the public, national security in times of war, and jobs to the rail employees. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters intends to take the leadership in developing public opinion to this end.

GOVERNMENT MOVES TO IMPROVE RAIL PASSENGER OPERATIONS

It is interesting to note that the Federal Government is being forced to do something about finding a solution to the problem of enabling a growing population to move daily into and out of the big cities of the country.

Urged by President Johnson, the Senate, July 23, 1965, passed by a voice vote the Administration's $90 million, three-year program to develop and test a highspeed rail system. It provides a plan to determine whether high speed intercity transportation can take passengers and vehicles off the highways. Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania said that passage of the bill is a landmark in man's history of striving for faster and more efficient ways to transport himself and his goods.

One of the significant aspects of this development of an efficient and fast railway system is that the government is putting money into the venture, and labor and the public have good reasons to demand that the government take measures to see to it that the public and labor get a fair shake out of this new railway enterprise.

INCREASE DUES

Let me now present to you a proposal for the maintenance and strengthening of the Brotherhood to perform the chief service for which it, as with all bona fide trade unions was organized; namely, improving the standard of living of its members and their families with assurance of some security. I refer to a plan to increase the income to meet increased expenses that are as certain to come from time to time as the night follows the day.

The fixed expenses of the Brotherhood include wages of the office forces throughout the country, rental of offices and materials used in them, taxes to the government, state and federal, affiliation with the AFL-CIO, Canadian Labour Congress, Railway Labor Executives' Association, payments to Travelers Insurance Company and the Railroad Retirement Board for employees and officers of the Brotherhood, assessment to maintain a labor representative on the Third Division of the National Railroad Adjustment Board, the figures concerning which will be set forth in some detail in a resolution for an increase in monthly dues of the members to be presented to the convention for debate and action.

In addition to increased fixed expenses there are unpredictable expenses such as fees for lawyers and economists that the Brotherhood buys in the market, just as the railroads with which our union must negotiate.

In the struggle of trade unions today to protect and advance the interests of their members, scientific, systematic, organized preparation must be made before the representatives enter the conference room for the negotiation of contracts.

THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION

Because of the extraordinary record of achievement in the enactment of civil rights legislation in the 88th and 89th Congress, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and a comprehensive, far-reaching and fundamental legislative program relating to economic, social, educational, labor and political problems that benefit and improve the life and status of all classes and segments of the population, especially minorities and the poor, the delegates assembled in this Fifth Triennial Convention and Fortieth Anniversary go on record to hail and salute the President of the United States, Lyndon Baines Johnson, the most powerful head of State in the world today, upon the effective role he has played in working, planning and fighting to advance the cause of civil rights and labor's rights, and for the massive war on poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and disease, and the furtherance of the cause of world peace.

Be it said to the great credit of President Johnson, when the Civil Rights Revolution, under the leadership of dedicated Negro leaders such as Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dr. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, and John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee , dramatically threw down the challenge to him through the Battle of Birmingham, the Selma-Montgomery Crusade for the ballot, the martyrdom of civil rights activists in Mississippi, and the bit March on Washington, August, 1963, he accepted it, and the result is the greatest legislative victory for freedom, justice and equality in the history of the country.

Now the civil rights organizations face a 1966 election year. In 1964 the American people elected a Congress that passed more legislation, supported by the AFL-CIO and the civil rights movement, in the interests of the people than any other Congress in thirty years. The very same members of Congress who have been voting for our programs are under attack right now because of their votes. It is our responsibility to help reelect these people who voted in the best interests of the nation. It is also a practical necessity, if we hope to continue this record of progress.

Moreover, the forces of reaction such as the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan are building power in money and manpower to defeat our friends and to weaken and nullify the forces of freedom, racial and social justice, and take from President Johnson a liberal Congress.

Labor and the civil rights organizations must not permit such a political tragedy to take place. They must develop a massive voter registration drive, South, North, East and West, with an information and education campaign about the issues of civil rights and labor's rights and the dangers to the cause of democracy.

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED BLACK WORKERS IN THE SOUTH

Because of the seven million Negro workers, more or less, in the workforce only about a million and a half are organized into bona fide trade unions and since organizing the black laboring masses, the most brutally exploited segment of the American workers, is a problem of compelling urgency and demands the highest priority on the agenda of unfinished business of the AFL-CIO and the black workers, I appeal to President George Meany of the AFL-CIO to give this question serious consideration at the next meeting of the Executive Council of the Federation in New York City.

Now is the time to project the most extensive and massive campaign to organize the Negro and white workers in the South where race hatred has been used by the southern and northern capitalists to block the formation of labor unions and keep the black and white workers at each other's throats under the false doctrine of white supremacy, and keeping, as it were, the South the haven of the open shop and "right-to-work" laws, and the black and white workers the victims of poverty, illiteracy and disease.

This is the hour to strike a telling and effective blow to bring the black and white poor workers within the house of organized labor before they become the prey of false prophets, on the right or totalitarian left.

The Black Civil Rights Revolution has prepared the way. The ground has been ploughed and now is the time to sow the seed of trade unionism.

With the vote at the ballot box for the poor blacks and poor whites must also come the right to vote in the factories, mills, mines, and on the plantations as industrial and agricultural citizens, which will enable the black and white workers, peons and sharecroppers in the most poverty stricken area of the country not only to have a life of decency, comfort and health, but to cooperate in labor unions, cooperatives and credit unions, to build a New South of freedom and democracy, racial and social justice and perform labor's historic role within the framework of a free society.

To this end, I call upon the AFL-CIO to build a war chest of from five to ten million dollars to carry the message of free, democratic trade unionism to the workers in the South so that black and white workers may work together in the shop, plan together in the union halls and march together to the ballot box - which is the best and most effective method to rout the White Citizens Councils and Ku Klux Klan.

Unionize the black and white workers in the South so they can fight for higher wages, and millions of these laborers will strengthen not only the economy of the South but the entire nation by increasing the National Gross Product and creating more jobs by requiring more workers to produce the goods and services required by the increased purchasing power of these workers.

OUR FALLEN WARRIORS

Since our last convention in Montreal, Canada, Brothers Ashley L. Totten, International Secretary-Treasurer and Milton P. Webster, First International Vice President and Chairman of the International Executive Board, gallant warriors of our great movement, have fallen. Brother E. J. Bradley, Third International Vice President of the Brotherhood, a gallant warrior, had fallen years ago.

These, our brothers, co-workers and comrades, were the pioneers, founders and builders of our Brotherhood. They labored in the vineyard, organizing the porters, attendants and dining car employees when the days were dark and dreary and the full and massive power of the Pullman Company was arrayed against the Union.

Dedicated, devoted and determined they had the fire and fortitude never to say die. Our brothers, who built more nobly than they knew, will be counted among the immortals in the world-wide revolution of workingmen against exploitation, oppression and persecution. Their labors and contribution not only to the building of the Brotherhood but in achieving a better and brighter day for the black workers will never be forgotten.

We, thus, in this historic convention express our reverence, love and affection for these great leaders of the black workingman.

Webster, Totten and Bradley preached the philosophy of the role of the humble porter, attendant and dining car employee, and Negro workers in general, in constituting the foundation of the progress of Negro America. They knew that without the black worker there cannot be the so-called black Talented Tenth or the Negro professional and business class or black bourgeoisie.

It is generally conceded by our Brotherhood leaders and members that our Brother Webster was a tower of strength, with the gift as a negotiator of contracts comparable to the notable John L. Lewis of the Mine Workers. His record of achievement in the conference room in hammering out agreements and before the National Railroad Adjustment Board in the settlement of grievances will stand as a legacy of inspiration to Negro youth to grapple with the difficult economic problems of union building.

It was the work of these leaders of labor that contributed immensely to waking up the Negro to build the Freedom movement. No movement in the history of the Negro has done any more than the Brotherhood to arouse, awaken and stir Negroes to action to fight for their rights. And Negroes have never faced an enemy any more formidable than Pullman and the railroad carriers.

Inspired by the sacrifice, struggle and suffering, wisdom, courage, faith, conviction and vision of these noble leaders, let the members and officers of the Brotherhood march forward with heads erect and souls uncurbed, with the will to make the mighty army of organized labor and all America and the world see that our intrepid warriors have not fought and died in vain.

Let us not fail to continue to build the Brotherhood for the porters and attendants, and the dining car employees of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy.

Let us not fail to continue to do battle for the black and white workers of America, for an organized and enlightened working class under the banner of free, democratic trade unionism is the wave of the future and a major pillar of the Great Society.

And though the storm of trouble and trial beat against us, may God give us the strength, faith and fortitude never to falter.

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT TO THE FIFTH TRIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, SEPTEMBER 12-17, 1965, DEL PRADO HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

International Officers and delegates to the Fifth Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and officers and delegates of the Fourth Triennial Convention of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Brotherhood: Greetings, felicitations and congratulations upon this Fortieth Anniversary of our great Brotherhood.

In retrospect, we can see a handful of porters in a huddle in a tenement house in Harlem on a hot night in August 1925, mulling over the question as to what can be done about forming a bona fide labor union.

This was the era of the American Plan, with its company unions, yellow dog contracts and court injunctions against strikes of workers and violent warfare of Big Business with its Pinkerton goons and the police against the struggles of organized labor for the right of collective bargaining, more wages, shorter hours of work and improved working conditions.

PULLMAN EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION PLAN

But despite the reactionary post-First World War years, Pullman porters, some of whom had seen service Over There, fighting and dying to "make the world safe for democracy," and chafing under a species of southern racial paternalism and reflecting the desire of practically all workers for a better life, made possible with higher wages, shorter hours of work and improved working conditions, began joining the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which was setting the Negro communities on fire with the message to unite and fight for their rights as workers, for they had nothing to lose but their chains; they had the world of economic justice, freedom and human dignity, to gain.

Porters rallied to the banner of the Brotherhood in the face of ~~xighxex~~ either indifference, condemnation or outright opposition from Negro leaders from coast to coast.

Shocked, shaken and stunned by this aggressive, militant and determined will of the porters to go forward with the building of the Brotherhood, Pullman, one of the blue ribbon corporations, accepted the challenge and began ruthlessly wielding the ax, chopping off the head of porter after porter while striking at the porters' morale by unleashing an underground stool-pigeon campaign which sought to put the finger on every porter who, by speech or action, exposed his labor heresy.

Before the Brotherhood had won the nation-wide representation election under the supervision of the National Mediation Board in 1935, some 500 or more porters had been fired. Some of the stalwart, dauntless, dedicated Brotherhood fighters had been struck down. Needless to say, this murderous assault upon the porters put fear and frustration into their hearts.

Some apparently strong Brotherhood men fell by the wayside. The dynamism of the organization drive became less evident, but while the Brotherhood reeled under the impact of the blows by Pullman, it remained on its feet. It never collapsed.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Of course, there were other obstacles that blocked the Brotherhood's path to victory. One of the most effective of which was the Great Depression which hit the country and, especially, the workers' union movement in 1929, waxed menacingly stronger on into the 1930's. But this was not strange. Even the A.F.of L. lost 850,000 members, or 29 percent, between 1930 and 1933. Overseas, the powerful British labor unions' general strike of 1926 was defeated.

Thus, while the Brotherhood's batallion was desperately holding a defensive perimeter against the intrenched Pullman division armed with heavy artillery, ~~is~~ it was naturally ~~for it~~ unlikely for it to launch a militant bayonet charge. Hence, the Brotherhood dug in and proceeded to rebuild its forces.

While the Brotherhood's head was bloody, it was unbowed. The leadership, local and national, continued to fight on. They continued to organize the porters. They continued to carry the story of the porters' struggle to smash the Pullman company union and to build a bona fide trade union of their own to the public.

During these hard, bleak, gloomy days there was no money. Frightened by the firing of hundreds of their fellow brothers, porters, on the whole, paid but little dues. But there were some, the pure ~~of~~ in heart, those who would never say die, who continued to pay, if clandestinely.

LEADERSHIP

And the leaders? Well, they never quit. The slogan was, "A winner never quits and a quitter never wins." Because the porters paid little the leaders got little, and, generally, no pay. There were times when there wasn't a quarter in the till. But they fought on with the conviction that, "It matters not how straight the gate, how charged with punishment the scroll, I am the master of my fate, I am the captain of my soul."

THE WOMEN FOUGHT TOO

Be it said to the eternal credit and glory of the women - wives of ~~tje army of porters and tje leaders they~~ the army of porters and the leaders - they helped wondrously. They worked to put bread in the larder and to put the furniture on the streets back ~~in~~ in to the house. They formed auxiliaries in every local division of the Brotherhood in the country and gave parties and teas to help keep the lamp of trade unionism burning.

In New York City the women, fired with a burning passion to keep the banner of the Brotherhood flying, took to the streets and shocked Old New York by marching down Fifth Avenue singing, "We shall not be Moved," "Hold the Fort for we are Coming/ Union men be Strong," and "Before I'll be a slave/ I'll be buried in my grave/And go home to my father/And be free."

Voices were heard asking the question: Who are they? Who are they? Just who are they? A voice answered: Who are they? They are the wives, sisters , daughters and mothers of Pullman Porters who have organized a labor union to fight for their rights.

With that unerring divine spark of intuition, the women knew that the black workers stood at the crossroads. It was now or never! History had placed the porters in the vanguard of the black workers' struggle for a better tomorrow, the right to organize and bargain for wages commensurate with decency, comfort and health; for hope and promise for the children; the status of free men and human dignity.

After the thunder and lightning of the battle between the Brotherhood and Pullman was spent, representatives of management and the porters sat down in conference for the first time, in 1935, after the fight began in 1925, a period of twelve years, and drafted and signed an agreement covering rates of pay, hours of work and rules governing working conditions.

Upon completing the signing of the agreement, the vice president of the Company promptly rose, walked around the table, grim but gracious, ~~axx~~ and extended his hand and said: "Well, gentlemen, the fight is over. Let me assure you that Management will live up to this agreement." The leadership of the porters shook hands and replied, "The Union will do likewise."

APPLYING THE AGREEMENT

Of course the leaders of the Brotherhood knew that this was the beginning of the beginning of a conflict over the determination of the meaning of the rules of the agreement. And so it was. We are still at it!

WHAT WAS ACHIEVED?

The most important achievement was the fact that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters had been recognized as the bona fide collective bargaining agent of the porters to negotiate agreements and represent the porters in the settlement of grievances and claims with the Pullman Company and railway carriers.

What has this meant to the porters in wages, hours of work and working conditions?

Briefly, when the Brotherhood made its bow to the world of organized labor and the Negro community, Pullman porters received $67.50 a month, or less than a thousand dollars a year. Today, porters on Pullman and various railroads have a minimum wage of $450 a month, more or less, with a yearly wage income ranging from five to six thousand dollars.

Employees on practically all railroads with which the Brotherhood has contracts enjoy fringe benefits covering four-weeks' vacations for employees with a service record of twenty years; eight paid holidays and hospital and medical insurance. Job stabilization is pending negotiation on all railroads with which the Brotherhood has contracts. It will be vigorously pressed to finalization.

Progress,along the same lines the Brotherhood has made for the porters on American railroads,is beingmade on the Canadian Pacific by the Brotherhood, under the supervision of Second International Vice President BennieSmith and International Representative A. R. Blanchette.

It is also important to note that our Canadian brothers encountered the very same type of exploitation, oppression and persecution by the Canadian Pacific that the porters faced with Pullman in the United States. And while there were some brothers who retreated under fire, there were others who courageously stood their ground.

And be it said to the great credit and honor of our Canadain sisters, they uncompromisingly rallied to the support of our brothers when the days of struggle, for recognition of the Brotherhood as the collective bargaining agent, were dark and dismal.

FORTY HOUR WEEK

One of the major and outstanding accomplishments of the Brotherhood for its members is the 40-hour week. It achieved three important objectives: one, createdmore jobs; two, increased the rate of pay per hour, and three, demonstrated the vision, courage and power of the black workers.

In this struggle the Brotherhood was face to face with the mighty financial power, topnotch professional, legal and economic brains of the combined railroads in the country, representing around $23 billion.

Let us not forget that winning the 40-hour week, or the 174-hour workmonth was only less difficult than winning union recognition. ~~For instance,~~ This is the story. After failing in direct conferences with Pullman and the railway carriers, invocation of the services of the National Mediation Board was the next step. When the National Mediation Board was notified by the Brotherhood that negotiations had been broken off and a strike date had been set, President John F. Kennedy appointed an Emergency Board which held numerous hearings in Washington,Chicago and Palo Alto, California. The Brotherhood presented one of the most brilliant, exhaustive, comprehensive and scientific cases for the 40-hour week in the history of ~~xxx~~ railroad labor, but the findings of the Board were unfavorable and we turned them down, to the astonishment of Pullman, the railroads, and the Emergency Board.

Whereupon, the Brotherhood set a new strike date which reflected a crisis climate in the short time allowed for settlement. With the imminence of a nation-wide strike on the railroads, the White House promptly moved in and the ace trouble shooter of the Department of Labor, James Reynolds, was assigned to take over the case. He immediately called J. E. Wolfe, spokesman for all the railroads, into an emergency conferene in the Statler Hilton Hotel in Washington, D. C., just a day before the final strike date.

Without recounting details of the conference, not only was the contract signed for the 40-hour week, but an understanding was signed, known as the Wolfe-Randolph Agreement, which provided that when a railroad took over its cars from Pullman the porters involved would not be any worse off following the takeover than they were prior to the change.

Such is a brief story of one of the great dramas of railroad labor yet recorded.

But there is more to this story. The Brotherhood, which is one of the smaller international railway unions, never could have achieved this monumental victory had it not been for its affiliation with the AFL-CIO and the Railway Labor Executives' Association. It ~~is~~ was primarily because these two federated labor bodies publicly expressed support of the Brotherhood's fight for the 40-hour week, indicating their intention to respect the brotherhood's picket line, which convinced the railway carriers and Pullman that a Brotherhood strike could stop the trains. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, appeared on television and radio and at a conference with ~~me~~ Brotherhood leadership and vigorously assailed the railroads and Pullman, and expressed complete support of the porters' fight for a 40-hour week. Support of the Brotherhood's fight was also publicly made by Walter Reuther and George Harrison, vice presidents of the AFL-CIO

UNION AFFILIATION

The victory of the Brotherhood in the fight for the 40-hour week sijply proves that if United States Steel, with all of its power, needs the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, certainly an international union needs membership in and support of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, not only at the bargaining table but also to fight against antilabor legislation and fight for prolabor legislation in city councils state legislatures and the Congress.

While the workers need to have their union to bargain with the employers from a position of strength for higher wages and improved working conditions and fringe benefits, they Also need their union to join with other unions in the AFL-CIO to fight for benefits from state legislatures and the Congress they don't possess the economic power to win through collective bargaining.

Verily, it is becoming increasingly clear that if the workweek is to be reduced further from the 40-hour week to, let us say, the 35-hour week and, possibly, to a 30-hour week, it is going to have to be won with labor's political action. The same thing is true with securing a minimum wage of two dollars an hour.

We need only to look at Social Security, Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Insurance, Medicare, Workmen's Compensation, and a number of other measures that affect labor unions directly and union members as citizens. This is why every member of the Brotherhood should support the Committee of Political Education of the AFL-CIO and also Railway Labor Executives' Association. The expenses involved are quite picayune in comparison with the benefits porters and attendants enjoy on account of the legislative battles for the workers' rights organized labor has won and will continue to fight for.

NEGRO-LABOR ALLIANCE

But not only should Negro workers join unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, but the civil rights organizations should work to the end of developing and maintaining a Negro-Labor alliance.

The value and necessity ~~for~~ of such an alliance was amply demonstrated in the fight for the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Be it said to the great credit of the AFL-CIO that no organization did any more for the victory of civil rights legislation in the Congress, with the exeeption of the civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial ~~Organiz~~ Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Negro American Labor Council and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which of course is involved in the fight for labor's rights and civil rights.

Andy B. Biemiller, director of legislative action for the AFL-CIO, worked diligently with Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP and Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. of Americans for Democratic Action to work out the tactics and strategy to protect and advance the civil rights bills.

Don Slaiman, director of the Civil Rights Department and his staff, under the direction of William Schnizler, chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO, has done a constructive job in the interest of advancing the cause of civil rights in the House of Labor.

While there is much more to be done, definite progress has been made and continues to be made in breaking down the barriers of race bias in trade unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO has become one of the most powerful and aggressive forces in the country in waging warfare against racial discrimination in the labor movement in particular, and the country in general.

NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS FIGHT FOR LABOR'S RIGHTS

However, this is not a one-sided picture. Let it be noted to the everlasting credit of the civil rights organizations that they helped the AFL-CIO to defeat the vicious "right-to-work" laws in California, Ohio, and, recently, in Oklahoma. They also rallied to the support of the fight of organized labor for the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act in the 89th Congress.

This Negro-Labor alliance must be expanded, strengthened and maintained for the Negro's rights and Labor's rights are fundamentally the same. They have the same common enemies, the White Citizens Councils, Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society, the Rightist forces of reaction and the Leftist forces with totalitarian orientation.

It must be remembered that the Rightist forces, led by the John Birch Society, are growing and expanding and constitute a grave danger to civil rights and labor's rights and the whole cause of democracy and freedom.

CANADIAN CIVIL RIGHTS

Let me hail and slaute our Brotherhood leaders and members in Canada upon their active participation in and support of the civil rights movement in Canada and also the sound position ~~of~~ the Canadian Labour Congress has taken onthe cause of human rights.

CONGRATULATIONS TO C.B.& Q. BROTHERS

One of the most notable, significant and timely victories the Brotherhood has chalked up this year is the licking the officers and members of the C.B.& Q local division of Dining Car Employees gave the so-called Burlington Organizing Committee. The misguided leaders of the Burlington Organizing Committee ~~was~~ WERE given a whipping they will never forget.

But this unnecessary representation election among the Dining Car

Employees on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad was an expense which resulted from sheer ignorance and selfishness of a handful of dining car employees who should have enough common sense to know that a group of isolated employees could not buck the powerful C.B.& Q. Railroad. They are more to be pitied than censured. Let me give congratulations to the splendid leadership and members of the C.B.& Q. Local which is one of the finest local divisions of the Brotherhood. The fight was ably directed by International Vice-President T. D. McNeal and J. L. Shackelford, President of the Chicago Division.

ROCK ISLAND ABANDONS SLEEPING CAR SERVICE

A major blow to the porters and the Brotherhood was the loss of thirty-seven jobs incident to the abandonment of sleeping car operations this year by the Rock Island Railroad. As a result of several conferences, with the participation of a mediator of the National Mediation Board, a separation allowance was secured for the men. ~~Efforts were made to get Pullman to accept our brothers, former Pullman porters, as new employees, but without success.~~

Probably the biggest problem confronting the Brotherhood and, for that matter, all railway unions, is the loss of jobs as a result of the decline of the passenger business and the progress of automation in the industry. The deterioration of the passenger business is largely due to the apparent determination of railway management to do away with the passenger service, alleging that it is a deficit operation, a financial loss. But with an improvement in the equipment, service and convenience in train schedules, railway passenger service could be revitalized and made a paying business.

In view of the population explosion in the country, the increasing dangerous congestion of the highways with the increasing number of automobiles and trucks, the maintenance and development of railway passenger service is indispensable, and if ~~the~~ private enterprise is unable and unwilling successfully to grapple with this problem, then the public should demand government ownership and operation of the railroads in the interest of service to the public, national security in times of war and jobs to the rail employees .

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters intends to take the leadership in developing public opinion to this end.

GOVERNMENT MOVES TO IMPROVE RAIL PASSENGER OPERATIONS

It is interesting to note that the Federal Government is being forced to do something about finding a solution to the problem of enabling a growing population to move daily into and out of the big cities of the country.

Urged by President Johnson, the Senate, July 23, 1965, passed by a voice vote the Administration's $90 million, three-year program to develop and test a highspeed rail system. It provides a plan to determine whether ~~high speed~~ high speed intercity transportation can take passengers and vehicles off the highways. Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania said that passage of the bill is a landmark in man's history of striving for faster and more efficient ways to transport himself and his goods.

And one of the significant aspects of this development of an efficient and fast railway system is that the government is putting money into the venture and labor and the public have good reasons to demand that the government take measures to see to it that the public and labor get a fair shake out of this new railway enterprise.

INCREASE DUES

Let me now present to you a proposal for the maintenance and strengthening of the Brotherhood to perform the chief service for which it, as with all bona fide trade unions, was organized, namely, improving the standard of living of ~~the~~ its members and their families, with assurance of some security.

I refer to a plan to increase the income to meet increased expenses that are as certain to come from time to time as the night follows the day.

~~Thexfi~~

The fixed expenses of the Brotherhood, including wages of the office forces throughout the country, rental of offices and materials used in them, taxes to the government, state and federal, affiliation with the AFL-CIO, Canadian Labour Congress, Railway Labor Executives' Association, premiums to Travelers Insurance Company and Railroad Retirement Board for employees and officers of the Brotherhood, assessment for a labor representative on the Third Division of the National Railroad Adjustment Board, the figures concerning which will be set forth in some detail in a resolution ~~which will~~ to be presented to the Convention for an increase in monthly dues of the members for debate and action.

In addition to increased fixed expenses there are unpredictable expenses such as fees for lawyers and economists that the Brotherhood buy in the market just as the railroads with which our union must negotiate.

In the struggle of trade unions today to protect and advance the interests of their members, scientific, systematic, organized prepartation must be made before the ~~pxx~~ representatives enter the conference room for the negotiation of contracts.

THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION

Because of the extraordinary record of achievement in the enactment of civil rights legislation in the 88th and 89th Congress, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and a comprehensive, far-reaching, and fundamental legislative program relating to economic, social, educational, labor and political problems that benefit and improve the life and status of all classes and segments of the population, especially minorities and the poor, regardless of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry, the delegates assembled in the Fifth Triennial Convention and Fortieth Anniversary, in Chicago, Illinois, go on record to hail and salute the President of the United States, Lyndon Baines Johnson, the most powerful Head of State in the world today, upon the effective role he has played in working, planning and fighting to advance the cause of civil rights~~,~~ and labor's rights and for the massive war on poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and disease, and the furtherance of the cause of world peace. (163 words in this sentence)

Be it said to the great credit of President Johnson that when the Civil Rights Revolution, under the leadership of dedicated Negro leaders such as Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dr. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, and John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee dramatically threw down the challenge to him through the Battle of Birmingham, the Selma-Montgomery Crusade for the Ballot, the martyrdom of civil rights a~~ctivists~~ a~~ctivists, white and Negro, in Mississippi~~ activists in Mississippi and the Big March on Washington, D. C., August 1963, he accepted it, and the result is the greatest legislative victory for freedom, justice and equality in the history of the country.

Now, the civil rights organizations face a 1966 election year. In 1964 the American people elected a Congress that passed more legislation supported by the AFL-CIO and the civil rights movement, in the interests of the people, than any other Congress in thirty years. The very same members of Congress who have been voting for our programs are under attack right now because of their votes. It is our responsibility to help reelect these people who voted in the best interests of the nation. It is also a practical necessity if we hope to continue this record of progress.

Moreover, the forces of reaction such as the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan are building power~~ful~~ f~~orce~~s in money and manpower to defeat our friends and to weaken and nullify the forces of freedom, racial and social justice and take from President Johnson a liberal Congress.

Labor and the civil rights organizations must not permit such a political tragedy to take place. They must develop a massive voter-registration drive South, North, East and West, with an information and education campaign about the issues of civil rights and labor's rights and the dangers to the cause of democracy.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT ANNUAL AWARDS BANQUET OF
NEGRO TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP COUNCIL
PHILADELPHIA, PA., OCTOBER 8, 1965

The Civil Rights Revolution, whose roots run back more than three hundred years in American history, has achieved its major goals of establishing, through Federal congressional legislation, the illegality of discrimination and segregation on account of race or color.

It is now a violation of the law to practice discrimination against a person on account of race or color in public accommodations, schools, housing, and employment by labor unions, industry or government. It is also a violation of law to deny a person, on account of race or color, the privilege to exercise his right to vote.

This is freedom. While freedom is indispensable, without which no people can go forward, is it all Negroes need? Is it the Alpha and Omega in their struggles for a place in the sun of progress? Listen to the wisdom of a great world statesman, the President of the United States, Lyndon Baines Johnson, in his historic address at Howard University, June, 1965:

> "But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying:'Now you are free to go where you want, do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.'
>
> "You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, 'you are free to compete with all the others,' and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.
>
> "Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.

> "This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity - not just legal equity but human ability - not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result."

Negroes are at this stage today of translating rights into realities.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

After a hundred years, the Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965 as enabling legislation to the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution as a result of the Civil Rights Revolution and strong Presidential leadership. It is a great triumph of freedom. But it needs implementation. This is the task of the Negro and his allies - labor, church, liberal intellectual community, and liberal government leaders.

But although the Civil Rights Revolution has shaken, startled and stunned the nation more profoundly than any social upheaval since the revolutionary War of Independence and the revolutionary Civil War of Emancipation; awakened and aroused students to project radical movements of protest on the college campuses by civil disobedient, creative, challenging "sit-ins"; provided a new language tool of dissent to Academia, the "teach-in", it cannot solve the problem of unemployment, de facto segregation in housing and public schools.

The Civil Rights Revolution cannot successfully grapple with the staggeringly difficult problems spawned by the revolution of science, technology, industrialism and automation, sometimes called cybernation, because it is structured and conditioned historically and spiritually to the struggle for the acquisition of the conventional civil rights, the attributes of first-class citizenship.

But although the Civil Rights Revolution lacks commitment to a broad enough base of the human condition effectively to battle with the gut issues of jobs and bread, the dimensions and dynamism of its defiance and demands of the great American power structure have pushed the United States toward a peaceful social revolution within the framework of a changing, and more liberal, good and great society.

DEMONSTRATIONS

When the once sleeping, illiterate and semi-illiterate (but not ignorant) black masses awoke, stood upon their feet and began the Big March upon the nation's capital; when the Battle of Birmingham broke upon the country, followed by the Selma to Montgomery crusade for the ballot; with Freedom Riders invading the South; with the Negro Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenging the seats of Mississippi congressmen; with Negro and white youth, black and white leaders laying their lives upon the altar of martyrdom for the cause of human rights, then it became clear for all the world to see that black men and women were no longer afraid to give up their liberty and life for freedom. Southern segregationists gradually and grudgingly began retreating in disorder, a picture of consternation and despair.

While emphasis upon demonstrations in the streets as a major strategy of the Civil Rights Revolution is being shifted to the conference room of negotiation with unions, industry and government, for jobs, integrated housing and schools, and action to step up voter registration, it is quite unlikely that the time will ever come when peaceful demonstrations of various kinds will not be necessary and useful as an important and vital methodology of dialogue with the American conscience. The determination of when and where demonstrations should be staged ought to be based upon existing racial realities.

WATTS

Since it is virtually a truism that even the strong, in these times of destructive weaponry, cannot rest their fortunes upon the might of the sword, it is all the more obvious that the weak cannot expect the triumph of their cause, however worthy, by violence, lawlessness, looting, arson and murder. However, it must be added, not in justification, but explanation, that the catastrophis riots in the Watts area of Los Angeles, and New York City and Chicago, were not expressions of any natural inner sin and criminality of the Negro but a natural and inevitable expression of an inner sense and angry mood of rebellion and resentment against a long night of oppression, rejection, insult and humiliation by white America.

Although this outburst of racial fury came from the Black Ghetto hoodlums, teenagers, drug addicts, hard-core jobless, low-wage working poor, victims of hopelessness, frustration and desperation, it was, in fact, a confrontation between black and white America. In the light of objective racial realities, Watts had to happen! And there may be other Watts, unless basic, rational action is taken to remove the cause, namely, the ghettoisation of black communities all over America.

RIOTS NOT THE REVOLUTION

While riots of hoodlums, teenagers, addicts, and jobless poor are not the Civil Rights Revolution, they have brought the fact of the existence of the revolution to the attention of all America, if not the entire world - a condition not basically different from the French Revolution of 1789 with its Reign of Terror of the French hoodlum, the lumpen proletariat, or sans-culottes.

That violence and lawlessness can conquer poverty and injustice is a counsel of despair. The most obvious lesson to be learned from the French Revolution is that laterreur, or terror, as a means to achieve le bonheur, or happiness, can send revolutions to their doom. It, of course, must also be understood that just as there can be no freedom and racial justice without law and order, by the same token there can be no law and order without racial justice, and where the black masses (the heart of the race) are loaded down with social misery and economic wretchedness.

BLACK REVOLUTION A LIVING FORCE.

Albeit the riots in the streets, the aftermath of the Revolution, and not the Revolution per se, have tended to mar its image and, perhaps, erode a measure of its national consensus, nothing has happened which can destroy the fact that the Black Revolution is the most vital and challenging living moral force for the brotherhood of man in America, if not the world, today. Its motivation and purpose, namely, respect for the sacredness of the dignity of the human personality and the right of individual liberty, are the heart of the Judeo-Christian traditions and Western civilization which can lift America above and beyond fear and ignorance, bigotry and prejudice of religion and race, to a consciousness of the unity of mankind.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The Black Revolution has placed on the American agenda for resolution the abolition, root and branch, of the system of segregation and discrimination practiced against some twenty million or more Negro Americans. The United States cannot move ahead today without putting an end to a system which keeps twenty million of its citizens half-slave and half-free, anymore than it could have moved forward in the yesteryears without resolving the questions of independence and emancipation.

Verily, the destruction of this system of discrimination and segregation is the most important single task of America today! It is crucial to the extension and preservation of democracy. It is vital to the working class in its economic struggles. It is a question which influences decisively the relations of the United States with Africa and Asia and the rest of the world. On its resolution rests the integrity of the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution and the moral and ethical standards of America, for a people cannot tolerate and allow the oppression of twenty million of its citizens without a corresponding corruption and debasement of its moral standards.

Thus, as trade unionists we must work diligently and ceaselessly for an expanding and deepening of a Negro-Labor alliance, for the purpose of mobilizing power to fight for civil rights and labor's rights.

As a result of the alliance between the civil rights movement and the labor movement under the banner of the AFL-CIO and, of course, the Church community and liberal intellectual community, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were enacted into law by the Congress. Now, since one good turn deserves another, Negro civil rights organizations should join hands with organized labor to fight for the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which is a menace to free collective bargaining.

Negro and labor forces must also unite to organize the unorganized workers, the black and white working poor, the black and white jobless poor, and black and white unemployable poor.

With the march of the revolution of automation which is abolishing unskilled jobs at the rate of two million a year, a disproportionately large number of such jobs having been held by Negroes because of a lack of skills, training and education, some large-scale plan for public works by the local, state and federal governments, together with training for skilled jobs, must be provided if the black and white unemployed are to get work and escape from the relief rolls. To secure action on such a program will require a coalition of forces of the Negro, labor, church and the liberal intellectuals.

UNIONIZE THE SOUTH

Now that the Civil Rights Revolution has plowed the ground by breaking down various racial barriers in the South, such as disenfranchisement, provided a free ballot for the black and white poor, in most states, and secured fair employment practice legislation in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the field has been cleared for the most extensive and massive campaign by the AFL-CIO, with the support of the civil rights organizations, in history, to organize the unorganized black and white workers throughout the country, and especially in the South. Give the black and white workers in the South the tools of bona fide trade union organization and they will lift themselves out of the depths of poverty and banish the KuKlux Klan and the White Citizens Council into social oblivion.

With millions of black and white poor workers organized into labor unions prepared to fight for decent wages, shorter hours of work and better working conditions, the foundation of a new, liberal South, with a strong and healthy economy, will have been alid to provide higher standards of living for the workers and their families.

Black and white workers, organized into the same unions, can fight effectively at the ballot box for a decent minimum wage which will bring millions of dollars into the homes of the poor.

EXPLOITATION OF BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS

It is a matter of common knowledge that the exploitation of racial discrimination enables Southern and Northern employers to squeeze maximum profits from the labor of black and white workers. It is an instrument for maintaining, in the halls of Congress and in state and city legislative bodies, reactionary blocs of antidemocratic, antilabor and anti-Negro politicians. It is an effective device for keeping the black and white workers divided . The myth of white supremacy - the ideological foundation of the system of discrimination and segregation for which poor white workers have fallen for a hundred years - is a central pillar in the ideology of Southern feudal capitalism.

In very truth, these roots are imbedded in southern business-plantation economics, business-plantation politics. It is this that explains the stubborn persistence of this pattern of southern racial bias.

What stops U. S. Steel or General Motors and other big business firms from putting an end to the system of discrimination practiced in every one of their plants? The answer is the system is profitable. It keeps workers divided. It helps to keep all of the less skilled workers in the hardest jobs with the lowest pay. A not insignificant part of the two billion dollars in profit that General Motors is making this year is made possible by this system of racial discrimination.

Who is Birmingham, Alabama are the masters of the economic complex that is the basis of the whole system of inequality and discrimination? It is U. S. Steel and other corporations that dominate the state. If these corporations were to discard their discriminatory racial policies the racial picture of oppression would change overnight.

Big business moves plants to the South because they can get cheap, unorganized labor. In February, 1964, the average hourly pay for production workers in the South was $1.83, compared to a national average of $2.43. In Mississippi, it was $1.75, in contrast to $3.07 in Michigan. The cause of these lower wage scales is obvious. The system of Negro oppression reduces the wages of all workers, Negro and white. And as long as the Jim Crow system keeps the working class in the South divided, wage scales will remain lower.

Moreover, the special exploitation of white and black workers in the South affects the jobs and wages of white workers in the North. It affects those who are left on the relief lines when the plants move South. In many instances the wages of northern workers are kept down, and sometimes cut, through the use of threats to move plants to the South. In other ways as well, the existence of lower wage scales in the South acts as a drag on the wages of workers throughout the country. The ultimate cause is the Jim Crow system which pays lower wages to Negro workers.

The aim of preserving the evil system of oppression of the Negro, with its vicious ideology of white chauvinism and racism, is now bringing together all of the most reactionary, bigoted and fascist-tainted organizations and movements in the country. The rabid antilabor crowd, antidemocratic, professional anti-Semites, all are gravitating towards unity with Dixiecrat White Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan and their ilk, thus forming an evil alliance under the general leadership of the John Birchites, which menaces civil rights, labor's rights, civil liberties, and all that is progressive in this land.

Each of these groups has its own reactionary goal. Each calculates that the Civil Rights Revolution will demoralize and divide enough people to create the opening through which it can ride to power, just as in Germany the various reactionary groups gravitated around the fanatical anti-Semitism of Hitler fascism.

This fascist crowd emerged as the organizer and the shock troops of the campaign of Alabama's racist Governor Wallace in Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland. Most of the Wallace-appointed electors were members of the Birch Society. The antilabor corporations financed the campaign. Wallace furnished unsurpassed demagogy and he, no doubt, will do it again for the power of the ultra right forces represented by the John Birch Society is growing and must be taken seriously by labor, the civil rights organizations, Jewish and Catholic forces and liberal intellectuals before it is too late.

Verily, winning the goals of the Civil Rights Revolution is one fight Negroes cannot afford to lose.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
MOST WORSHIPFUL PRINCE HALL GRAND LODGE
FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA, PA., OCTOBER 11, 1965

Most Worshipful Grand Master and brothers of the Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania: Let me express my pleasure and honor for this opportunity to share in the fellowship spirit of this occasion.

Let me congratulate the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, second oldest Grand Lodge in the United States, on this 150th Anniversary. Absolem Jones, Richard Allen and Peter Battis, three of its original leaders who worked diligently to give status and respect to Negro Masonry and develop a Negro regiment from Philadelphia to fight against slavery, will ever be remembered.

Now, the Negro and the United States of America are in the midst of a great revolution, a Civil Rights Revolution. The roots of this revolution run back beyond the birth of this Republic. It is the direct outcome of the historical fact that the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed.

Hard upon Emancipation, the wild and angry winds of a Confederate Counterrevolution swept over the land with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in 1865, with its fiery cross, violence, blood and death, leaving the Reconstruction Democracy lying in ruins.

The War Amendments (13th, 14th and 15th) were never implemented or fully enforced for there was no enabling legislation. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, two of the noblest champions of human rights who ever graced the Halls of Congress, saw their creative legislative labors virtually nullified by the United States Supreme Court, especially its decision of Plessy against Ferguson in 1896 which propounded the doctrine of "separate but equal", the foundation of Jim Crow in the nation.

Thus, the Civil Rights Revolution has burst upon the country and shaken it to its very foundation. What is its goal? Its goal is to effect a basic transition of the Negro from the status of second-class to the status of first-class citizenship.

As a result of the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 the illegality of discrimination, based upon race or color, has been established. It is now a violation of federal law to practice discrimination against Negroes in housing, public schools, trade unions, industry, government and public accommodations.

The Civil Rights Revolution and sound and aggressive Presidential leadership accomplished this objective.

When Negroes, old and young, illiterate but not ignorant, and their white allies of workers in labor unions, and Catholic priests and nuns, rabbis, and Protestant preachers, North and South, East and West, began marching and singing in the streets for freedom, racial and social justice, the Wall of the Jericho of white supremacy began tumbling down. The Battle of Birmingham, the Selma-Montgomery Crusade for the Ballot, and the Big March on Washington in August, 1963 shook the foundations of this Republic. It was a colossal challenge to the conscience of this country. Hundreds of thousands of Negro and white citizens were on the march from one end of the country to the other, bearing witness to their commitment to the principle of the God-given right to freedom and justice, equality and human dignity.

Nothing like it had ever been seen in this country before. It took on the overtones of an evangelistic racial and religious revival of a new brotherhood of man.

Verily, the Civil Rights Revolution was going through a baptism of fire, struggle, suffering and sacrifice. Children and youth, men and women, black and white had fallen as gallant warriors before bombs and bullets. Churches and the homes of civil rights workers were put to the torch, but they marched on. They never quit. Thunder of their marching feet and singing voices were heard not only throughout America but the entire world.

The Civil Rights Revolution had become the greatest living force for freedom and human dignity, the heart of the Judeo-Christian traditions in the United States, if not the world. It is one of the finest hours of Western man in his quest for the things of the human spirit. The majesty, grandeur and nobility of the black man's freedom movement in America stem from the righteousness of his cause.

This revolution reverberates throughout the land, touching every city, every town, every village where black men are segregated, oppressed and exploited. But the Civil Rights Revolution is not confined to the Negro though he is its motivation and inspiration, nor is it confined to civil rights, for our white allies know that they cannot be free while black men are not free,and we know that we have no future in a society in which millions of black and white workers are jobless and some thirty-five million live in poverty. Nor is the goal of the Civil Rights Revolution merely the passage of civil rights legislation.

Yes, Negroes want all public accommodations open to all citizens, but public accommodations will mean little to those who don't possess the dollars and cents to use them.

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> "Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates. This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity, not just legal equity but human ability, not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result."

This is one of the most profound observations on the objective realities of the Negro problem ever made in the history of the country by any leader, black or white.

The realization of the promise and dream of America by Negores will require that sanctity of property take second place to the sanctity of the human personality.

It falls to the Negro to reassert this profit priority of values because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property.

It falls to the Negro to demand new forms of social planning to create full employment and to put automation, with its incredible power of productivity, at the service of human needs, not at the service of private profits, for Negroes are the worst victims of unemployment, being without skills, training and technical education.

Now, there are those who deplore the militancy of the Negro, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace without realizing that they are, in fact, supporting segregation and exploitation. This does not mean that Negroes should support or justify violence, lawlessness, looting, arson and murder in the streets such as occurred in Watts, Los Angeles. History shows that those who draw the sword will perish by the sword, and there can be no freedom, racial and social justice without law and order and, by the same token, there can be no law and order without freedom, racial and social justice.

Moreover, it needs to be understood, in explanation, not justification, of racial convulsions, that Negroes are prisoners of black ghettos and that ghettos are human jungles, the laws of which are violence, lawlessness, looting, narcotics addiction and prostitution. But who created the black ghetto jungles? White America created them, not the Negro. Thus, white Christian America is responsible for these intermittent racial eruptions of violence, blood and death. Negro leaders can condemn but not change the ghettos. They must and should be abolished, but they remain since they are the most profitable type of residential property. Hence, profits are at the foundation of the black slums, not the Negro teenagers, hoodlums or gamblers. Take the profits out of the black ghettos and they will pass away. This is the job of the government - city, state and federal, but the government will not move unless an awakened and aroused public conscience of black and white America move it.

Thus, a coalition of conscience of all segments of America must be developed and made to understand its moral commitment to abolish the social cancer of the black ghetto, not for the Negro alone but for the well-being of all America.

But breaking up the black ghetto is not easy, for it is bolstered and fortified by the fact that a number of groups gain profits out of its existence. The police make profit out of the distress of the ghetto; business makes profit of the misery of the ghetto; dope pushers and international narcotics syndicates gain profit out of the ghetto. Such is the economic, social and political trap the denizens of the ghetto are caught up in. There is little hope of breaking up black ghetto except the federal government takes a hand in eliminating the profits of the ghetto.

Thus, it is wrong to blame the poor, ragged, moneyless, jobless, friendless, hopeless and helpless hoodlums, teenagers and addicts for the terrors of the ghettos. While they commit crimes for which they ought to be made to pay, one should inquire as to who makes the criminals who ply their trade by tooth and claw, beak and fang, knife and gun. Certainly, Negro leadership need to get closer to the so-called lower level of the people in the ghetto to give them hope and direction, for when the downtrodden, hapless masses reach the point when they feel they can bear their burdens no longer they, with a mad fury, make a life and death struggle to effect a breakthrough through the barriers of the prison of the ghetto. Thus, Watts!

As we face the future, let us redouble our determination to march on to a better tomorrow, with the inspiration of one of the great freedom-fighter poets of our times, James Weldon Johnson, who distilled the agony and hopes of millions of black slaves in moving verse:

Stony the road we trod, bitter the chastening rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat, have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed.

We have come, over the way that with tears have
been watered,
We have come, treading our paths through the blood
of the slaughtered;
Out from the gloomy past; till now we stand at last
Where the bright gleam of our bright star is cast.

CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION AND A NEW AMERICA

by

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT, NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
AT JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE CONFERENCE, WASHINGTON, D. C.
OCTOBER 22, 1965

Mr. Chairman, Officers and Delegates of this Convention of the Jewish Labor Committee, in the name of the officers and members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Negro American Labor Council and the Civil Rights Freedom Movement I hail and salute you upon your long and dedicated struggle against religious bigotry and racial bias, and the building of a free, democratic society.

This convention has met at a time of revolution, the Civil Rights Revolution, one of the great world-shaking events of challenge and change of the twentieth century.

Having been victims of the unspeakable horrors, barbarities and inhumanities of the institution of chattel slavery for a quarter of a thousand years, and the servitude of segregation for a hundred years, more or less, the hallmark of this Black Revolution is a life and death struggle to effect a transition from second-class to first-class citizenship for black Americans.

Thus, the cry for freedom; freedom from discrimination and segregation by labor unions, industry or government; freedom from Ku Klux Klanism; freedom to vote; to go to school without Jim-Crow; freedom to sit at a lunch counter; to eat a sandwich in any store.

The mood of Negro discontent, resentment, frustration and desperation is deepened by the fact that a Negro boy has about half a chance to complete high school as a white boy; one-third as much to complete college or become a professional man;

one-seventh as much to earn $10,000 a year. The average Negro with four years of college will earn less in his lifetime than the average white person who never went beyond the eighth grade.

The median number of years of schooling for whites has now passed the high school level, while the median years for Negroes is barely beyond the ninth grade level. The median income of Negro families is about half of what it is for white families; the unemployment rate among Negroes is more than twice as high as it is for whites, and the rate of unemployment for black teenagers is about four times the rate of white teenagers.

GOALS ACHIEVED

What of the goals achieved? Some basic goals have been chalked up on the credit side of the Revolution.

First and, perhaps, foremost, is the mobilization of a massive assault in the form of demonstrations of marching men, women and children, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, labor and liberal intellectual, upon the false god of White Supremacy.

Demonstrations of unprecedented dimensions, such as the Battle of Birmingham and the Selma to Montgomery Crusade for the Ballot, and the Big March on Washington in 1963, that bore witness by Americans of various and varied groups and rank to their commitment to the cause of the God-given right of every human being to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

And black men, women and children, and their allies, will continue to march around the Walls of the Jericho of racial discrimination and segregation until they came tumbling down.

Second, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, establishing the illegality of discrimination and segregation on account of race or color, in public accommodations, schools, housing, labor unions, government and industry, have been enacted into law by the Congress of the United States as a result of the firm and able leadership of President Lyndon Baines Johnson; the powerful support of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; the cooperation of the three faiths, Catholic, Jewish and Protestant, and numerous devoted professional leaders like Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. of Americans for Democratic Action, and Andy Biemiller of AFL-CIO, who stood side by side with Clarence Mitchell of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, relentless and dedicated watchman of civil rights legislation.

IMPLEMENTATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

But while this great triumph of freedom in civil rights legislation has been won, implementation or enforcement of this legislation is yet to be achieved. This is the task of the Federal Government and the civil rights movement and its allies.

Negroes must not forget that following the Civil War, the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution became the law of the land, only to be virtually nullified by the wild, violent and bloody Confederate Counter-Revolution of 1865, together with anti-civil rights decisions of the United States Supreme Court in 1883 and 1896, the latter involving the famous Plessy vs. Ferguson case. Well has it been said that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom.

When the thunder of the Revolution of Abolitionism was heard no more in Fanueil Hall and on the streets of Boston, and the halls of the Congress; when the mighty Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives, properly referred to as the Great Commoner, and the brilliant Charles Sumner in the Senate, no longer pleaded the cause of the black Freedmen, the Freedmen were soon forgotten and left to the tender mercies of their former slave masters.

Thus, the former slaves, jobless, moneyless, voteless, friendless, landless, were soon forced back upon the old cotton plantations as sharecroppers, tenant farmers, or virtual peons, oppressed by the Black Codes framed to break the spirit of the Freedmen, and exploited by a vicious commissary debt system which bound them to the land.

Hence, the civil rights laws recently won, can and will be amended to death by their enemies, South and North, unless jealously guarded. The attack upon civil rights legislation can be expected to come from politicians that represent the spirit of the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils and the growing Rightist forces in the country, led by the John Birch Society, that equate civil rights with Communists and Communism.

PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT OF NEGROES

But while Negroes must keep ever on the offensive to protect the existing civil rights laws, the amplification and intensification of socio-racial crises throughout the length and breadth of the country require and demand a shift in emphasis in the Civil Rights Revolution, from civil right to economic and social rights and equality.

Obviously, though Negroes could not continue to endure the humiliation of a rebuff when seeking the ordinary right to sit at a lunch counter to eat a sandwich in a downtown department store in a southern city, they nevertheless cannot eat a sandwich if they don't have the money to buy it.

By the same token, while a Negro family wants to enjoy the right, along with any other citizen, to live in a split-level home in a desirable suburban area, it cannot live in such style without the money to purchase it.

And although a young Negro should have the right to secure a job as an airplane pilot, he cannot perform such service even if offered him unless he possesses the training and skill.

Thus, it is apparent that while Negroes must be given opportunity, they must be given more than opportunity. While they must be given civil rights, they must be given more than civil rights. Yes, Negroes must be given freedom, but they must be given more than freedom; they must be given the freedom, right and opportunity to develop the ability to make use of rights, freedom and opportunity.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY

In an historic address at Howard University, June 4, 1965, President Johnson gave one of the most fundamental and scientific analysis of the problem of racial bias ever presented to an American audience. He stated:

> "But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.

> You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "You are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.
>
> Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All of our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.
>
> This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity - not just legal equity but human ability - not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result."

This is the recognition of the responsibility of the American society to provide a type of treatment of Negroes who have been scarred, hobbled and crippled as to be relatively unable, under the rules of conventional competition in the marketplace, to take advantage of many desirable opportunities if, as, and when available.

AMERICAN SEGMENTS GIVEN PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

Preferential treatment of Negroes, who have given some 250 years of unrequited toil to America, can never repay them for the social misery and economic wretchedness they have suffered. America can only seek to repair irreparable wrongs by providing a form of preferential consideration for Negroes which is designed to help them equip themselves so that they will be able to reverse the trend of a widening gap in status and income between the Negro and white families.

Negroes are entitled to preferential treatment because they have been, and still are, the victims of specially devised disadvantages to prevent them developing the intellectual strength to enable them to make educational, economic, social and political progress. As a result of the Black Codes established in the slave states, for nearly three hundred years it was a crime to teach a slave how to read and write; being chattel, slaves could not own property, and their tribal families were systematically broken up for commercial gain.

Thus, in order to bridge the widening gulf between the white "haves" and black "have nots" in America, which is beyond the reach of the black poor, trapped in a prison of poverty by a lack of money, lack of education, lack of skills and a lack of experience in a world where all of these count for practically everything in order to make progress, some extraordinarily strong helping hand must be extended to deprived black America.

But perhaps the most galling of all of poverty's shackles is the bitter foreknowledge of defeat and rejection which tends to kill the desire to even try. Hence, preferential assistance is needed, not only to bring help but hope. And what is true of the black poor is also true of the white poor.

Lest there be some concern about the very idea of preferential consideration for segments of the population in a free, equalitarian, democratic society, let me hasten to add that with the increasing imbalances among groups and individuals in a society undergoing profound change,as a result of the revolution of science, technology, industrialism and automation, shocking pockets of poverty are certain to appear to blight the social landscape until a system for a more equitable distribution of the wealth produced is developed.

APPALACHIA

Be it noted that distressed Appalachias, without racial overtones, are becoming increasingly common where preferential help is required by the strong hand of the Federal Government.

Of course, the classic example of preferential service to a people was the Marshall Plan developed by the United States to help rehabilitate Europe to save it from the rising red tides of Russian Communism. Billions were poured into practically every European country to help them stand upon their own feet, despite their possession of a thousand years of civilization.

A RATIONAL AND MEANINGFUL CHANCE

If our affluent American society can put billions into rebuilding a devastated, war-torn Europe; billions into putting down Nazism in Germany; and billions into stopping the march of Japanese imperialism in Asia, why shouldn't it put billions into wiping out racism in the United States,by a bold and revolutionary program of sweeping the explosive black ghetto jungles into the ashcan of history, building low-cost and middle-income integrated housing, integrated schools with qualitatively high standards, vast public works,to meet the unmet needs of the nation,that will provide jobs,such as modern school buildings, hospitals and parks?

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

One, intensify the war on poverty and unemployment; two, repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act; three, develop economic, social and racial democracy; four, extensive federal aid to education; five, a two-dollar minimum wage and extended coverage to include some 18 million workers without the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act; six, a Guaranteed Annual Wage and Supplemental Unemployment Benefits; seven, the 32-hour workweek; eight, organizing the unorganized; nine, rental subsidy for the working poor; ten, world peace, aid and trade for the developing countries

HOW TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES

NEGRO-LABOR ALLIANCE

The resounding victory in the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was largely the result of an active, day-to-day working alliance of the civil rights organizations and the AFL-CIO, which provided strategy and tactics for the direction and protection of legislative action. Around the Negro-Labor alliance was built a broad coalition of conscience composed of the three faiths, Jewish, Catholic and Protestant, which served to help create a national consensus for civil rights legislation.

It is quite obvious that the Negro civil rights movement could not have developed alone a national consensus for Congressional civil rights legislation, although it supplied the moral evangalism.

If a coalition of conscience was necessary to secure the passage of federal civil rights laws, it is going to be equally or more necessary to effect the implementation of the legislation and win the fight for the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. This is becoming increasingly obvious in view of the defeat the civil rights movement has sustained in the Congress on the issue of Home Rule, and the failure of Labor to break the filibuster against 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. These rebuffs to civil rights and labor's rights is proof of the growing forces of the reactionary right, led by the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils and the John Birch Society.

United in a powerful Coalition of Conscience, the cause of civil rights and labor's rights can and will prevail; without it, the future is uncertain.

To the end of building a Coalition of Conscience, periodic working conferences of the components of the coalition of conscience should be held, for the coalition of conscience is as the coalition of conscience does.

NOW IS THE TIME

The spirit, time and basis for the building of a creative coalition of conscience are present in this period of crisis, change and conflict.

First, it is important to note,in the building of this coalition,that representatives of all three faiths have played roles of dedication, struggle, sacrifice and suffering in the Civil Rights Revolution. This is attested by the martyrdom of the two young Jewish freedom fighters, Andy Goodman and Michael Schwerner, the Catholic freedom fighter, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, and the Protestant freedom fighter, Rev. James Reeb.

Second, structurally ad hoc committees reflecting an interfaith and interracial complexion exist from coast to coast.

Third, a dangerous force of rightist reaction, led by the John Birch-Ku Klux Klan axis, constitutes a major challenge to civil rights and labor, and our free, democratic society which we dare not ignore.

It is also apparent that neither one of the forces, that must constitute the Coalition of Conscience, alone is sufficiently powerful successfully to grapple with John Birchism.

Moreover, it is also obvious that an erosion of the national consensus for civil rights is taking place and needs repair. It is also obvious that the fight of organized labor to repeal 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act will meet the opposition of the combined power of the corporate power structure and right-wing fanaticism.

Thus a Coalition of Conscience is the only hope for the continuance of liberal economic, social, political progress and the achievement of the Great Society.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT ANNUAL FREEDOM AWARDS DINNER OF THE
FLORIDA STATE CONFERENCE OF NAACP BRANCHES
WEST PALM BEACH, FLORIDA, OCTOBER 30, 1965

THE GREAT HUMAN DRAMA - NEGRO REVOLUTION

Fellow Freedom Fighters and Floridians: I am happy and honored to share in the fellowship spirit of this occasion, and to accept with deep humility this award from my fellow Floridians. I accept it in the name of the officers and members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Negro American Labor Council, some of whom live in Florida and work on the railroads of this State and throughout the country.

All of the immediate members of my family, now passed on, were born in Florida. I received my early training in the Oakland Grammar Public School on the East Side in Jacksonville, Edward Waters College and Cookman Institute, now the Bethune-Cookman, in Daytona.

The teacher who gave me and my brother James (who was a genius in mathematics) our kindergarten training still lives in Jacksonville, and in the same house. Her name is Fannie Hansberry, one of the most beautiful women I have ever known.

My family was poor in the things of this world but rich in the things of the human spirit. And numberless grey days on the long march and struggle over the road for labor's rights and civil rights were faced with faith and fortitude because of the radiant life of my beautiful wife, now departed, with whom I had been married for fifty years.

WHY WE ARE HERE

And now, why are we here? The answer is, we are here because the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed. The Civil War Revolution was never fully completed because of five reasons:

One, the rise and growth of the Confederate Counter-Revolution, spearheaded by the Ku Klux Klan, with bitter racial hatred, violence, lawlessness, blood and death in 1865.

Two, opposition of President Andrew Johnson to Congressional Reconstruction Acts, sponsored by Thaddeus Stevens, the Great Commoner, in the House of Representatives, and the brilliant Charles Summer in the Senate, while favoring the cause of the old Confederate slave masters.

Three, the fall of the Reconstruction Democracy, during the course of which black Freedmen had been elected to the legislatures of the former slave states and sat as members of the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Four, the virtual nullification of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution by the decision of the United States Supreme Court of 1883, striking down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, and the famous Plessy against Ferguson opinion which set forth the doctrine of "separate but equal," which became the rationale of racial discrimination and segregation throughout the nation.

Five, the fatal Hayes-Tilden election of 1876, which resulted in a deal providing upon election of Hayes, a Republican, for the withdrawal of the Federal troops from the South in 1877, which left the Freedmen to the tender mercies of their former masters.

Immediately following this coup d'etat against the Freedmen, they were forced upon the old cotton plantations as sharecroppers, tenant farmers and commissary debt-peons.

Thus the former slaves had become the victims of the opposition of the Federal Government, including the U. S. Supreme Court, as well as the organized oppression and persecution of the former slave states. Moreover, the thunder of the Revolution of Abolitionism was no longer heard in the land. The Freedmen had been forgotten.

Hence, the Negro Freedmen came into the twentieth century voteless, moneyless, landless, friendless, and virtually hopeless and helpless.

This is why we are here. We are trying to complete and incompleted Civil War Revolution with the weapon of the Civil Rights Revolution.

This Civil Rights Revolution has its roots in a quarter of a thousand years of chattel slavery and a hundred years of the servitude of segregation.

The organized Negro freedom movement began with the calling together of Negro and white liberals by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910.

Having drained the cup of the bitter dregs of persecution, insult and humiliation, Negroes began sit-ins, sit-downs, lie-ins, lie-downs, marching in the streets, boycotts and picketing, North and South, East and West, under the leadership of Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Dr. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Council, James Farmer of Congress of Racial Equality and John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

They have been joined by representatives of the three religious faiths, Jewish, Catholic and Protestant, and by the AFL-CIO.

The Battle of Birmingham against vicious segregationists, the Crusade from Selma to Montgomery, and the Big March on Washington, August, 1963, created a national consensus for civil rights and the Congress, under the effective leadership of President Johnson, passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

But, as a result of the shameless judicial acquittal of Collie Leroy Wilkins, charged with the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, civil rights worker, a new Federal civil rights act is needed to protect the civil rights fighters from violence and murder.

DEMONSTRATIONS

Thus, though civil rights legislation has been passed by the Congress, the fight for freedom, equality, human dignity, racial and social justice is farfrom over. The implementation of this legislation is yet to be effected.

Therefore, Negroes and their Church and Labor allies will be compelled to continue demonstrations with marches, picketing and boycotts until the Walls of the Jericho of white supremacy come tumbling down.

Peaceful demonstrations are traditional to the democratic way of life. They should be carried on as long as objective racial and social conditions make them necessary to attract, awaken and arouse the public conscience to condemn racial and social injustice. Of course, violence, lawlessness, looting, arson and murder must be condemned since he who draws the sword will perish by the sword. Moreover, violence begets violence.

It is a matter of common knowledge that there can be no freedom, racial and social justice without law and order and, by the same token, there can be no law and order without freedom, racial and social justice.

It is important to note that the crimes, lawlessness and violence, like Watts of Los Angeles, do not constitute or represent the Civil Rights Revolution, but it is also necessary to understand that the devastation, destruction, burnings and deaths that took place in Watts are the inevitable consequence of hundreds of years of oppression, suppression, exploitation, economic wretchedness, social misery, humiliation, rebuff and insult of a people in a ghetto of darkness and despair. It was a case of the black "have nots", jobless, drop-out unemployed teenagers, drug addicts and hoodlums who have not been touched or helped by the War on Poverty, or any form of social improvement, attempting to break out of the prison of the slums in search of the fresh air of freedom where they could unburden their heavy hearts and tormented souls as equals of the white world for a day.

The black middle-class Negroes are not involved in these riots because they can escape from the steaming, stinking, rat-infested ghetto tenements into the better dwellings and homes of suburbia. But there is no escape for 98 percent of the Negro denizens of the big city slums. Thus, they live by the law of the ghetto, which is the law of violence, dope addiction, the knife and the gun, and their wits. But these helpless Negroes did not create the ghettos. White America created them, and white America must abolish them. Today, white America makes profits out of the ghettos. The slum landlords are coining huge profits out of the misery of the people who live in filth, disease and pauperism. Narcotics syndicates make profits out of the ghetto, so do the police.

Following the course of the logic of events, it is proper, not in justification but explanation of the historical process, to point out that there is no record of a nationalist, human rights or social revolution which has been fully free from violence, lawlessness, bloodshed, arson and death.

In the American nationalist Revolution of Independence, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, there was the Boston Massacre, violence, seizure and destruction of private property, and murder.

In the latter days of the reign of Louis XVI, the French Revolution was sent to its doom by a Reign of Terror, which was followed by the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

In an historic address at Howard University, June 4, 1965, President Johnson gave one of the most fundamental and scientific analysis of the problem of racial bias ever presented to an American audience. He stated:

> "But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: 'Now you are free to go where you want, do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.
>
> You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, 'You are free to compete with all the others,' and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.
>
> Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All of our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.
>
> This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity - not just legal equity but human ability - not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result."

This is the recognition of the responsibility of the American society to provide a type of treatment of Negroes who have been scarred, hobbled and crippled as to be relatively unable, under the rules of conventional competition in the market place, to take advantage of many desirable opportunities if, as, and when available.

PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

Preferential treatment of Negroes, who have given some 250 years of unrequited toil to America, can never repay them for the social misery and economic wretchedness they have suffered.

America can only seek to repair irreparable wrongs by providing a form of preferential consideration for Negroes which is designed to help them equip themselves so that they will be able to reverse the trend of a widening gap in status and income between the Negro and white families.

Negroes are entitled to preferential treatment because they have been, and still are, the victims of specially devised disadvantages to prevent them developing the intellectual strength to enable them to make educational, economic, social and political progress. As a result of the Black Codes established in the slave states, for nearly three hundred years it was a crime to teach a slave how to read and write; being chattel, slaves could not own property, and their tribal families were systematically broken up for commercial gain.

Thus, in order to bridge the widening gulf between the white "haves" and black "have nots" in America, which is beyond the reach of the black poor, trapped in a prison of poverty by a lack of money, lack of education, lack of skills and a lack of experience in a world where all of these count for practically everything in order to make progress, some extraordinarily strong helping hand must be extended to deprived black America.

But perhaps the most galling of all of poverty's shackles is the bitter foreknowledge of defeat and rejection which tends to kill the desire to even try. Hence, preferential assistance is needed, not only to bring help but hope. And what is true of the black poor is also true of the white poor.

Lest there be some concern about the very idea of preferential consideration for segments of the population in a free, equalitarian, democratic society, let me hasten to add that with the increasing imbalances among groups and individuals in a society undergoing profound change, as a result of the revolution of science, technology, industrialism and automation, shocking pockets of poverty are certain to appear to blight the social landscape until a system for a more equitable distribution of the wealth produced is developed.

APPALACHIA

Be it noted that distressed Appalachias, without racial overtones, are becoming increasingly common where preferential help is required by the strong hand of the Federal Government.

Of course, the classic example of preferential service to a people was the Marshall Plan developed by the United States to help rehabilitate Europe to save it from the rising red tides of Russian Communism. Billions were poured into practically every European country to help them stand upon their own feet, despite their possession of a thousand years of civilization.

A RATIONAL AND MEANINGFUL CHANCE

If our affluent American society can put billions into rebuilding a devastated, war-torn Europe; billions into putting down Nazism in Germany; and billions into stopping the march of Japanese imperialism in Asia, why shouldn't it put billions into wiping out racism in the United States, by a bold and revolutionary program of sweeping the explosive black ghetto jungles into the ashcan of history, building low-cost and middle-income integrated housing, integrated schools with qualitatively high standards, vast public works to meet the unmet needs of the nation that will provide jobs, such as modern school buildings, hospitals and parks?

NOW IS THE TIME

The spirit, time and basis for the building of a creative coalition of conscience are present in this period of crisis, change and conflict.

First, it is important to note, in the building of this coalition, that representatives of all three faiths have played roles of dedication, struggle, sacrifice and suffering in the Civil Rights Revolution. This is attested by the martyrdom of the two young Jewish freedom fighters, Andy Goodman and Michael Schwerner, the Catholic freedom fighter, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, and the Protestant freedom fighter, Rev. James Reeb.

Second, structurally ad hoc committees reflecting an interfaith and interracial complexion exist from coast to coast.

Third, a dangerous force of rightist reaction, led by the John Birch-Ku Klux Klan axis, constitutes a major challenge to civil rights and labor, and our free, democratic society which which we dare not ignore.

It is also apparent that neither one of the forces that may constitute the Coalition of Conscience alone is sufficiently powerful successfully to grapple with John Birchism.

Moreover, it is also obvious that an erosion of the national consensus for civil rights is taking place and needs repair. It is also obvious that the fight of organized labor to repeal 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act will meet the opposition of the combined force of the corporate power structure and right-wing fanaticism.

Thus, a Coalition of Conscience is the only hope for the continuance of liberal economic, social, political progress, and the achievement of the Great Society.

> Stony the road we trod, bitter the chastening rod,
> Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
> Yet with a steady beat, have not our weary feet
> Come to the place for which our fathers sighed.
>
> We have come, over the way that with tears have
> been watered,
> We have come, treading our paths through the blood
> of the slaughtered;
> Out from the gloomy past; till now we stand at last
> Where the bright gleam of our bright star is cast.
>
> \- James Weldon Johnson

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, HONORARY CHAIRMAN,
AT THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 17-18, 1965

I hail and salute the President of the United States, The Honorable Lyndon Baines Johnson, upon his creative statesmanship, explicit and implicit in his pronounced bold and brave new approach to the American Negro problem when he pointed out that that the nation has to advance from equality as a right and theory, to equality as a fact and as a result. Rights have been secured; now they must be fulfilled. We dare not delay in redressing this one huge wrong of the American nation.

How true!

And permit me to hail and salute the leaders of the Freedom movement, Roy Wilkins, Dr. Martin Luther King, James Farmer, Dorothy Height, Whitney Young, Jr., John Lewis and Jack Greenburg. They threw down the challenge to the President and he took it up.

Verily, the Civil Rights Revolution and history will not give America any more time to come to grips with this new force of racial challenge and change, conflict and crisis.

Indeed, the Negro is in transition from an old order of racial subordination, exploitation and humiliation to a new order of confrontation with a decadent doctrine of white supremacy, and the concept of the hereditary racial inferiority of persons of color. They are in transition from a sense of fear to a sense of no fear; from a sense of "nobody" to a sense of "somebody"; from submission and retreat to revolt and democratic equalitarianism.

Caught up in the preoccupation with the burst of the world of color in Asia, Africa and Negroes in the United States in the flames of revolution against colonialism, imperialism and racialism, America is yet properly to evaluate this convulsion of history which is definitely destined to be as fearfully and far-reachingly cataclysmic as the industrial revolution that touched and affected the life of every person on this planet a century ago.

Before this Black Revolution, which is concerned about completing the incompleted Civil War Revolution, a continuation of the American Revolution of 1776, finishes its course, it will profoundly alter and change the structure and function of American society and the relations of black and white Americans to it.

Already, the Negro Civil Rights Revolution is writing a new, broader and bolder role of responsibility of the Federal Government for racial and social justice and protection and advancement of the black and white poor, in the President's unprecedented war on poverty.

HOW TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS?

Confronted with an increasingly excessively explosive socio-racial dynamite, the black ghettos, with the responsibility for the integration of angry, skeptical, critical dropout, jobless teenagers, low-wage working poor, hardcore unemployed and unemployables, sick and dangerous narcotic addicts, rootless, moneyless havenots about whom nobody cares, broken homes and runaway unemployed fathers from their own homes, unsupervised children while mothers are at work, the Federal Government of an American affluent society, whose National Gross Product for

1965 will run around $675 billions, has only one remedy, the creation of a vast "Freedom Budget" - a nationwide plan for the abolition of the ghetto jungles in every city, even at the cost of a hundred billion dollars, a cost which may be vastly less than the chance of another unhappy Watts of Los Angeles, especially as a legacy of racial hate. Nothing less than such a "Freedom Budget" will suffice.

Ghettos are human jungles of violence, crimes, murder, arson, where some people live by their wits, the knife and the gun. But the ghettos were not created and are not maintained by its inhabitants. It is the handiwork of American racism and of cruel unconcern on the part of blind men who profit from misery. Slums are maintained because slum landlords coin huge profits out of them. Narcotics syndicates and pushers make fabulous profits out of the ghetto. Wine merchants make profits out of the ghetto, and some of the police come by an easy buck in the ghetto. It is a haven for prostitutes, petty gamblers and hustlers. The ghetto is a dangerous social cancer on the community and cannot be eliminated except by taking the profits out of its operation or tearing it down by the federal, state or city government, the latter being the more feasible. The ghetto is the problem and it must be destroyed.

PRICE OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

If pouring a hundred billion dollars into the enterprise of ridding the country of the social sickness of the ghetto seems to be a staggering sum. let me hasten to add that Negro citizens and the country are now paying a much higher price for not wiping out the ghettos.

According, for instance, to a statement by the President's Council of Economic Advisors, in 1962, losses to the economy through racial discrimination result from two factors: (1) inefficiency in the use of the labor force resulting from failure to utilize fully the existing skills of our population; and (2) failure to develop potential skills fully.

The Council estimated that the nation's economy is losing $13 billion and $17 billion per year to national income and product as a result of these two factors.

Thus, on a basis of the position of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, Negroes and the national economy lost in every ten year period from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and seventy billions of dollars in income and product on account of racial bias. Therefore, the abolition of the ghettos throughout the nation at the cost of a hundred billion dollars or more would constitute a basic economic gain which would continue to grow with the increase of the Negro population with a correlative increase in their skills, training and education, assuming that the country will be wise enough to throw racial discrimination and segregation into the ashcan of history, winding up with the Negro paying the price for their own second emancipation from color discrimination, while increasing the rate of economic growth and strengthening the national economy.

THE NEGRO AND JOBS

A basic and major concern of black America is jobs, and properly so, because the large majority of Negroes depend upon income in the form of wages for labor performed; not income from the ownership of property.

But the rate of unemployment among Negroes is twice as high as it is among whites. Wages are lower because their jobs are largely unskilled and the technological revolution of automation is abolishing unskilled jobs at a frightfully rapid rate and Negro workers are not acquiring new skills, training and education rapidly enough to perform the new jobs in the American automated workshop. Thus, the gap between the average annual median income of the Negro family and the white family is widening and there is no prospect of closing it soon.

Hence, to fulfill these rights in the area of the Negro job problem is a difficult task of the Civil Rights Revolution if indeed it can solve it at all. Hence, in an attempt successfully to deal with the problem, an approach should be made from two angles: (1) the public sector of the economy, by providing vast public works to meet practical unmet needs of the country, such as building schools, hospitals, libraries, highways, slum clearance and many other developments the country needs; and (2) providing new opportunity in the private sector by a series of the President's White House Conferences with the management and trade union representatives of every industry, such as railroads, oil, electrical, electronics, shipping, automobile, steel, rubber, building construction, public utilities, manufacturing, wholesale and retail businesses and others.

The purpose of these White House conferences with each individual industry being to determine the extent to which Negroes are present in all areas and job classifications of each industry and to develop a master plan for the integration of Negroes upon every level and in every job classification. If Negroes lack the training skills, education and efficiency needed, that the industry be held responsible for the preparation of Negroes to perform the various and varied services with the efficiency required by on-job and vacational and educational training. Industry will profit from this program since it will create higher purchasing power of a large segment of the nation's workforce. Cities will profit from it by the elimination of heavy relief loads.

A comparable White House Conference should be held to determine the extent Negroes are employed in the various Government departments and the areas and job classifications involved, with a view to increasing the integration of Negroes in every department upon a basis of qualifications. Where qualifications are absent, Negroes should be urged and helped to get the qualifications. In city and state governments the same procedure could be followed. In the South, few Negroes are employed by the states and cities governments. This is not peculiar to the South; Negroes do not receive a fair share of employment in any state or city in the country. While this is also true of the federal government the picture is favorably changing in this area, if not by a sufficiently rapid rate.

INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

Only within the framework of an integrated American school system will the Negro boy and girl ever get a chance to move into the vanguard of American progress in this new age of advancing technology.

While no doubt existing objective racial and educational realities require complete commitment to the development of immediate quality education where an integrated school system is as yet nonexistent, any form of segregated education should be only temporary and in the process of disestablishment, north and south. An integrated school system does not only equip a youth, black or white, with better tools of education, but will give all youth an higher order of moral and spiritual insight and psychological understanding to live within a help build and maintain a democratic society.

MINIMUM WAGE

No legislative action can provide greater economic strength to an American community, the population of which is largely composed of the working poor, white or black, than a federal minimum wage of $1.75 an hour, with unlimited coverage, enforceable in every state of the United States.

A minimum wage will not only increase the purchasing power of the lower-lower rung of workers, but create more jobs for workers required to produce the goods and services the workers with a higher minimum wage consumes.

With incredibly low wages of workers in the South, white and black, and workers in the North employed in hospitals, hotels, laundries, retail and wholesale businesses, domestic services, transportation and migrant farm laborers, a meaningful minimum wage will bring billions of dollars into the homes of workers who require public welfare subsidy to provide just a bare subsistence income. There are millions of the working poor who are deprived of even public relief assistance.

It is estimated by the President's Advisory Econimic Council that the South, where 50 percent of Negroes live, that the Negro and the economy of the South sustain a loss of from six to seven billion dollars annually because of discrimination in job opportunity.

HOUSING

With respect to the problem of segregated housing, the foundation of segregated schools, the answer is integration, for without integration of housing there cannot be integration of schools.

Middle income and low rent housing projects with the President's proposal of rent subsidy for the working poor is a fitting and timely corollary of a new and sound approach to a housing problem which is becoming increasingly acute.

SCHOOLS

Since Negro boys and girls have never had a chance basically to improve their mind and spirit with the comparability of white boys and girls, being isolated, as it were, from the mainstream of art, science and knowledge, they will never get a chance to develop and utilize their talent, genius and ability in the building of the Great Society until they are permitted to live, work and function within the American society as equals.

Moreover, some textbooks on history with creakingly antiquated and fantastic hypotheses and concepts on race need rewriting, since the minds of children even in integrated schools in their formative years can be irretrievably crippled by ideas of race that stem from the false doctrine of white supremacy.

The achievement of this objective is the purpose of this conference and the vision of President Johnson.

And to our committed and dedicated freedom fighters, may we ever guard and protect the Civil Rights Revolution, a mighty force for freedom, democracy and equality, and keep it to the creative path of non-violence, for it is the lesson of history that whenever a revolution degenerates into a reign of terror it eventuates in devouring its own children and digging its own grave.

May God grant us the strength, courage and faith to go forward in this battle for human dignity, and may we never falter.

Address by A. Philip Randolph

on

Civil Rights Resolution

Before Sixth Constitutional Convention, AFL-CIO

December 13, 1965

It has been two years since I last stood before this convention. These have been eventful and dramatic years for the Civil Rights Revolution. Indeed, the social and political landscape of the entire country has been changed.

We have won the passage of two historic pieces of legislation -- the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Thus, after centuries of slavery, segregation and discrimination, the American people have spoken out unequivocally -- not merely on behalf of the Negro but in the name of democracy itself. For when men are denied, on grounds of race, the elementary rights of due process and the right to vote, the moral foundations of that society are in doubt.

These victories are, first and foremost, the fruits of the struggle of the Negro people themselves. History will record that our gains, like those of labor, were not handed down from above but were wrested from reluctant hands through courage and sacrifice, often of limb and life.

Medgar Evers, William Moore, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, Lemuel Penn, Jimmy Lee Jackson, Mrs. Liuzzo, Reverend James Reeb, Jonathan Daniels, the four young girls of Birmingham -- these are but some of those -- black and white, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish -- who have made the ultimate sacrifice in the cause of freedom. President Meany, I request that this convention rise for a moment of silent tribute to the memory of these freedom fighters...

Brothers and sisters, we know that more than courage and determination were required to secure the civil rights legislation. Mass action had to be mobilized. The great Selma-to-Montgomery March, which captured the conscience of the nation and the attention of the world, generated the dynamism behind the Voting Rights Act of 1965. I am proud to tell you, brothers and sisters, that perhaps no single group was so distinctively and honorably present on that occasion as the representatives of the labor movement. President Meany sent Don Slaiman, Director of our Civil Rights Department, with a delegation that included, among others, Dave Sullivan, Robert Powell and Charles Zimmerman.

And so, on the very steps of the capitol of Alabama, labor's voice was raised high and clear in the name of freedom. President Meany, I participated in that historic event, and I can tell you that nothing so inspired the embattled Negroes of Alabama with courage and confidence as the visible and dramatic support of the labor movement in those glorious days.

Not only in Alabama but in Washington, the political power and skill of the Negro's allies were indispensable. The fact of the matter is, brothers and sisters, that the AFL-CIO -- under the able and forthright leadership of President Meany, Brother Reuther and the Executive Council -- did the yeoman's job of lining up Congressional support for the civil rights legislation of the past two years.

Special recognition is due to Andrew Biemiller who, working side by side with Clarence Mitchell, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Joseph Rauh, of the Industrial Union Department, coordinated labor's lobbyists on Capitol Hill. Without their tireless efforts, we might not have won the battle. Let these hard facts be properly noted by the hostile critics of the labor movement who profess sympathy for the cause of racial equality.

Brothers and sisters, the Resolution on Civil Rights which is before you is a commendable document which reaffirms labor's commitment to racial justice and equality. It emphasizes what labor knows from experience -- that the passage of good laws is not sufficient, that the laws must be vigorously and effectively enforced. The agencies responsible for administering the laws must be given the resources to discharge their responsibilities firmly. Where necessary, the laws must be strengthened through amendment.

But we also know that the work of the civil rights movement has just begun. We rightly demand of the government that every barrier to the Negro's full participation in the nation's political life be struck down. Once those barriers have fallen, however, it is our task to mobilize the masses of Negroes at the ballot box.

This is labor's task as well. For when the full political potential of the Southern Negro is realized, the face of Congress will be radically changed. The Dixiecrat politicians who have joined with conservative Republicans in opposition to labor's legislative demands will have to sing a different tune -- or find other jobs. Moreover, brothers and sisters, I submit to you that in the continuation and expansion of the Negro voter registration campaign in the South lays the foundation for labor's drive to organize the unorganized in the South.

The last two years have plainly demonstrated that the Negro-labor alliance is not a one-way street. Virtually the entire national Negro leadership has put its weight heavily behind the Congressional campaign for repeal of 14b, for a 2-dollar minimum wage, for extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act, and for other labor demands. They have testified before Congressional committees and their testimonies have been published and widely distributed by the Randolph Institute.

When the Negro leadership speaks out for labor's demands, they are not merely making a gesture in return for labor's support of civil rights. Rather we are bound together in a coalition of mutual interest.

Negro workers need and demand the repeal of 14b now! And they know why they want it. They know that repeal of 14b helps clear the way for unionization of the South. They know that repeal of 14b is a step toward economic security and better living standards. They know that repeal of 14b means greater dignity on the job - freedom from exploitation and intimidation.

And they know full well where the die-hard resistance to repeal of 14b is coming from. It is coming from the greedy profiteers and the reactionary politicians who have tried to block the Negro's advance every step of the way. That is why, in Oklahoma and other states, the Negro vote was decisive in defeating so-called right to work laws. And I can promise you, brothers and sisters, that throughout this land, the Negro revolution will join hands with labor in saying to the next Congress: Repeal 14b now!

And we say, too, that if there is any single step that will raise Negroes out of poverty, it is labor's demand for a national $2 minimum wage. In this land of affluence, in the year 1965, two out of every three Negro families live in poverty and deprivation. In part, this fact reflects the astronomically high unemployment rates in the Negro community. But in most cases, the head of the Negro family is working -- forty hard hours a week. He does not need to be lectured about self-help. Give him a decent wage, and he will be able to help himself. He will be able to keep his family together, to educate his children, to contribute to the well-being of the community. And he will be in a stronger position to struggle effectively for the dignity and the rights which he has been denied.

A national $2 dollar minimum wage, extended to millions now uncovered, would redress a shame of the nation. It would mean a revolution in Southern racial and economic relations. It would weaken the position of runaway plants that locate in the South in order to escape unionism and exploit a cheap labor market. In many Southern towns and cities, such companies become entrenched in the local power structures and fiercely resist civil rights efforts to change the status quo. The impact of a $2 dollar minimum wage on the ghetto-entrapped Negroes of the North would be no less revolutionary.

In short: if the civil rights revolution is to have meaning outside of the South -- in the teeming slums of the cities, in the industrial centers of the nation -- the needs of the dispossessed Negro masses must be hitched to the economic demands of labor.

More and more, the Negro leadership recognizes that of all the mass institutions in the nation, the labor movement holds out the greatest hope for progress in the daily conditions of life in the Negro community. Yet they do not forget for one moment that labor's own house is not yet entirely in order, that segregated locals and discriminatory practices still exist in some unions. The eradication of these conditions, noted in the Resolution before you, must be high on your priority list in the coming year. We must not permit the existence of any barriers to expanded cooperation between labor and the civil rights movement; and we must not give any ammunition to labor's enemies.

The Civil Rights Department is to be congratulated for the vigor and effectiveness with which it has labored to eliminate the remaining discrimination in our ranks. Even before Title VII, the fair employment section of the Civil Rights Act, went into effect, the Department was hard at work preparing international unions to cooperate in obtaining compliance with the law. At the same time, the AFL-CIO has called for a strengthening of the enforcement machinery of Title VII.

But more than your congratulations, Don Slaiman and the Civil Rights Department need your active support. Union locals must be encouraged to utilize the valuable technical assistance the Department can provide.

Brothers and sisters, two years ago when I stood before you, I spoke of the impact of the technological revolution and its economic dislocations on the Negro community. I said then that large sections of the community, unskilled and uneducated, were being rendered economically obsolete and deprived of social dignity. I spoke of a growing underclass, lacking hope and leadership, bereft of any sense of a stake in the total society. And I said then that, if we listened carefully, we could hear the rumblings of that underclass.

I do not need to tell you that in these two years those rumblings have exploded into thunderous and wildly destructive violence, from the tenements of Harlem to the slums of Watts. That violence cannot be excused or defended, for it took a larger toll in life and limb than has the nonviolent movement in the South -- and with less to show for it. But it serves no purpose simply to denounce the riots without trying to understand their causes. For, of this much we can be certain; if those causes are not identifed and uprooted, radically and finally, we will be courting disaster.

Let me say that I have been greatly encouraged by President Johnson's speech at Howard University and by the Department of Labor's study on the Negro family. Both move in the right direction of pinpointing the social and economic roots of the Negro's discontent. To further explore these roots, the President has, as you know, scheduled a special White House Conference, of which I have the privilege of serving as honorary chairman.

This conference will give special attention to the problem of Negro family instability. This, brothers and sisters, is a major problem with deep historical roots. Under two centuries of slavery, the Negro family was systematically destroyed. The right of Negroes to marry is barely one hundred years old. Following slavery, a system of segregation was introduced which denied the Negro family, particularly the Negro male, even the rudiments of economic security. To this very day, many of our welfare laws encourage family desertion by Negro males.

I do not have to tell you how family breakups encourage delinquency, crime, school drop-outs, and many forms of destructive, anti-social behavior. But when all of this is said, the question remains: How do we strengthen the Negro family and the fabric of the Negro community?

Here again, I think the labor movement knows the answer at least as well as the sociologists and psychologists and other experts. The answer is jobs -- decent jobs at decent wages. We know that when the Negro unemployment rate dropped during World War II, so did the Negro rate of divorce, or illegitimacy, and other indications of family instability. And so, brothers and sisters, the answer to Negro family instability and to Watts is the enactment of labor's programs for full and fair employment.

The record of the last ten years will show that we cannot look to the private sector of the economy to achieve the goal of full employment. But we can meet that goal through expansion of the public sector -- through meeting the vast unmet social needs of the country. We can put the unemployed back to work by clearing our slums and rebuilding our cities, by building schools and hospitals, by modernizing and expanding mass transit facilities, by investing in flood control and by combatting air pollution. We can open new jobs for the poor by expanding our social services.

We can achieve full employment by tearing down the physical environment of poverty and building a great society in its place. It was with this concept in mind that I proposed, at the planning session of the White House Conference, a national Freedom Budget of 100 billion dollars. This is a feasible and realistic budget, which has the support of leading labor economists. We have the means; we lack only the social imagination and the political will.

This is, above all, an imperative budget if we are serious about building the Great Society. As President Meany has said, "We must not let money stand in the way." Either we decide upon massive social investments now, or we face the incalculably more costly alternative of social disintegration and violence. In the long run, it is the budget-balancers and the tight-money boys who will prove to be the most impractical. Let me say right here that the recent action of the Federal Reserve Board may do more to dry up job opportunities for Negroes -- not to mention whites -- than the most overtly racist discrimination.

Brothers and sisters, I cannot close without commenting on a great danger that may lie ahead. In times of war or international crisis, as you know, there is a tendency to divert attention away from crying domestic needs and problems. Even now there are those who would exploit the perilous situation in Vietnam for their own narrow political purposes. Already we have heard the reactionary voices of Senators Stennis and Russell and other segregationists. They call for a cut-back in the war on poverty; they would push the struggle for racial equality off the stage of history; they feel strengthened in their opposition to labor's struggle for industrial democracy.

These tendencies must be vigorously fought. As President Meany has said our efforts to resist Communist totalitarianism will require sacrifices and impose burdens. But those sacrifices and burdens must be evenly distributed.

We must not place the heaviest loads on those least able to bear them -- the poor and dispossessed, black and white. We must not now dash their new hopes for a place in the sun. We must press forward the struggle for justice and democracy at home while we pursue it abroad.

In recent weeks, the Negro leadership has gathered together to discuss the objectives and directions of the civil rights movement during this difficult period of transition. They have concluded that we need to press forward on three major fronts. First is to achieve economic security for the Negro family through full and fair employment. Second is to see to it that the civil rights legislation is vigorously implemented. Third is to secure full protection of individuals in the exercise of the constitutionally-guaranteed rights. There must be an immediate end to the brutalization and murder of civil rights workers, and to a discriminatory jury system which makes a mockery of justice.

President Meany, the Resolution before us speaks forthrightly and directly to these concerns of the Negro leadership. Not coincidentally, but by indisputable social logic, the forces of labor and civil rights again find themselves on the same side of the struggle for justice.

Brothers and sisters, I urge the adoption of the Resolution on Civil Rights.

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Statement by A. Philip Randolph
at Convocation celebrating the Second Anniversary
of the Opportunities Industrialization Center, Inc.
Town Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
February 10, 1966

Permit me to hail and salute the Rev. Dr. Leon Sullivan upon his effective war on poverty by a constructive jobs program. It is a monument to his creative racial statesmanship.

Since the large majority of Negroes live off wages received on jobs, without employment, life is low. Recent reports from the Department of Labor show that the national rate of unemployment is down to 4 percent, but joblessness among Negroes is still around 10 percent, and among Negro teenagers about 16 percent or more. In addition, there is the hard core of Negro unemployables and the under-employed.

Add to this not too optomistic condition the fact that the large majority of Negro workers are unskilled and work on jobs that are rapidly being abolished by the revolution of automation; the increase in population; rising levels of productivity with the capability of a decreasing number of workers in America to produce all the goods and services necessary to maintain the population, and we face a problem which is baffling and frightening to white, as well as black, workers.

What shall we do?

Well, let us produce more Sullivans throughout the country.

Let us support more sound labor and civil rights legislation, such as the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act to provide for free collective bargaining between worker and employer; a minimum wage of two dollars an hour; laws providing protection of civil rights workers in the South and the right to sit on juries; support the Supreme Court decision on "one man-one vote" which the Negro and labor, concentrated in the cities, need to increase their political power North and South.

Let us support President Johnson in his determination to carry on the war on poverty, a war in which there can be no negotiated peace but only total victory for all the people of the nation. We must help him build the Great Society at home, and peace and freedom abroad, by maintaining a civil rights and labor Congress.

We must continue the fight to rebuild and remake the environment of our increasingly urbanized society, free from the stigma and blight of Jim Crow and the Black Ghetto.

Forward, Brother Sullivan! May Heaven give you the strength, courage and faith, wisdom and vision to carry on in this glorious cause for human dignity, freedom, racial and social justice, and may you never falter.

Meeting of
COUNCIL OF UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP
Wednesday, March 23, 1966
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York

Present

Jack Greenberg - Legal Defense Fund
Floyd McKissick - CORE
Bayard Rustin - representing Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Roy Wilkins - NAACP
Andrew Young - representing Dr. Martin Luther King
Whitney M. Young, Jr. - NUL

Absent

Miss Dorothy Height - NCNW (Out-of-town)
James Forman - SNCC - (Court appearance)

:

Meeting with President Johnson There was general review of the points discussed in the meeting of Negro leaders called by President Johnson on March 18th - particularly relating to some current legislative concerns. One major point was raised by Mr. Rustin - that in the future it would be to the advantage of all if, when summoned to such meetings, those involved could arrange to meet before-hand or at least engage in a conference-call in order to reach some consensus on issues which might logically be on the agenda of the White House meeting.

Concerning approval of the transfer of the Community Relations program to the Justice Department - an issue discussed after he had left the meeting-- Mr. Young stated that the several questions and reservations which he had regarding this remain unchanged, and he expressed doubt that he would have voted for the transfer.

OEO Memoranda No. 23 & No. 24 Mr. McKissick presented a draft of a resolution prepared for the Office of Economic Opportunity protesting Community Action Memoranda No. 23 and No. 24 on Personnel Policies and Procedures and Standards of Eligibility for Members of Governing Bodies and Policy Advisory Committees. The resolution, to be submitted in the name of the Council, asked that these memoranda be rescinded pending their review by the Office of Economic Opportunity Director.

In discussing the points raised in the Resolution, it was agreed that Mr. Greenberg will analyze the statement and on the basis of his analysis, a letter would be sent to Mr. Shriver expressing the concern of the Council members, and asking that it be placed on the agenda of the next Council meeting. Mr. Young, as a member of the Advisory Council of OEO, offered to follow through on this.

Inter-Organizational Conflicts, Tensions and/or Differences The question of the various organizational positions on Vietnam, as well as positions taken by individual leaders, was discussed. It was recognized that only one member-organization - SNCC - had, in fact, come out with an organizational position, although several leaders have expressed themselves individually and/or signed certain documents. While it was generally agreed that the positions taken by the individuals could not be entirely separated in the public mind from their civil rights role and image, and that the statements have had some adverse effect on the movement, it was, nevertheless, agreed that they were acts of individual conscience and as citizens the individuals had a perfect right to express their concern.

Much of the discussion centered around the effect of identification of the civil rights movement with Vietnam - namely (1) reduced income, (2) loss of some supporters, (3) the wisdom of reflecting a concern which obviously is not the major priority of the victims of discrimination who feel more immediate urgencies.

The group felt that all should express concern for any attempt to divert needed domestic program funds to the Vietnam effort, and should indicate their strong feeling that the poor should not be asked to bear the burden of this conflict. In addition, the consensus was that while it is recognized that those leaders who spoke out on the subject of Vietnam did so out of sincerity and conviction, it is hoped that some restrain would be exercised in view of the group's feeling that to do otherwise would be to further dilute their major concern, confuse some friends (including the Administration), and further play into the hands of their enemies.

It was agreed, also, that in the future it would be helpful if organizations other than SNCC who plan to take an organizational position would share the statement in advance with the other organizational heads.

It was felt that there can be only one position of unity on Vietnam - and that is not on the issues of the war itself, but on those issues only as they affect the Great Society program. Concern should be rather for matters such as minimum wage, guaranteed income, massive re-training programs, etc., in order that Negro boys returning from Vietnam will return to better working conditions here at home.

Issue was taken also with the new regulation providing for national examinations to determine draft status - the feeling being that this regulation tends to penalize those who have not had the privilege of good schooling.

Fund-Raising a) The decision of the Southern Regional Council to give the funds in the current Voter Education Project direct to the communities and not to the cooperating organization raises a number of serious questions - such as the control which the organizations have on the local activity, the involvement in partisan politics of many of the local groups, the inability of the organizations themselves to get funds, etc.

It was decided that Mr. Young would talk to Vernon Jordan about this on his next trip to Washington.

b) One grave danger of the above is that major foundations, in giving to the Southern Regional Council for this Voter Education Project, might well react that they have given to the "whole civil rights movement". Consequently, it was felt that effort should be made to bring together several of the foundation heads - 1) to meet with the civil rights leadership to get their special thinking about current problems and trends; and 2) to learn from them under what conditions, in view of the current situation, funds might be made available - either to the Council per se or to individual organizations. The question of who should call such a meeting - whether a foundation head or the Council itself was discussed; and it was agreed that Mr. Young, in view of Mr. Paul Ylvisaker's recent conversation with Mr. McKissick, and the Ford Foundation's known shift of interest, would talk with Mr. Ylvisaker to get his reaction.

c) Another suggestion voiced by Mr. Rustin - but not considered practical at this time - was that in view of the President's apparent loss of influence in certain areas and his need to hold on to his influence with the civil rights movement, might be asked to quietly call a meeting of businessmen who give large sums to the Democratic Party with the hope of getting them to pledge funds for the civil rights activities - not only in the South but in pivotal areas as well.

Future Meeting Dates

The difficulties of getting the organizational heads together were mentioned - and the suggestion was made that perhaps there might be times when the deputies - or second-in-command - in each organization can be asked to meet, rather than the executives. It was also pointed out that these meetings can well be held in other cities, according to the the convenience of the persons involved.

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PROTESTANT
COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
MARBLE COLLEGIATE CHURCH, NEW YORK, N.Y.
MARCH 25, 1966

Permit me to say how delighted I am to have been chosen to receive the high honor of serving as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Protestant Council. I accept it with deep humility, being fully conscious of my limitations to follow so distinguished a citizen as Mr. Dallas Sherman.

I am deeply moved by the opportunity for sharing in the spirit of fellowship and brotherhood of the Council - a guiding force of Protestantism, one of the three great faiths of our city.

Having been born and bred in an humble church-oriented home, with a father of the breed of the circuit-riding Methodist preachers who had passed through a baptism of fire of the Reconstruction years, and with strong convictions on the Judeo-Christian traditions relating to the worth and dignity of the personality of every human being regardless of race or color, religion or national origin, the wisdom of my heart bade me to come and work with you in these troubled times marking the advent of the Civil Rights Revolution - perhaps the most profound moral challenge to our socio-racial mores, democracy and Christianity in the history of our American society.

I am happy that our Protestant Council stood up and was counted for the first fair employment practice legislation of New York State; bore witness, in the great March on Washington, to the God-given right of every human being to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and maintains a dialogue and commitment for the achievement of world brotherhood ecumenism, peace and freedom.

For if we would halt intermittent catastrophic eruptions of a Watts, and other black ghettos of America, leaving a legacy of racial bitterness and hostility which may rule out any racial peace for decades, if not generations, we must heed the lesson set forth in the Gospel of Luke concerning the definition of - who is my neighbor?

> But he, desiring to justify himself said to Jesus, "And who is my neighbor?"
>
> Jesus replied, "A man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho and he fell among robbers who stripped him and beat him, and departed leaving him half dead. Now by chance a priest was going down that road; and when he saw him he passed by on the other side."

We dare not pass on the other side of the street to avoid involvement in the troubles of our fellow man. We must hear and honor the cry from Macedonia for help.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, RECIPIENT OF THE
LIBERTY BELL AWARD, AT THE LAW DAY LUNCHEON OF
THE STUDENT BAR ASSOCIATION, HOWARD UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW, APRIL 28, 1966

The idea of the Civil Rights Revolution, whose time has come in this mid-Twentieth Century, is the most profound challenge of crisis and change our American society has yet witnessed.

The Old South had boasted about its knowing the Negro until, like a picture of consternation and despair, it watched thousands of black men, women and children pouring into the streets, undismayed by police brutality, violence of the Ku Klux Klan, imprisonment, and even death, to protest against racial and social injustice in the early 1960's.

Shocked, shaken, startled and stunned, the white power structure saw wide masses of Negroes moving into confrontation with white America to finish the unfinished business of American democracy; namely, the achievement of full, first-class citizenship, status and dignity by the elimination of the American Dilemma, which Gunnar Myrdal, the great Swedish economist and sociologist, states "constitutes the fundamental clash between the abiding faith of white Americans in their creed of liberty and justice for all and the certain knowledge that they are denying this democratic heritage to the Negro." "This breach," Myrdal declares, "must be closed for the future welfare of the nation at home and abroad."

What is this American dilemma?

It is essentially an inner conflict of moral valuations in the American soul and culture. It is a moral issue with an economic origin; namely, the institution of chattel slavery. The dilemma is the result of rationalizations in efforts at justification of racial discrimination and segregation.

The very presence of the Negro in America; his fate in this country through slavery, Civil War, Reconstruction and the Civil Rights Revolution; his present status; his accommodation; his protest and his aspirations; in fact, his entire historical and social existence as a participant American represent to the ordinary white man, North and South, an anomaly in the very structure of American society. To many this takes on the proportion of a menace - biological, economic, social, cultural and political. Verily, this dilemma expresses itself in the form of an anxiety mingled with a feeling of individual and collective guilt.

Obviously, to the moralistic and rationalistic ordinary American, the Negro problem, and his own confused and contradictory attitudes toward it,is disturbing. The very mass of unsettled problems in his heterogeneous and changing world,and the inherited belief in the self-fulfilling promise of American life with the trust that things will ultimately automatically take care of themselves, enable the ordinary American to live on happily with recognized contradictions around him and within him, and with an innocent fatalism unmatched in the rest of the Western world, a fatalism which also belongs to the national ethos.

The American Dilemma, says Myrdal, is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which may be called the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living where personal and local interests, economic, social, political; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group and racial prejudices against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of habit systems dominate his outlook.

It is under the umbrella of the American Dilemma, or double moral standard, that white preachers and officers of Southern churches can get off their knees at prayer and take their stand in the church door to bar Negro entrance to worship.

Even a poor and uneducated white person in Mississippi or Alabama who is violently prejudiced against the Negro in the manner of Governor George Wallace, intent upon depriving him of his political rights and human dignity, has also a whole compartment in his mind, character and valuations, housing, as it were, the entire American Creed of liberty, equality, justice, and the Ten Commandments, professing a fair opportunity for everybody. He is actually a good churchly Christian, and declares his devotion to the ideals of human brotherhood.

As a matter of fact, the conduct and behavior patterns of Governor Wallace and the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan are a compromise between their moral valuations, ranging from the old Confederate flag to the American flag, the equalitarian ideal for the white man and Negro peonage.

Nor is New England, the locale of the American cultural renaissance in the middle of the nineteenth century, free from this double moral standard in relation to race.

It was this American moral conflict stemming from human slavery which twisted the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, our basic organs of American freedom, into a monumental moral compromise.

It does not redound to the glory of the statesmanship of our founding fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, that they held slaves.

But the American church foundered upon the rock of the American Dilemma.

The American intellectual community is yet to disavow and repudiate the American Dilemma.

No textbook of American history, which portrays the true role of the Negro in American life, can be found in a public school in America, and even in colleges and universities books by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, E. Franklin Frazier and John Hope Franklin are chiefly used as reference works.

Thus, even after our public schools are integrated they will not be prepared to provide ideal quality education until the existing history textbooks in the public schools are discarded and all histories used in the curricula of public schools are exhibits of objective scholarship and not the pen of prejudice.

There is no way for a Negro boy and a white boy, sitting side by side in an integrated classroom, to know that Negroes are a part of the American population and culture except through funny pictures and anecdotes.

The role and mission of the Civil Rights Revolution is to change this system of color caste and to cast the American double moral racial standard into the ashcan of history. It will not only achieve the liberation of the Negro, but also the salvation of the soul of America so that she may become truly the moral leader of the free democratic forces of the world.

The fulfillment of the task of the Civil Rights Revolution summons men and women of courage and dedication with a fighting faith and a blazing moral indignation that they may take their stand at Amrageddon, to battle for the cause of righteousness and freedom, equality and justice, peace and plenty.

To this end, black and white America must demand and support an increase in appropriations for the war on poverty and its extension to rural America, the bill for supplement rent, President Johnson's new Civil Rights bill, the minimum wage bill, and increased foreign aid.

STATEMENT BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT NEW YORK URBAN LEAGUE
"FREDERICK DOUGLASS AWARDS" DINNER
AMERICANA HOTEL, NEW YORK, N. Y.
MAY 2, 1966

It is with deep humility that I accept this award in the name of the members and officers of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council whose tireless and devoted labors have been responsible for the achievements for which I am credited.

I am honored for the opportunity to hail and salute the intrepid and dedicated leaders and the oppressed and persecuted grass-roots and indigenous masses upon their role in building and directing the Civil Rights Revolution - the greatest event of challenge and change, reconstruction and renaissance, moral, social, political and economic, our American society has yet witnessed.

Its mighty thrust seeks and will cast into the ashcan of history the American dilemma which Gunnar Myrdal, brilliant Swedish economist and sociologist,points out is the fundamental clash between the abiding faith of white Americans in their creed of liberty and justice for all with the certain knowledge that they were and are denying this democratic heritage to the Negro.

This breach must be closed. With a coalition of conscience of the Negro, Labor, Jew, Catholic and Protestant, and the business and intellectual community it will be closed for the future welfare of our nation, both at home and around the world.

Statement by A. Philip Randolph
at New York Urban League, Dinner
"Frederick Douglass Awards" Dinner
May 2, 1966

Mr. ~~Theodore~~ W. Kheel - Wonderful hostess of charm, grace and dignity, distinguished members of the dais: Officers of the New York Urban League, Ladies and gentlemen, It is with deep humility that I accept this award in the name of the members and officers of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Negro American Labor Council, whose tireless and ~~dedicated~~ devoted labors have been responsible for the achievements for which I am credited.

~~I hail and salute the~~

I am honored for the opportunity to hail and salute the intrepid and dedicated leaders and oppressed and persecuted grass-roots and indigenous masses upon their role in building and directing the Civil Rights Revolution, the greatest event of challenge and change, reconstruction and renaissance, moral, social, political and economic, our American society has yet witnessed.

Its mighty thrust seeks and will cast into the ashcan of history the American dilemma of which Gunnar Myrdal, brilliant Swedish economist and sociologist points out is the fundamental clash between the abiding faith of white Americans in their creed of liberty and justice for all with the ~~certain~~ knowledge that they ~~were~~ are now denying this democratic heritage to the Negro, this ~~a~~ breach ~~which~~ must be closed. ~~black and white America~~ with ~~to~~ a coalition of conscience of the Negro, labor, Jew, Catholic and Protestant, business and intellectual community, ~~must~~ it ~~and~~ will be closed for the future welfare of our nation, both at home and around the world.

REPORT OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, NATIONAL PRESIDENT, TO THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND - MAY 27-29, 1966

Officers and delegates, friends and fellow workers, greetings and felicitations upon our Sixth Annual Convention.

I think it fitting to apprise this Convention of the fact that we are meeting in the state where Frederick Douglas, one of the greatest leaders of the Reconstruction Revolution, was one of the presidents of of the National Negro Labor Union which was organized following the Civil War. In Baltimore, the first statewide convention of black workers was held in 1869. Frederick Douglas ran away as a slave in 1838 and went to New York and thence to Rhode Island where he met William Lloyd Garrison, the Great Abolitionist, and enlisted as one of the leaders of the Revolution of Abolitionism.

We have met in these troubled times after the thunder and lightning of the Civil Rights Revolution brust upon the nation in the early 1960's, with thousands of Negroes, men, women and children, pouring into the streets in city after city to protest racial and social injustices.

This volcanic racial-social eruption, nonviolent and violent, not only shook the very foundations of the white America but it also marked the end of an era of the doctrine of white supremacy and hereditary racial inferiority. For the first time in the history of America, black and white Americans were thrust into conscious confrontation over the issue of freedom, justice and human dignity for colored Americans.

The white oppressors of the old, dying order of southern racial reaction, frightened and frantic at the proudly marching men of color' bravely singing the songs of freedom - "We Shall Overcome, "We are not Afraid" and "Before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave and go home to my father and be free," - restorted to the weapons of the snarling dogs, electric prods, police and horseback, bombs and bullets, burning of homes and churches, but to no avail.

Verily, this Civil Rights Revolution was the most tremedous epoch-making event in the history of struggles in America for social change. Its mobilization of the black working poor, literate and illiterate, rural peasants, black petit bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, together with white organized labor, the three religious faiths, Jewish, Catholic and Protestant, and the intellectual and liberal communities and students, was a turning point in the fight for social justice in America of decisive and incredible significance.

It was the first time that the most lowly, oppressed and exploited, despised, rejected and alienated in America had developed their own power and gloriously and heroically demanded the abolition of the system of enslavement and exploitation of the black and white working poor, and freedom and dignity for all men.

Through the black marching masses were poor in the things of this world, they were rich in the things of the spirit and with the unconquerable will to "storm the heavens" to set black men free.

WHY THE BLACK REVOLT BROKE WHEN IT DID?

Well has it been said that there is no power like an idea whose time has come.

The long centuries of chattel slavery with its exploitation, brutalization and humiliation; family fragmentation; emanciaption, more appearant than real, following the Civil War but not without racial discrimination and segregation; shockingly inhuman forms of deprivation, gave birth to the forces of racial fermentation and indignation that created and reflected the spirit of resentment and revolt.

The deepening and sharpening of the racial crisis in various areas of our national life has tended to lift the levels of historical social consciousness of injustice and persecution which propels the Negro to a condition of emotional explosion against the American racial system.

This Civil Rights Revolt has awakened and aroused the lowest, most backward and downtrodden strata of the ghetto black laboring masses from deep slunder and given them a sense of identity and somebodiness, even through they may sometimes, out of frustration and despair, express this social-racial fact in anti-social forms of violence. But what social revolution has not followed this behavior pattern, especially when the social agony of the victims resulted from unspeakable cruel lashes of oppression?

This Civil Rights Revolution is a profound expression of the dreams, hopes and longings of the two hundred and fifty slave uprisings against the torment, tragedy and travail of a quarter of a thousand years of chatt slavery under the inspiration and leadership of such brave and intrepid black revolutionists as Cato (1739), Gabriel (1800), Denmark Vessey (1882. Nat Turner (1831), and that brave black woman Harriet Tubman, who, with a burning passion for freedom, served as conductor of the celebrated Underground Railroad which brought slaves North and into Canda, the Promised Land of Freedom.

Slaves had been stirred by the revolutionary rhetoric about equality. fraternity and liberty expounded by American and French revolutionists, especially Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, both slaveholders. "But," writes LeRone Bennett, Jr., in his Before The Mayflower, "the biggest influence in the slave cabins in Brazil, in the Caribbean, in Charleston, wherever slaves were in chains, was the name of Francois Dominique Toussa

L'Ouverture. The man was one of the great men of an age that abounded in greatness."

"You think me a fanatic," thundered Wendell Phillips, "for you read history not with your eyes, but with your prejudices. But fifty years hence, when truth get a hearing, the Muse of history will put Phocion for the Greeks, Brutus for the Romans, Hampden for the English, Lafayette for the French; choose Washington as the bright, consummate flower of our earliest civilization; and then, dipping her pen in the sunlight, will write in the clear blue, above them all, the name of the soldier, the statement, the martyr, Toussaint L'Ouverture."

With a trained and hardened crack corps of black troops, he took the field, playing off the Spanish against the French and the French against the English, and out-maneuvered the best diplomats of his day and gained freedom for the slaves.

NOTHING MUST BE PUT BEFORE THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

In these days when the Civil Rights Revolution is at the crossroads and in crisis, let me warn black America not to permit anything to be placed before it, not even Vietnam. Such a strategy could be fatal to the Black Revolution, set back the cause of freedom and damage the image of America as the leader of democratic forces of the free world.

Before the Revolution, Negroes, in frustation and desperation, were in search of faith in themselves and society; the Revolution offered them a fighting faith in racial and social justice. Some restless Negroes were moved to search the heavens of idealism; the Revolution gave them a crusade. Those Negroes on fire with the hate of black racism, the Revolution offered a philosophy and living religion of human brotherhood. Many of our brothers were alienated, the Revolution gave them friends, black and white, Jews and Gentiles, Catholic and Protestant, labor and business. Others were afraid, the Revolution taugh them that the only thing they have to fear is fear itself.

Verily, the Civil Rights Revolution has given Negroes a sense of being on the side of history, with the assurance that history will consig the wicked forces of white supremacy to the limbo of oblivion. The Revolution is giving Negroes of all social strata the inspiration, aspiration and determination to rebuild their lives according to their own design, and to make a meaningful contribution to the creation of the Great Society.

The black freedom fighters of our contemporary times have a mandate from the unknown, unsung and unhonored Negroes caught-up and trapped in th nation's ghettoes and persecuted and oppressed generations of the past, to cheerish, guard and preserve the integrity and advance the ideals of this Civil Rights Revolution.

If the Negro should lose this Revolution, history and science may not give him another chance.

Listen to the black poet Claude McKay speak of the Crucifixon of the Enslaved:

> Oh when I think of my long suffering race,
> For weary centuries despised, oppressed,
> Enslaved and lynched, denied a human place
> In the great life line of the Christian West;
> And in the Black Land disinherited,
> Robbed in ancient country of its birth,
> My heart grows sick with hate, becomes as lead,
> For this my race that has no home on earth,
> Then from the dark depths of my soul I cry
> To the avenging angel to consume
> The white man's world of wonder utterly;
> Let it be swalled up in earth's vast womb,
> Or upward roll as sacrificial smoke,
> To liberate my people from its yoke!

Lest we misjudge our opportunity, responsbility and urgency to fight for and win first-class status of American citizenship, let me suggest a few observations about the nature and role of the Civl Rights Revolution.

First of all, it is a continuation of the Nationalist Revoltuion which had its birth in the stirring time of 1776, and the challenge of the Secession Movement of southern slave power in the Civil War in the 1860's. The building and maintenance of the Union was a condition to the development of a capitalist industrial society. Hence, the conflict between the southern agrarian and northern industrial economies, involving the emancipation of the slaves, was an inevitable part of America's manifest destiny.

REVOLTUION OF RECONSTRUCTION

But the dynamics of historical, social, political and economic change was not arrested at Appromattox. Frightened and startled by the rapidly awakening Black Freedmen to their political rights and opportunit and supported by President Andrew Johnson with the generous issuance of Proclamations of Ammesty for the old rebel slave masters enabling them to regain political powers and plantations in the old slave states, the Confederate forces soon mounted a counter-revolution of a reign of white terror through the organization of the Ku Klux Klan in 1867.

Bent upon halting the rise of this new black peoples' power in politics and the acquisition of land, a veritable tornado of violence against the Freedmen swept over the land, supplemented by a wave of propaganda of vituperation and misrepresentation of the heroic role of the Negro freedom fighters and the courageous and uncompromising leadership of that Great Commoner, Thaddeus Stevens of the House of Representatives and the brilliant Charles Sumner of the Senate.

One looks in vain to find in the writings of most American historians, then and now, a recognition of the revolutionary character of the period of Reconstruction; the consolidation of power by the industrial bourgeoisie, the establishment of a Capitalist-Democratic Dictatorship, the Democratic-Populist Agrarian upsurge in the South, the forging of such revolutionary weapons as the Citizens Militia Units, Radical Republician Union League Clubs (not Carpetbaggers and Scalawags).

ROLE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

Out of the ashes and collapse of the Revolution of Reconstruction and upon the tragic economic, social and political ruin and humiliation of the Freedmen has come the Civil Rights Revolution of the 1960's.

Times has changed. Slavery had been abolished but the Negro was not fully free. The revolutionary passion of Reconstruction had cooled. Reactionary victories and the terror of the Ku Klux Klan had increased in the South. By 1872, a complete rupture occurred between the two principal wings of the Republican Party, the industrial-financial oligarchy and the old middle-class abolition democracy. The bolters from the regular Republicans included such anti-slavery and pro-Reconstruction stalwarts as Horace Greely, Charles Francis Adams, Lyman Trumbull, Carl Schurz and Charles Sumner. These leaders had taken up the battle of the common people, against the rapidly developing financial and industrial monarchs. They sought to pursue a middle course but wound up in the camp of the anti-freedom Democrats.

These distinquished and well-meaning liberals met in convention, drew up a platform and nomianted candidates for the 1872 Presidential election. Strangely enough, both the platform and the candidates were a negation of everything the abolition democracy had stood for in conflict with southern slavocracy. They demanded the removal of all the political disqualifications against southern Confederate whites, cessation of military rule in the South, leaving the Freedman landless, moneyless to the mercies of their former slave masters, while calling for suffrage and equal rights for the Negro, a notorious and incredible contradiction. Obviously, Negro rights could not be maintained in the South without the maintenance of Federal Army there to take repressive action against southern racial reaction.

The so-called illiterate but not ignorant black Freedmen were profoundly conscious of this fact and vigorously opposed the withdrawal of the Army by President Rutherford B. Hayes, as a result of the conspiracy against the Negro in the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876.

The Confederate Counter-Revolution had won. Not only had theCivil War Amendments, the 13th of 1865, the 14th of 1868 and the 15th of 1870 been nullified, but the United States Supreme Court had declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional in 1883 and handed down the doctrine of separate but equal in its decision of Plessy versus Ferguson in 1896.

A NEW RACIAL DEBACLE

Such a racial debacle must never happen again. But it can. Be it said to the eternal credit of the ex-slaves, they did not lose the Reconstruction Democracy because of their failure to fight for sound economic and political objectives, they had been betrayed by their former Republican friends and deserted by many of their abolition friends. Whil the humble black Freedmen did not possess the knowledge of the abolitioni liberals and former radical Republicans who had lost contact with social-racial realities, they had, as a result of centuries of oppression, the wisdom of the heart.

VIETNAM AND FREEDOM MOVEMENT AT CROSSROADS

Now, the freedom movement at the crooswords, is faced with the possibility of the Civil Rights Revolution failing to fulfill its mission because of a failure to employ sound, pragmatic judgement.

It is for this reason that I warn the Civil Rights Movement against becoming involved in the Vietnam Peace Movement, either against or for the war in Vietnam.

Let me make it clear that I certainly don't advocate that Negroes refuse to answer the call of their country to fight in the war in Vietnam along with other Americans. This is their responsibility and obligation.

But, since Negroes are the only second-class Americans in the country, denied equality of opportunity for jobs, integrated quality education and integrated decent housing, they have a right to safeguard and protect the Civil Rights Revolution.

Now, with the black revolt steadily movement toward a state of increasing relaxation, a natural result of any social movement which has reached a high level of tension, emotionalism and disilluisonment and also because of a wide-spread belief among black and white Americans that on account of the enactment of Civil Rights legislation by the Congress, the Revolution is over, care should be taken to avoid any strategy and tactics that may tend to split and weaken the national consensus for civil rights and the Civil Rights Movement itself. This is certain to if the Civil Rights Movement undertakes to fight on two fronts, for or against the Vietnam War, and the race war in Alabama and Mississippi at the same time. In the nature of things, major emphasis will be placed on one at the sacrifice of the other.

When Dick Parrish, Treasurer of the Negro American Labor Council, and myself visited Jackson and Meridan, Mississippi in 1964, a period when the flames of the fires of the Civil Rights Revolution were mounting high, hundreds of young, white, dedicated students, together with hundreds of liberal white teachers, lawyers, even some doctors and many ministers of churches, were down there doing everything they could to advance the cause of the Civil Rights Revolution. Go down there now. They are not to be found. Where are they? They are marching in the streets against the war in Vietnam. Even the liberal-radical Negroes are not down there in the numbers they represented when the balck revolt was blazing in Alabama and Mississippi.

But the racial war is still going on there. The enemy is still there. The Alabama-Mississippi front is exposed.

Now, I don't deplore or condemn this. White liberals and Negroes have a moral right and are justified in participating in the Peace Movement, especially in this age of nuclear weaponry, if the desire to do so.

But I cite these facts to demonstrate that the Civil Rights Move- is not strong enough to fight on the Vietnam and Alabama-Missippi fronts and do justice to the cause of the Civil Rights Revolution which is the Negroes' primary concern and urgency.

Already the Civil Rights Revolution has frightfully fallen far too low on the scale of the national priorities. Verily, just as the black freedmen were pushed from the center of the stage of American history by the Confederate Counter-Revolution following the Civil War, the revolt of the workers and farmers through national strikes, and the Populists and Granger propaganda for Greenbackism for cheap money, so today, the War in Vietnam, the revolution of science, technology and spacial exploration are taking the center of the stage of American history from the Civil Rights Revolution.

This development could result in the catastrophic failure of the Civil Rights Revolution to fulfill its mission. This would constitute a mortal blow to the Black Americans fight for freedom and first-class citizenship, halt the march forward to economic and social justice of the black and white working poor, and hurt the image of America as the leader of the free world.

PROBLEMS
WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

What is to be done depends upon what the major problems are. The simple answer is:

1. Jobs
2. Education
3. Housing
4. Implementation of Civil Rights Legislation and Administration of Justice

Since the rate of unemployment among Negroes is twice the rate of white workers, with the gap between the annual average median income of white and Negro families widening; while the rate of unemployment of Negro teenagers is 25.2 percent, with 9 percent unemployment for non-white workers of which Negroes represent more than 90 percent and about 4.3 percent for white workers, the job question becomes an issue of grave urgency.

The time element with repect to providing jobs is vital for according to the U. S. Department of Labor, one million and three hundred thousand new workers will enter the labor market annually, and by 1975, states the Bureau of Census, the total population of the country will reach 233 million, 27 million of which will be Negroes. The labor force is estimated will consist of 91 million workers of which non-whites will constitute some

12 percent or 10.7 million. This is a rough picture of the coming struggle for jobs or the opportunity to survive.

WHERE WILL THE JOBS BE

The question naturally arises where will the jobs be? The report of the President's Automation Commission estimates that by 1975, white collar jobs will grow by 11.7 million or 38 percent, and semi-skilled and unskilled jobs will decline. Workers in the service occupations such as domestics, hospital, motel, hotel, restaurant and beautician workers will increase by 3.3 million or 35 percent.

Millions of jobs will be provided in city-state and federal agencies which are presently closed to Negroes in the South and in numerous areas in the North and West.

MINIMUM WAGES

Some 18 million workers, a disproportionately large number of whom are Negroes on jobs in service and farm areas, are not covered by a minimum wage of the Fair Labor Standard Act. By raising the minimum wages to two dollars an hour and providing unlimited coverage, hundreds of millions of dollars in wages would flow into the communities of Negroes and the white working poor.

This, in the long run, is the only basic solution of poverty for the black and white working poor, unemployed and underemployed, of which there are 35 million, 20 percent of whom are non-white.

Meanwhile, massive public works to meet our national needs, not the leave raking type of work of the WPA, but work provided in the abolition of the ghettoes and the building of low and middle income housing, schools, libraries, transportation, health and recreation facilities, should be developed by the federal, state and city governments, as well as by the private sectors of the economy. This is the fundamental way to bring about the racial defusation of the inner cities of the metropolitan communities.

It is a notorious fact that there are millions of Negroes who work every day in the week, and fail to earn enough wages to maintain their families without supplemental welfare. This means that the government, city, state and federal, is subsidizing uneconomic industries that exploit the workers to reap high profits.

WAR ON POVERTY

Just a word on the War on Poverty, President Johnson is to be congratulated upon his Administration's War on Poverty. While it is no solution to the problem of poverty, it is one of the greatest humanitarian projects to help the poor ever inaugurated by a government, ably administered by Sargaent Shriver. Much of the rude criticism of the project arises from the expectations of the War on Poverty to achieve certain accomplishments it was never intended to effect, one of which is the impractical idea of putting dollars into the pockets of the poor to abolish poverty. Even if dollars were put into the pockets of the poor, such a policy would not end poverty. It involves primarily helping the poor with job projects, eliminating where possible the cultural and educational gaps arising from deprivations of Negroes and numerous southern whites so they may acquire the skills with which to earn wages to lift themselves out of the depths of poverty.

No fair-minded person can claim that OES has not been striking some devasting blows at poverty by enrolling 7776,000 children in Head Start

Programs; helping 44,000 youngsters in 97 Job Corps Centers; lifting the horizons of 530,000 kids in Neighborhood Youth Corps; oepning up 600,000 new jobs for the poor.

EDUCATION

Since joblessness is linked to a lack of skills, training and education, basic needs of the Negro in this age of advancing technology include apprenticeship training on the job, vocational, college and university training to become not only journeymen craftsmen, but technicians, engineers and basic scientists.

HOUSING

But a Negro of talent and education with adequate money may not, because of race, be able to rent or purchase a desirable and decent home for his family. The fact is segregated schools, legal or defacto, is the result of segregated housing. Thus, the President's new Civil Rights Bill H.R. 14765, now before the Congress, which outlaws discrimination in the rental and sale of houses ought to be supported with strengthening amendments, if possible, by Negroes and all Americans of goodwill. This bill also provides for the protection of civil rights workers in the South from violence, and enables Negroes to exercise their constitutional rights to sit on juries in the South.

The murders of Medgar Evers, William Moore, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, the four young girls in Birmingham, Jimmie Lee Jackson, Colonel Lemuel Penn, Reverend James Reeb, Jonathan Daniels, Jonathan Daniels, Vernon Dahmer and others, all as yet unpunished, demands the removal of the trial of these racial killers from the control of local courts and juries which President Johnson has said may tip the scales of justice one way for whites and another for Negroes.

IMPLEMENTATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

And let us not forget that although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are of invaluable significance to Negroes, they are yet to be implemented. The enforcement of these Acts may not be much less difficult than effecting their enactment.

Moreover, if the election of the Alabama Wallaces is any indication of racial trends, racism may be gaining a new vitality in the South. Certainly there are signs that the country is moving to the right. Even the United States Supreme Court manifests signs of moving to the right, a phenomenon which should give the Negro, labor and the liberals, cause for pause.

NEGRO-ALLIANCE

No strategy can enable the Negro to develop the necessary organizational viability with which effectively to grapple with the difficult economic problems at hand and that lie ahead as the strategy of a Negro-Labor Alliance. It is merely the expression of the simple principle of merging two forces to increase a greater total power than both can create separately to deal with and solve problems that are common to each.

In fact, this principle of alliance is why individual workers join unions, why a local union becomes an international union and why international unions join federations of labor and even international labor bodies.

Labor alliances are the result of the realization that two groups can achieve desirable objectives when working together that they cannot achieve separately.

If we accept the assumption that the future strength and progress

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LEGIBILITY IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

of the Negro workers and organized labor depend upon the organization of the unorganized in the South, North, East and West, including Mexican-American and Puerto Rican, we cannot avoid logical conclusion that this can only be accomplished through an alliance of these groups.

But, it is only simple common sense that such an alliance can only be effected through mutal understanding and cooperation between the parties concerned. Negro and white workers in the South don't fight each other only because they hate each other, they hate each other because they fight each other and they fight each other because they fear each other, and they fear each other because they don't know each other, they don't know each other because they don't have no contact with each other. This is a major reason for a Negro-Labor Alliance.

The principle is at the basis of the power if coporate capital manifested in gaint financial and industrial mergers, educational and church alliances, without sacrificing individual identity.

This is my reason for proposing that the Civil Rights Movements, including the National Negro American Labor Council, form closer alliances with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to fight for civil rights and labor rights. Happily, I am glad to report to this Convention that this strategy had already begun.

The AFL-CIO, under the personal direction of President George Meany, through its great influence and power represented in some thirteen million members, more or less, stood behind the civil rights legislation which helped trenendously in securing the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Act of 1965. And, let me advise that there is no more effective political force in the United States that the AFL-CIO functioning through its Committee on Political Education.

But an alliance is a two-way street. The civil rights leaders endorsed the bill for the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, sponsored in the Congress by the AFL-CIO. Civil rights organizations also conducted, along with the AFL-CIO, a vigorous campaign against "right-to-work" laws in Oklahoma, California and Ohio and succeeded in defeating them. The Civil Rights Movement and the AFL-CIO are also joining hands to fight for a meaningful minimum wage with extended coverage. Thus, the alliance is working in a pragmatic and effective manner.

But, the alliance must become more extensive and effective in developing a major campaign to organize the black working poor and the white working poor. This is a tremendous job. Labor cannot do the job alone. It goes without saying, Negroes don't have either the organizational strength or the funds to perform such a task.

The Negro-Labor Alliance must function in the South politically against the George Wallaces and the segregationists in general to transform the South from a backward, feudal dictatorship of white supremacy. Neither can this political feat be done by the Negro alone. They don't possess the political power in their number of voters. It cannot be done by labor alone for it does not possess the numerical political power. But with an alliance of the civil rights forces of the Negro and the forces of the AFL-CIO, together with some southern moderates, the hard core forces of southern political reaction can be overthrown. But, of course, a political alliance of labor and the Negro is only possible when they can agree on issues and candidates in various cities and states.

To this end the Negro, in view of the unmistakable change in the AFL-CIO to a definite commitment and action to wipe out segregation and discrimination in the unions and its role in supporting the Civil Rights Revolution, should change his strategy from one of attack upon the AFL-CIO to the strategy of warfare against specific target forms of racial bias in a particular union. Wherever there is racial discrimination in any union, it should be vigorously attacked until it is eliminated. But it does not make sense to attack the AFL-CIO because some local union in New York or Georgia discriminates against Negro workers, anymore than it would make sense to attack the Catholic, Protestant or Jewish faith because some segment of these faiths discriminate against Negroes.

Moreover, some plan for greater dialogue on social and labor problems should be developed by the National Negro American Labor Council and the AFL-CIO with a view to effecting a broad alliance which can be used as an instrument for building a National Coalition of Conscience, including the Civil Rights Movement, progressive church forces of the three faiths, Jewish, Catholic and Protestant, labor unions and the liberal and intellectual communities.

With the cycle of reaction, political, social, economic and racial, threatening with overtones of a resuscitation McCarthyism is likely to develop in the not too distant future, and in order to maintain our progressive gains in legislation, government, industry and labor, the Negro and labor need to build a National Coalition of Conscience in order to create a healthy, sound, viable, progressive national consensus and to continue the building of the Great Society.

TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS

Before I close, let me hail and salute President Johnson upon his wisdom, courage and imagination in conceiving and initiating the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," as a result of the historic speech he made at Howard University, June 1964.

When the President stated in that speech: "But freedom is not enough," referring to the fight of the Civil Rights Movement for freedom, and continued, "You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying:

Now you are free to go where you want, do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.

"You don not take a person who, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say 'you are free to compete with all the others,' and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

Thus, it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates."

These declarations express just a profound, moral commitment to the highest ideals of the Brotherhood of Man.

This Conference represents segments of all America, the object of which is to plan and execute the most basic attack by the America community upon racial bias in order to achieve racial and social justice.

All Americans have a stake in this Conference.

RESOLUTION: EDUCATION

SUBMITTED BY: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL - BALTIMORE, MD.

MAY - 1966

A basic tenet fpr democratic society - is that every young person be assured the opportunity to realize his educational potential. Access to our schools must not be depended on economic status, on sex or race. All schools must provide integrated quality-education.

A legislative landmark was achieved this year with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provides more than 1 billion dollars in grants to local school districts to enable them to improve the education offered some five million deprived children, to buy library books and textbooks, and to establish model schoo programs and community-wide education centers. The Higher Education Act amendments to the Vocational Education Act, and other assistance to the nation's school were added accomplishments of the 89th Congress. Yet despite these breakthroughs, national performance in the field of education still falls farshort of our lovey pronouncements.

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At the present time we need almost 500,000 classrooms to allievate over-crowding and ocelesence, especially in the ghettoes. To meet increasing enrollments, provide the additional classrooms required because of population shifts, and create facilities for programs such as kindergartens and nurseries, we must build 80,000 classrooms a year. In all, to provide for growth and to work off the backlog of neglected needs by 1970, we must build 175,000 classrooms per year - more than 100,000 higher than our present construction rate.

In addition to these physical improvements, the re-writing of American history so as to reflect the cultural role and performance and contribution to the civilization of America by its Negro population, it must be made an official act of the United States Government to correct the grave racial injustice, spiritual and psychological damage done to the Negro in particular and the American people in general.

The National Negro American Council must direct its attention to to enlisting the interest of the workers, black and white, to eliminating this grave moral wrong to the American Negro.

RESOLUTION: CONDEMNED SCAB-PRINTED BOOKS

SUBMITTED BY: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

TO SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

May - 1966

On March 11, 1963, after all attempts to gain contract settlements in line with industry gains had failed, and arbitration was refused by the employer, the members of five unions invoked their legal and moral rights to strike the Kingsport Press, Inc. of Kingsport, Tenn., one of the nation's largest printers servicing the publishers of school books and encyclopedia.

Despite the best efforts of this unfair employer to break this strike, some 12,000 members of the bookbinders, electrotypes, machinists, printing pressmen and typographical international unions have continued on strike these many months in the face of extreme personal hardship.

This Sixth Annual Convention of the National Negro American Labor Council pledges its continuing support to these unions in their strike against the Kingsport Press. We further resolve to refuse to purchase any books published by the Kingsport Press, Inc. and we record our deep displeasure with any school system using publications printed by this unfair company. We insist that school authorities have a moral obligation not to encourage strike breaking and union-busting printing companies such as the Kingsport Press, Inc.

RESOLUTION: ORGANIZING THE BLACK WORKING POOR AND THE WHITE WORKING POOR

SUBMITTED BY: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

TO THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL - Balto., Md.

MAY - 1966

Organizing the unorganized black working poor and the white working poor is the most important task which confronts the Civil Rights Movement and the Labor Movement today for the purpose of advancing and protecting Civil Rights and Labor Rights.

The future of the labor movement and the Civil Rights movement depends upon our ability to expand and to grow by organizing the millions of unorganized workers black and white who are still denied the benefits and protection that only the Labor Movement and Civil Rights Movement can provide.

Collective bargaining is an essential element in our industrial democracy. We must enroll into bona-fide unions working men and women in every place of employment for the purpose of collective bargaining to establish decent wage standards and employment security, protection of workers against discrimination and to prmote social legislation that will safeguard economic security. The Labor Movement through collective bargaining brought about a revolutionary change that has shaped the lives,status, and potential of union men and women.

This is a massive organizing campaign of the black working poor and white working poor must be projected in the South where wages are low, working condition bad, hours long as well as in all other areas of the nation to build organiztion power among the black and white workers to enable them to fight together in the same union agaisnt the same enemies for the same interest, a better life of economic security, confort, decency and health.

The organization of the black working poor and white working poor can not be achieved by labor alone, and of course the Civil Rights Movement is not equipped for this tremendous task. But both, working together can organize

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

SPEECHES

JUNE 1–2, 1966
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Major Addresses
at the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS."

June 1-2, 1966

FOREWORD

By

Ben W. Heineman, Chairman

The White House Conference To Fulfill These Rights was a significant milestone in this nation's drive to remove all the remaining barriers which prevent Negro Americans from full and free participation in our society.

More than 2500 men and women, representing every facet of American life, came to Washington on June 1 and 2, 1966, to pool their knowledge, energy and resources in this common cause.

Out of their discussions came agreement on basic programs and approaches; the foundation of what should be considered the nation's immediate business in the achievement of equal opportunity. This blueprint for action, published in a separate document, is realistic and attainable.

Because their messages played an important role in setting forth these goals, the five addresses to the entire assembly are reprinted in this pamphlet.

We believe that these statements by President Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, Honorary Chairman A. Philip Randolph, Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall, and Council Member Roy Wilkins, will be a continuing source of inspiration to all whose support is needed as we, as a nation, move forward to "Fulfill These Rights."

CONTENTS

Page

Address of Lyndon B. Johnson 1

Address of A. Philip Randolph 11

Address of Hubert H. Humphrey 23

Address of Thurgood Marshall 39

Address of Roy Wilkins 57

ADDRESS OF
LYNDON B. JOHNSON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Banquet Session, June 1, 1966

Mr. Randolph, Mr. Heineman, all the delegates to this Conference:

It was one year ago at Howard University that I called for a conference whose theme and title would be "To Fulfill These Rights." I said that its object would be to help the Negro American move beyond opportunity to achievement.

Now you have come tonight from every region of this great land, from every walk of life, to play your part in this momentous undertaking and in this great adventure.

You are here because you represent the humane and the progressive spirit of our people. Through two centuries of trial and triumph that spirit has moved the American democracy from an ideal to a powerful reality.

You are here tonight because your country needs your collective judgment. The dilemma that you deal with is too deeply rooted in pride and prejudice, too profound and complex, and too critical to our future for any one man or any one administration to ever resolve.

No matter how committed to its resolution, this issue is beyond the mastery of one man or one group of men.

You are here, finally, because in your variety of background and circumstance you symbolize those who have a stake in including the Negro American in our society. And that is everybody--Negro and white, rich and poor, manager and worker, city dweller and suburbanite.

I do not mean to say that every American feels that he has such a stake, because if he did there would be no need for this conference. Some believe that they can put enough miles or enough dollars between them and the Negro's problems to escape the consequences of those problems altogether.

Yet we know that the country is not large enough, nor any man wealthy enough, to offer or to gain a sanctuary from the effects of widespread poverty and widespread discrimination.

Some believe that the Federal Government can assume their personal responsibilities for justice to the Negro American. They contend, even when they refuse to admit it, that the mere existence of Federal funds and programs and civil rights laws make private action unnecessary.

Yet we know that no national government, however enlightened, can, by itself, change the conditions of Negro life in America.

There are some who think that the Negro should be denied inclusion in our society. There are some, too, who counsel the Negro to refuse a share in the society, even where it is offered--to "go it alone," to seek and acquire power independently, so he may owe nothing to others.

Yet I genuinely believe that our whole experience as a people is otherwise. Those who have tried to divide us have always ultimately failed. Those who have built castles of prejudice have seen them come crumbling down. Those who have whispered the counsel of despair and the counsel of separatism have been ignored.

For our beautiful America is not a planetary system with many atmospheres, many calendars, and many temperatures. It is one large island of earth inhabited by mortal men of many races, faiths, and colors of skin.

They all cry the same way. They all laugh the same way. If they are to build just and fruitful lives for themselves and their children, then they must do it here--and I earnestly believe we must do it together.

This does not require that righteous anger ever be silenced. This does not require that harmony be purchased at the price of individuals' freedom.

What it does require is a recognition that beneath the tumult of events that separate men from one another runs the thread of a common destiny. For we shall either move this Nation towards civil peace and towards social justice for all of its citizens, or for none.

We shall either find the means to open employment to all of our workers--to find decent housing for all of our families--to provide a good education for all of our American children--or we shall see the American promise spoiled for each of them.

Let us pursue that promise not in dreary conformity--not in mutual suspicion and fear--but in the knowledge that freedom and justice cannot be the province of one race or nation alone.

In our quest of that promise, let each man give whatever he has to give.

If it be the courage to endure the scorn of bigots, let him give that.

If it be the wisdom and the patience to teach children that are born into blight and suffering, then let him give that.

If it be the chance of a job and the training it requires, then let him give that.

If it be the willingness to change old ways and to hear the cry of those in need, let him give that.

If it be the power to pass new laws, or to enforce and execute old laws with conviction and fairness and justice, then let him give that.

But men of reason who are honest with each other know that there is so much to be done that we should have done a long, long time ago. If only then we had acted--if only then we had sought justice--we might have been spared the ordeal of conscience that has brought us to this room at this hour.

But we did not act. For reasons of ignorance or prejudice or hate, of greed or fear, of indifference, of blindness or whatever, we waited long--too long have we waited.

Now the awakening has come.

In the last 12 years it has increased in both strength and in will. Reason has insisted that it come. Courage--of the Negro, first, then of the white who joined the cause of justice--has swelled its ranks. And we are acting.

More has been done than men thought possible just a short time ago: in stripping away legal barriers--in opening political opportunity--in attacking the lack of skills and jobs, education, and housing that are the taproots of poverty.

In all of these efforts we have made mistakes. We will make others, for we know too well our own weaknesses. We will arouse hopes, as we have already done, that cannot be quickly fulfilled.

But I came here tonight at the end of a long day to tell you that we are moving. We shall not turn back.

There is evidence of hope, even beyond the legislation enacted and the program started.

Not long ago a businessman from the Middle West wrote us a letter at the White House.

He had attended our planning conference last November that many had counseled against. They had some recommendations on this one, too.

But he had returned home filled with a new awareness of the Negro's condition in America. And he seemed to be fired with a determination to improve those conditions and to improve them in his own backyard, in his home community.

He listed 17 steps that his city had taken since last November to open up new channels of communication between the races. This man had inspired many of those steps and he had taken a part in bringing all of them about.

He did not claim that he had single-handedly changed the terms of Negro life in his city for the better, because he knows that real change--visible, lasting change--will take time and money and the work of many hands, but he had made a start.

He had planted the seed--indeed, a whole row of seeds. And years from now there will be a harvest in this city in the Middle West, a harvest of hope where there might have been a howling desert of despair and bitterness.

Not everyone of us can plant as many seeds as this man did, but each of us holds one of them in his hands. And together we can make a harvest for the generations to come.

Do not expect from me, or from any man, a miracle.

I see the distinguished persons here tonight from whom the hopeless people throughout this country do sometimes expect a miracle. Do not expect us, even working shoulder-to-shoulder together, to put right in one year or four all that it took centuries to make wrong.

I came here to tell you tonight that I am prepared to give my days--and such talents as I may have--to the pursuit of justice and opportunity for those so long denied them.

I will sleep tonight in the house where Lincoln slept. It was 100 years ago that a civil war was fought in this country to free the Negro from slavery. The Negro won that war, but he lost the battle still to come.

Emancipation was a proclamation, but it was not a fact. I came here tonight to tell you that in the time allotted me, with whatever energy and ability I have, I do not intend for history to repeat itself.

True, more legislation has been signed in the last few months and few years; true, Negro opportunity has been proclaimed. But we must go on to make it a fact.

I came here to say to my friend Philip Randolph and to my friend Ben Heineman, to every man and woman at this head table, to every member of the Council, and especially to every one of the 2,500 people whose children will remember that they came and they saw and they conquered here at this conference in Washington: that your President may not agree with everything that you do, but he will consider everything you say, and that he believes that we are approaching this in the right way.

As Jefferson said, "I prefer the recommendations of the many to the judgment of the few."

A very perceptive and unusually alert reporter--and we do have some of them--in the Cabinet Room at the White House this afternoon was quick to point out to me some developments at the Conference and to ask me for comment on the "great dissension" that exists.

I said, "First, I want to observe that is something that you people never overlook." But along with that dissension are a lot of people plowing the furrows that are going to come up with constructive ideas, with vision, and with a platform that will bring a lot of people into agreement on goals that we have yet to achieve.

I read in a newspaper coming out tonight a very fine column by a good friend of mine of many years. He went around the world with me and I called him back from a distinguished ambassadorial post to make my first appointment to the USIA to succeed Ed Murrow.

He was relating a conversation with a Philadelphia banker. We usually think of Philadelphia lawyers. But this banker was pointing out to him that they had employed a few Negro secretaries and clerks at the bank, but they had not yet gone much further.

Carl Rowan was discussing that question. I read on in the column, because I hoped that he would say, before he ended, that he could give the Philadelphia banker an example. We have a Negro, for the first time, on the Export-Import Bank that deals with all nations. We have a Negro on the Federal Reserve Board that is lending money instead of borrowing it.

Eleven percent of our population are Negroes and the Federal Government has 15 percent of its employees who are Negroes. We are proud of the work that they render.

We are not satisfied that we have attained equal and exact justice and equal employment, but I have been working at it very diligently for 5 years. And I am tonight going to give a good example of it. I have a very unusual pleasure and pride to introduce to you a great soldier. I might say that the President of the United States does not often have the opportunity to introduce another speaker.

But I am glad that tonight I do have that opportunity. I am going to introduce to you one who 12 years ago established in the field of civil rights a beachhead from which we shall never retreat.

Since that day, he has already occupied two great offices--as distinguished Justice of the Court of Appeals, and now as the great Solicitor General of the United States of America. When he accepted this call and left his lifetime job to take a temporary one in this administration, not knowing how long it would be but realizing that it offered an opportunity to serve his country, he had argued already 33 major cases before the Supreme Court.

But he was really just in the kindergarten class then, because before he finishes his term he will probably have argued more cases before the Supreme Court than any other American. And let no man ever say that he is not a qualified lawyer and judge.

I am very proud that he serves my administration. I am very proud that his is the voice of the people of all of the United States before the highest and greatest court of this land.

Nothing, I think, could be really more appropriate than that this man should speak to the first great national conference that has ever been called to really consider the rights and opportunities of Negro Americans.

Now I consider it my high honor and my very great privilege to present to you the man who has been in the forefront and will continue to be in the forefront of all the battles for the things that are good for our country--Thurgood Marshall, the Solicitor General.

ADDRESS OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

HONORARY CHAIRMAN

Opening Session, June 1, 1966

In the spirit of the conference, "To Fulfill These Rights" I welcome you. I welcome you to share in the enriching fellowship of the great and rewarding and creating experience, and the marvelous, wondrous, moral adventure, in a social enterprise to mark and achieve a new era of acceptance of the principle of the unity of the human family, and the dignity of the human personality -- irrespective of race or color, religion or national origin or ancestry.

Let me hail and salute the President of the United States whose vision and wisdom expressed in that historic speech at Howard University, June 1964, provided the inspiration and foundation for this conference, when the President stated in that speech, with boldness and humility, "But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying 'Now, you are free to go where you want, do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.' You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled with chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race, and then say, 'You are free to compete with all others,' and still justly believe that you have been completely fair. Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. Your citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates."

These declarations express a profound moral commitment to the highest ideals of the brotherhood of man. And here we are, men and women of the Church, labor, business, and government, assembled in a great conference, to become more deeply involved in what we more and more recognize to be the most tremendous social challenge of conflict and change in our country today -- the Civil Rights Revolution.

It is our fervent plea for strong voices to be raised from all areas of our society, out of varying traditions and interests, to arouse the conscience of our land, in order to achieve in fact that which has already been won in law, and what always has been in the hearts of good men -- equality, justice, freedom, and human dignity for all men regardless of color or country.

To millions of people of the Old World, America represented a land of promise, a land where people were free, a land where the individual could move about and up in his opportunities, his job, his income, and his social status. America was hope, it was promises. This meant horizontal and vertical mobility. Where a man could better himself, the level he could find was largely up to him.

It was this vision of a land of promise that drew men and women from the Old World. True, practically all these people lived in ghettos. Some of them may still persist. But for most of them the nationality ghettos were only way stations, thresholds inviting the newcomer to make his adjustment and then move out into membership in the larger American community.

But the problem of the Negro is different. The ghettos we are concerned about are neither voluntary or temporary. They are, for the most part, compulsory, and permanent.

Precisely because the Negro is a substantial part of the total population, and because it presents the critical problem and extreme challenge to American democracy, this conference, "To Fulfill These Rights" seeks to awaken and cause all Americans to make a serious effort to understand and face up to their moral responsibilities.

Of all the groups who have settled in the United States and have become a part of this Nation, Negroes are one people who were brought here originally against their will. They were brought here in chains. The slave trade was a profitable business. Much of the culture of New England, and the life of Southern aristocracy were based on it. No other people were in slavery and exploited so mercilessly, even by the founding fathers of the Nation. Although slavery had existed in the ancient world and down through the centuries in many parts of the world, the American institution of slavery was the worst. Slaves had no rights in American laws, moral codes or customs. Husbands and wives became separated, and children could be taken from their parents. They were denied education and any hope ot a better life.

The people had a Civil War fought over their condition, a war which divided the Nation with a bloody and bitter conflict, kept the slaves landless, moneyless, friendless, voteless, and hopeless. To their deprivation was added the loss of the Reconstruction Revolution by the rise of the Confederate counter-revolution, which virtually nullified the Thirteenth Amendment of 1865, the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868, the Fifteenth Amendment of 1870, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 by a United States Supreme Court decision of 1883, and the decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896, which handed down the doctrine of "separate but equal," which provided the foundation of racial segregation and discrimination in this country.

Thus, after over three hundred years of slavery, the mass of Negro people were the victims of segregation and inequality for another hundred years.

And to these human agonies of physical brutalization and mental humiliation which were suffered by no other group in the population, I must add the mark of color.

Other groups had moved out of the ghettos -- the Irish, the Germans, the Jews, the Polish, the Italians. They had moved ahead in education and employment. They enjoyed exposure to the stimuli of America's material and spiritual development. They could better themselves and become part of the mainstream of American civilization. If they suffered from the prejudices of their neighbors, they still had a fighting chance of changing, of overcoming the barriers of discrimination. But for the Negro, discrimination and segregation and organized persecution and intimidation were a part of a conscious and determined plan to hold the Negro down.

During the First World War, masses of Negroes fled from the Southern plantations and rural and urban areas to seek jobs and a new life in the North. They were forced to settle in restricted areas in the great cities of the North. Here again they ran into the same patterns of Jim Crow -- these patterns of housing and employment, deprivation and rejection were not written in laws. But prejudice, custom, practice, made for the same thing. Indeed, many will testify that the Negro ghettos in the cities are firetraps; mice, rats and vermin multiply due to lack of adequate sanitation. The increase of the Negro population through migration from the South and the increased birth rate result in extreme density of population and overcrowding. People are hemmed in, unable to move out or escape the slums even if they have the money to move. The rents they pay are higher than those paid by their white neighbors. They get less of housing for the dollars they pay for rent. Instead of paying a fourth of their income for rent, they often have to pay as much as a third, leaving them with less money out of low wages for food, clothing, medicines, education, and recreation.

Racial ghettos suffer a double evil. They suffer from racial segregation, and also from poverty. The people have no margin of security. There are no shelves with extra food for the next meal or the next day. There are no bank savings or insurance policies, for the starvation wages require a weekly supplement of welfare. There is nothing the people can show as security for loans in times of unemployment, family sickness, accidents, or other misfortunes. There is no wonder that life expectancy is shorter than that in a white community. The incidence of disease and death due to tuberculosis and cancer is many times that of the white community. Child death in the first days of life, in the first months of life, and year of life is over twice that for other parts of the city.

To the physical illnesses we have to note the ill effects of family life. The man of the family is supposed to be the protector and support of the family. But if he is denied education and employment, if he cannot play his role as a husband or a father, the family breaks down.

Thus, men plagued with forced idleness, women have to carry the burden of providing the income, and at the same time caring for their children. Is it any wonder that alcohol and narcotics and gambling and various forms of antisocial action are found in the black ghettos? And is it any wonder that children and youth are damaged emotionally and mentally? The destructive and devastating impact of the ghetto too is frightfully continuous and total. There are families that have been on welfare rolls for two, three, four generations. The result is a sense of hopelessness and helplessness and powerlessness.

But despite the seemingly insurmountable obstacles, most of the men and women of the black ghettos struggle to find work and maintain family life. And despite adverse conditions, most youth remain in school and strive to better their condition. They try to believe in the American promise, and they try to obey the law and look forward to participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the Nation. But the youth that are damaged are incalculable.

First are those who lose faith in their families, in themselves, and in the larger community. They reject themselves and develop a sense of self-hate and despair. They accept any evaluation of themselves. Those who suffer from self-rejection tend to withdraw from the community. They undergo an inner death. They lose an appetite for learning. Some end with mental illness, and seek escape in suicide.

Second are those who react with bitterness and rage. They are ready to strike against others. Their respect for life and law is destroyed. They fill the jails and houses of detention and the prisons. Their hatred is against authority, and especially the police, who they consider their enemy, and oppressor. They hurt not only the white population, but also they strike against the life and property within the ghetto.

Third are those whose anger becomes a social force of mass proportions. This is the volcanic force which builds its explosive power to such a pitch that it breaks out into race riots, and in violence, such as is symbolized by events in the summer of 1965 in Watts, a ghetto in the city of Los Angeles. It took only a trivial incident involving police ineptness to light the flames of racial violence.

Those who participated in the riot were chiefly youth. They set fire to 600 buildings, destroyed 200 completely. They broke store windows and looted the shops. Thirty-six persons were killed. A thousand were injured. Four-thousand were arrested. Over 150 million dollars worth of property was destroyed or damaged. It took the National Guard to restore order.

Let me warn this conference that the Negro ghettos in every city throughout the nation are areas of tension and socio-racial dynamite, near the brink of similar racial explosions of violence.

What can be done to right the wrongs of the Negro people of this country? What can be done to bring about social and racial justice and fulfill the promises of American life for all our people, both the black working poor and the white working poor? Is there any hope we can solve a deep-rooted and complex problem which affects the life of every American and threatens the survival of this nation? How can we abolish the racial ghettos?

Let us realize that children learn their prejudices. They are not born with them. They learn the ways of racial inequalities from their parents, from their attitudes and words and behavior patterns. And they learn from the experience of racial inequality, from the television, radio, press, church, school, playgrounds, employment, and government.

Can we re-educate our children? Can we re-educate ourselves? Americans tend to believe in education as the cure-all for all ills. We must realize that the relations of the races and the roots of racism in the American culture are deep.

Because of these daily experiences of segregation it is unrealistic to depend on appeals to the conscience and good will of the nation alone; because of the daily experience of segregation, it is unrealistic to think that education or racial equality and inter-group and inter-cultural programs can solve the problem.

If the Negro and the white Americans have to wait until their neighbors are educated out of their prejudices, they will be trapped in the ghettos of America for generations to come.

If our people have to wait until everybody loves his neighbor, we may have to wait many a moon, or liberation will never come. Most Negroes are not asking white people to love them or like them or understand them. They want their neighbors to accept them. They insist that they be granted their rights as citizens and human beings.

Thus the purpose of this Conference is to involve all Americans in the great social enterprise of respect for the sacredness of the dignity of the personality of every human being which is reflected in recognizing the rights of every person to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Every day's delay in breaking down the barriers of segregation in housing, schools and discrimination in jobs means irreparable damage to hundreds of thousands of human beings.

The damage is not merely to the Negro; it is a liability to white people as well. For we live in a world whose population is 80 per cent colored. It is no rational kindness to permit a white child to grow up in a home which is segregated, or in a school which is segregated, and in a white community which is an isolated sector in the total world community.

In the large cities where white people, white families have moved to the suburbs, the white child has been brought up without knowledge or understanding of his colored neighbor. A white youth rarely if ever meets or communicates with a Negro youth, though both are fellow citizens of this nation and fellow human beings.

How can persons or property be secure in a community where invisible racial walls keep children and youth and adults apart? Tension, fear and hate are likely to plague personal lives in communities for generations unless we equalize conditions and plan for the transformation of urban life so that the great metropolitan complexes are more truly democratic places of human habitation.

Finally, this is a difficult age, made so by the revolution of science, technology, and industrialism, and the revolution of the colored world for freedom and status, peace and plenty.

Insecurity and conflict throughout the world have made it an age of anxieties. Yet for each of us there are compensations. This is an exciting time, a time of changes and new possibilities. If there is insecurity, anxiety, and fear, there is also a tremendous sense of possibilities beyond what men dared to hope for in the past.

This Conference to "Fulfill These Rights" will broaden the horizon for the Negro and white American, and the entire world of color now in the revolutionary flames of discontent.

All honor to the President for his imagination and sense of innovation which made this conference possible. He will be remembered in history as the President of Human Rights, Education, and Anti-Poverty. And the civil rights revolution gave him inspiration and motivation.

The implementation of the Report of the Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" will constitute a major and powerful thrust giving Negroes the ability to walk through the gate of opportunity and achieve first class citizenship in America. To the men and women, black and white, Catholic, Jew and Protestant, participating in this Conference: "Quit ye like men! Be strong! We shall overcome!"

ADDRESS OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Opening Session, June 1, 1966

Chairman Heineman, Members of the Council, our dear and respected friend, A. Philip Randolph, whose hallmark of character is his great sense of integrity--Philip, I feel as if I am privileged today to deliver a rather extended benediction to an inspiring invocation by you, sir.

The first line of my remarks to this historic conference is: we know why we are here, and indeed we have heard the call. And, we have heard the call to action sounded by President Johnson at Howard University, a call challenging America to move from "opportunity to achievement"--to realize "not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact, and equality as a result."

Now, we know the intensive work which hundreds of persons have expended in preparing for this conference -- the spirited deliberations of the Planning Session in November, the reports of task forces and panels, and the challenging report and recommendations prepared by the Council to this conference.

I trust that each and every one of us has studied that report and the recommendations included therein carefully.

But we are here to go to work, and there is much work to be done.

In a few short years we have traveled down a road studded with landmarks: historic court decisions, legislative victories, and executive actions. And as we have traveled that road, we have seen a thousand acts of heroism, large and small, by the brave and determined Americans who have made that journey with us -- men and women of both races struggling to secure the reality of freedom, the reality of equality and human dignity.

And of course we rejoice in these victories, as we rejoice in the knowledge that the troop of travelers, but a handful of courageous marchers a few years ago, has swelled to a mighty tide of humanity.

But our task at this conference -- as it will be America's urgent domestic task for many years to come, is not to recount the progress of the past, but to fulfill the promise of the future.

Now, this will be a hard, sometimes unglamorous, frequently frustrating responsibility.

We can rejoice that the time has arrived when millions of Negro Americans can step out of the shadows and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights. But a man too long walled off from society cannot easily adjust his senses and his capacities to the light -- yes, and the heat -- of equality.

This generation of Americans has the task, and I may add, the priceless opportunity, of walking side by side with the Negro American as he strides into that bright sunshine and stands erect, equipped, trained for his opportunity.

Now, as we see the work before us, we cannot avoid the realization that many times our deeds have not matched our words, that there still exists a tragic gap separating promise from performance in the many crucial areas of civil rights policy.

What more explicit documentation of this do we need than was given to us this morning by A. Philip Randolph. And that performance gap that I have referred to must be closed.

The blame for that gap cannot be laid at the feet of any single person or institution. Every major segment of our society has contributed to maintaining this gap between promise and performance. So we ask the question -- how are we to close it?

Well, the first requirement is to concede that it exists. Unflinching, unblinking candor is an absolute necessity if we are to prevail, as prevail we must, in the new stage, this the new stage of the civil rights battle.

Now, as I see it here are the major areas where we must do much better.

__First__, the Federal Government has the job of meeting its growing responsibilities. And I have no doubt that this topic will receive more than its share of attention in the next two days.

But permit me this observation -- as a member of the federal establishment. Despite the Federal Government's absolute commitment to achieving equality for all Americans, and its accomplishments of the past, and those which will be evident in the future, we welcome constructive evaluation and criticism of our efforts to implement all civil rights statutes and policies and to carry forward our struggle against deprivation and discrimination.

And on behalf of President Johnson, I give you this pledge. The Federal Government will improve its performance wherever that is necessary. We will not shirk our responsibilities.

Secondly, states and localities -- states and local governments -- have often failed to exercise meaningful initiative in a wide spectrum of civil rights issues. Now, this deficiency is especially acute because it is in the state houses, the city halls and the towns, local town meetings -- not just the halls of Congress or the federal courtrooms -- where the major battles of the next phase of the civil rights struggle will be waged.

It is in our states and local communities where we must gear ourself for action and wage war against what I prefer to call America's shame, "slumism."

Let me describe for you this ugly term "slumism", related of course to the ghettoes that have been spoken of this morning, in our cities.

Slumism encompasses poverty, illiteracy, and disease. Slumism is discrimination and frustration and bitterness. Slumism is the ungathered garbage, if you please, and the dilapidated buildings. Slumism is a family of eight or ten in an unheated room.

Slumism is danger on the stairs, and violence in the street. Slumism is rent so high that a desperate man is either moved to tears or to crime. Slumism is segregated, inferior schooling for those who so urgently need the best.

Slumism is inflicting upon our less fortunate citizens the burden of dependency and despair, rather than stimulating their capacity for self-support and self-respect.

Slumism is the pent-up anger of people living on the outside of affluence. Slumism is the decay of structure and the deterioration of the human spirit. Slumism is the other America -- the other America that so few of us seem to know, the America of the poor, the America of the deprived, of the unwanted.

But we can defeat slumism, and we can defeat it only if state and local leadership, working hand in hand with the federal government and the private groups, reasserts itself in bold and relentless fashion.

Thirdly, business and labor unions must move more effectively towards the goal of equal employment opportunity and achievement.

I know, and I applaud, the progress which has been made in the past years. Of course there are countless stories of individual success which would have been impossible a decade ago. How well some of us realize this that have been in this battle so long. And I have seen the statistics, and the charts, which demonstrate the rate of progress for Negro Americans in certain job categories, and prove, at least to the man that draws the chart and recites the statistics, that everything is getting better.

But to the unemployed -- and often the unemployable -- man in Harlem or Woodlawn or Watts, these individual stories of success, and the encouraging statistics, are largely meaningless and sometimes insulting. When the statistical base, that base line, is sufficiently low, any improvement, any increase tends to look better than it actually is. The good news that a Negro has been appointed general counsel of a major corporation brings little hope into the life of a man who failed to complete fifth grade in a second-rate school.

So in all candor, I will speak within my own criteria, the criteria that I ask you to apply to this conference. We must face honestly the mammoth employment problem which still exists for most Negroes.

Outmoded training programs, tests, recruitment and personnel procedures, apprenticeship requirements, and promotion patterns often deny equal employment achievement as effectively as the old-fashioned "White only -- Negroes need not apply" sign that used to hang outside the factory gates.

Now, your Council has recommended a number of steps dealing with economic security, job opportunity and welfare. And these proposals merit careful attention and detailed discussion in the next two days.

Finally, among the most potentially effective agents in our struggle to fulfill the rights of all Americans are our churches and our synagogues, service and professional organizations, and other community groups.

The heroism of James Reeb or a Jonathan Daniels has stirred the conscience and the soul of our America.

Many religious denominations and local congregations have given heartening evidence of their determination to infuse the concepts of brotherhood, yes, of love and justice, with real meaning and substance. As the floor leader of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, I can tell you that without the help of our churches, without the help of our spiritual leaders, I doubt that we could have achieved victory.

But let us say honestly what we also know to be true.

Some local churches still erect racial barriers at their doors, and many more do not speak out affirmatively on the urgent questions of racial justice which arise in our communities. Many service, professional and community organizations likewise remain silent in times of crisis. And the civil rights crisis is not political or even economic -- it is moral.

Dante said that the hottest places in hell are reserved for those who in a period of moral crisis maintain their neutrality.

I am sure that you will agree with me that in this struggle for equality, there can be no neutrality, nor can there be any so-called conscientious objectors.

Now, imagine the cumulative impact of these organizations of which I have spoken, uniting in behalf of racial justice and equality. The report of your Council describes Project Equality, a national program in which religious organizations use their hiring and purchasing power to promote equal employment opportunity. Consider the effect if every major religious denomination and local congregation actively participated in this program.

We have at our disposal vast reservoirs of untapped economic and social power to unleash against the accumulated discriminations and disabilities which afflict so many Negro Americans. This conference could make no finer contribution to the general welfare of America than mobilizing these resources without further delay.

We must, however, appreciate the difficulty of the remaining problems, and the dangers inherent in a period necessarily marked by frustration and disappointment. Events and trends of this period, my fellow Americans, will often strain the patience and the forebearance of many well-meaning people, black and white. The days ahead will be turbulent, and at times very frustrating. Indeed, we will require a depth of maturity and understanding seldom achieved on such controversial social and economic issues.

Today there are some Americans who see racial separation and exclusion as the remedy for racial injustice and the evils of the past. Now, segregation was a major factor in producing the hate and the injustices that we are seeking to overcome. Do we really believe that more segregation or more separation will still this hate and overcome this injustice?

I think not. No -- our entire American experience cries out against this approach, and our history books are filled with the failures of prior separatist movements.

One fact seems patently clear. The goal of freedom now will be attained precisely to the degree that we are successful in enlisting additional sources of strength in our march towards equality and justice.

Then, too, today there are some Americans who wonder whether the struggle for civil rights will ever be over. They ask in a pleading voice, "What else can we possibly do -- after all the laws that we have passed?"

Well, we should have learned by now that laws and court decisions can only point the way, set the standards, they can establish criteria of right or wrong, and they can provide a basis for rooting out the evils of bigotry and racism. But the laws themselves cannot wipe away centuries of oppression and injustice. It is people, we the people, that must wipe out that oppression and injustice.

We should have learned also that social revolutions -- and that is what we have -- that social revolutions do not necessarily proceed on the basis of some predetermined comfortable timetable.

I am quite sure that George III thought our founding fathers quite unreasonable. I can imagine what he thought of Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams and John Hancock and a few others. I suppose he thought them even blatantly irresponsible as they pressed their demands to their necessary conclusion far beyond what the English must surely have felt were the bounds of good taste and the dictates of knowing one's place in life.

Well, today, my friends, there are Americans, many of them law enforcement officials, who quite properly see a danger to law and order in the flaring of anger and the release of tightly coiled tensions by the Americans who live in our squalid ghettoes.

But these Americans would compound the danger by responding, not with even-handed justice to the few, but to the heavy-handed indiscriminate retaliation against the many.

And today there are other Americans who see in the struggle for freedom and equality a license for irresponsibility and violence.

They are both wrong -- tragically, explosively wrong. And they must realize they are wrong and realize it now, while there is still time to seek racial harmony and justice in America.

There is, in short, an urgent need to build a new climate of mutual respect among all elements of society, for it is this absence of respect -- yes, Philip, this absence of acceptance of a fellow human being, and a sense of responsibility which lies at the roots of the hostility and the suspicion which today threatens the tranquility and the progress of some of our cities -- yes, of all America.

Today there are Americans, some of them on human rights commissions, who appear more concerned about preserving the status quo than rooting out the long-standing injustices to residents of their communities.

I do not wish to be misunderstood at this point. Most human relations groups serve their communities with justice, wisdom and courage, facing issues honestly and seeking equitable solutions to complex and difficult matters. But in some cities the fact is that this is not the case, and where those instances are revealed and exist, they must be corrected now.

And I can say with considerable regret that there are even some Negro Americans who appear more concerned about their own positions than about the plight of the less fortunate, less articulate members of their race. And I hold up as a standard for all Americans the man who spoke to us this morning, A. Philip Randolph.

Consciously or unconsciously, their interest seems not in securing the fruits of equality for their brothers, but, regrettably, preserving their own personal good fortune and accomplishments.

Now, to both groups -- and I can see that I am making very few friends with this candid evaluation -- but I am not here in a popularity contest, I am here as an act of conscience. To both groups the lesson of the revolution of rising expectations, which is not only in the foreign countries, but is here at home in America, must be writ large. That lesson: 20 million Americans will no longer be pacified by slogans or tokens.

They will not be satisfied. They shall not be moved, nor should they be by such slogans or tokens. For freedom now is not a catch-word for a minority of Americans -- it is a moral imperative for all Americans.

And we can strive towards it to the credit of each of us. We can defer it or distort it, or deceive those who seek it. But we do so at our peril.

We can achieve it only through specific deeds, hard, visible evidence that performance is linked with promise, and fulfillment is an element of faith.

This conference, ladies and gentlemen, is America's opportunity to begin.

Now, to some persons certain recommendations found in the Council's report will appear to be radical, and outside traditional American procedures and practices. I am not unaccustomed to having that sort of thing said. But in evaluating these proposals, it is essential to pose this question to those who think the Council may have gone too far. What are the alternatives?

My fellow Americans, if nothing is done to reduce the unemployment among Negroes, still about twice the rate for whites -- and what can we expect if the 20 percent unemployment rate for Negro youth is not reduced? What are the alternatives if we fail to eliminate segregated schools in both North and South, and bring into balance the disparities in the equality of education. And you and I know there is a disparity, an intolerable one.

What are the alternatives if we are unable to banish housing discrimination and do not expand substantially the amount of decent, low-priced housing available to all? What is the alternative?

These are the questions which this conference and the entire nation must raise as these crucial problems are discussed and then attacked. These are the alternatives which must be weighed. We must find the answers.

Now I know I speak for President Johnson when I urge upon you absolute frankness and honesty in these deliberations. I can assure you that your words, your deliberations, will command the attention and the action of your government.

This government is not afraid to seek freedom now for all Americans.

But I trust that each of you will be searching for those areas of action which can be implemented by the states and the localities, by businesses and the labor unions, by private organizations and the churches and the synagogues and the people. For only as we mobilize all the resources and seek the commitment of all Americans can we achieve the momentum, the enduring persevering momentum necessary to banish discrimination and denial from this land.

So finally I urge you, as I have done so across this country time after time, I urge all Americans to view the civil rights movement not in the harsh glare, the distorted reflection of today's headlines, but rather in the more balanced perspective of history.

Do not allow your convictions to be uprooted, your steadfast course altered by the occasional excesses, the temporary aberrations, which history tells us must be experienced in any great movement towards social justice. History has a way of shrinking to proper size the episodes which capture the public's attention for a fleeting moment, and it has a way of raising to proper size acts of wisdom, of vision, and of courage.

Today, as few generations in our history, ours has such an opportunity, an opportunity to transform a great nation into a great society.

We ask no monuments, we ask only the judgment of history. Let the history books show that a great nation did not set its face against the tide of history, did not say "Thus far you shall come, but no further."

Instead, let the history books show that this great nation of America said; "There is no more room in America for a 'them' and an 'us.'"

There is but one America, one citizenship, and one destiny for all. And then we shall crown our good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea.

Thank you.

ADDRESS OF
SOLICITOR GENERAL THURGOOD MARSHALL

Banquet Session, June 1, 1966

My immediate task in this conference "To Fulfill These Rights" is to place the present in proper prospective. In order to do this I have been requested to review the historical background of the struggle for racial equality in this country. I am indebted to our well-known historian John Hope Franklin for the materials covering the period up to 1900.

If we are to fulfill these rights, if we are promptly and effectively to bridge the gap between theory and practice, we must first realize fully the depth of the problem of racial prejudice and discrimination in this country. There are today two groups of Americans sincerely interested in the problems. One group believes we have made tremendous progress in the last two decades and thinks little more is needed--that, given time, the problem will solve itself. The other group recognizes the progress that has been made, yet views the present achievement as no more than a firm base from which to launch the final attack on the causes of racial and religious prejudice. Both groups need to pause for a consideration of the background history of this problem.

Recalling the dark past and contrasting it with the dramatic accomplishments of the last decade might comfort those who believe the struggle is now over. To that group I say, try to sell that to a Negro in Watts or Mississippi. But to those of us who know the struggle is far from over history has another lesson: it tells us how deeply rooted habits of prejudice are, dominating the minds of men and all our institutions for three centuries; and it cautions us to continue to move forward lest we fall back.

Long before Thomas Jefferson talked about certain inalienable rights in the Declaration of Independence, Americans faced experiences that assisted them in defining for themselves what those rights were. At one time it was the right to worship God as they saw fit. At another time it was the right to protection of their government-the government of the Mother Country or the government of the colonies. At still another time it was the right to a fair administration of justice. The tenuous status of the Negro, even in the seventeenth century, helped Americans think through one of the most important rights of all, the right to liberty.

The existence of slavery in the colonies at the time that they were fighting for their political independence proved to be a serious embarrassment. It was scarcely possible to limit the great principles of freedom, stated so eloquently by Jefferson, to the white people of the emerging United States.

It was an iniquitous scheme, Mrs. John Adams said, to fight for what they were daily robbing and plundering from those who had as good a right to freedom as the patriots had. Negroes heartily agreed. In Massachusetts Negroes insisted that they had "in common with all other men a natural and inalienable right to that freedom which the great parent of the universe hath bestowed equally on all mankind and which they have never forfeited by any compact or agreement whatever." Thus, Negroes early saw the intellectual inconsistency of a country's seeking for some of its citizens what it would deny to others. For the next two centuries, Negroes would continue to strive to eliminate this patent inconsistency. Once the colonies gained their independence and became the United States of America, hardly a year passed that did not witness some new abuses of Negro slaves and some new denials of the rights even of those who had gained their freedom.

As early as 1782 Thomas Jefferson, in his _Notes on Virginia_, took cognizance of the unfortunate influences of slavery on the master as well as the bondsman. It did not create a condition, he argued, in which the rights of human beings could be effectively protected. But when he was Secretary of State a decade later, Jefferson received a letter from the Negro astronomer and mathematician, Benjamin Banneker, that stated much more cogently than Jefferson had expressed the importance of extending to all persons, regardless of race, the rights to which they were entitled. "I hope you cannot but acknowledge," Banneker told Jefferson, "that it is the indispensable duty of those, who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who possess the obligations of Christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burden or oppression they may unjustly labor under; and this, I apprehend, a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles should lead all to."

As slavery became more deeply entrenched and as the prospect for relief appeared more and more remote, Negroes--and a few white friends--stepped up their campaign for the extension to all peoples the rights enjoyed by whites. In 1829 Robert Young, a New York free Negro, published his _Ethiopian Manifesto, issued in Defense of the Blackman's Rights, in the Scale of Universal Freedom_. Later in the same year David Walker, a Boston free Negro, published his _Appeal in Four Articles_ in which he demanded that Negroes be given the same rights as whites. Both Young and Walker wrote before William Lloyd Garrison began to publish his abolitionist newspaper, _The Liberator_. And it is not without significance that Negroes supported Garrison long before he was able to secure the support of a sufficient number of whites to keep his enterprise going.

If slavery persisted in the Southern states, it was the Northern states that did much to deny free Negroes their rights in the dark days before the Civil War. In 1830 a mob drove eight Negroes out of Portsmouth, Ohio. For three days, in 1829, bands of whites in Cincinnati took the law in their own hands and ran out of the city those Negroes who did not have the bonds required by law. In New York state, there were riots in Utica, Palmyra, and New York City in 1834 and 1839. In 1834 a mob of whites marched down into the Negro section of Philadelphia and committed numerous acts of violence. They wrecked the African Presbyterian Church, burned homes, and mercilessly beat up several Negroes. Similar uprisings occurred in subsequent years. American antislavery organizations and Negro conventions were unable to generate sufficient public opinion to put down the wholesale denial of the rights of the darker peoples of the United States. It was this state of affairs that caused the Negro minister, Henry Highland Garnett, to say to his Negro brethren, "The diabolical injustices by which your liberties are cloven down, neither God nor angels, or just men, command you to suffer for a single moment. Therefore, it is your solemn and imperative duty to use every means, both moral, intellectual, and physical that promises success."

One might have thought that the Civil War, in which scores of thousands of white Americans gave their lives and in which 186,000 Negroes fought, would have settled once and for all the question of equal rights for Americans. But this was not the case. Even the most elementary rights were denied the freed men at the end of the Civil War. It mattered not how many sacrifices Negroes had made to save the Union, how many were men of education and property, how loyal they were to the finest traditions of American democracy, they had few rights that anyone was bound to respect. In no Southern state, for example, were they given the vote until more than two years following the war.

In 1867 some Negroes got the vote, but not all. Some got a few other rights, but not all. And whenever and wherever they secured some of their rights, it took extraordinary courage--even gallantry--to exercise them. For they had little or no protection, either at the local level or from the federal government. Schools were segregated, even where Negroes had some political power. (They never had much.) People laughed when Negroes sat down in a restaurant to have a cup of coffee or when they tried to get accommodations in a hotel. The Civil Rights Act of 1875, before the Congress for five years before it was finally passed, was not effectively enforced anywhere. When the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional in 1883, few Americans took notice of it; for the Act was already a dead letter in Atlanta, San Francisco, Chicago, Washington, and New York. Responsible citizens boasted of this fact.

The Fourteenth Amendment, never an effective shield for human rights, became the mechanism by which corporate businesses took on human traits and enjoyed protection that few black human beings ever enjoyed. One Southern state after another amended its constitution to disfranchise as many Negroes as possible without disfranchising, as one leader put it, a single white man. And no strong voice was raised against this blasphemy of American democratic practices. In these years, when white America was anxious to settle down to the relatively quiet task of exploiting the nation's human and physical resources, there was no time to consider basic human rights, no interest in securing to all Americans the rights that were celebrated in the centennial of the nation's birth.

When the 145 Negroes assembled in Chicago in 1890 to organize the Afro-American League of the United States, they knew that they had few if any friends in high places, few if any white Americans who would stand with them in the fight for their rights. One thing they knew, however, and it was that they had become the custodians of America's ideals, the conservators of America's professions of equal rights. They could well have been proud of their own role as they pledged themselves "to protect against taxation; to secure a more equitable distribution of school funds; to insist upon a fair and impartial trial by a judge and jury; to resist by all legal and reasonable means mob and lynch law; and to insist upon the arrest and punishment of all such offenders against our legal rights."

Their protests did not prevent the effective disfranchisement of Negroes in every Southern state. They did not prevent the enactment of highly imaginative segregation statutes that would reveal a remarkable resourcefulness of Americans in their efforts to degrade an entire race of people. They did not prevent the increase of lynchings or the emergence of the new urban phenomenon, the race riot. These Negroes were consoled, however, by their sure knowledge that their footing was firm and their case was sound. But they knew that W.E.B. DuBois was also correct when he said that "the problem of the twentieth century would be the problem of the color line."

1900 - 1929

The dawn of the Twentieth Century, whatever other promises it held out, offered no basis for hope to the Negro. He was disfranchised throughout the South, increasingly segregated, relegated to menial jobs, and forgotten by all. In 1894, to "close the wounds" between North and South Congress had repealed much of the Reconstruction legislation--effectively withdrawing the Negro from the protection of law. The courts, too, had abandoned him. Even the Supreme Court of the United States wanted to hear no more of Negro rights. It had just invalidated most of the Civil Rights Acts of 1870, 1871 and 1875, legitimized compulsory segregation, blocked transfer to the federal court of discriminatory State prosecutions against the Negro, and closed its own doors to claims of jury discrimination and political disfranchisement. In short, white supremacy was now the law of the land.

Perhaps there were some who philosophized that, since things could not get worse, they would get better. But they were wrong. This was a dark hour, indeed; yet, a blacker night would come, and the sun would not come out for a very long time.

The first three decades of the Twentieth Century brought no concrete relief to the Negro. To be sure, there was an occasional pious declaration by the President or another high federal official. But nothing was done by any government, federal, State or local, to improve prevailing conditions. On the contrary, during this period disenfranchising laws were multiplied, enforced segregation--once confined to a few activities and a few States--now reached farther and deeper, literally separating the races from cradle to grave. And the federal government, under President Wilson--otherwise a liberal--officially adopted the policy, segregating government offices and the military services.

There were, it is true, a few majestic declarations by the Supreme Court in support of Negro rights. In 1915 the "grandfather clause" was struck down. Two years later racial zoning ordinances were held unconstitutional. In one case, the Court voided the conviction of Negroes whose mock trial was dominated by a hostile mob. And, at the end of the period, State rules barring Negroes from Democratic primaries were invalidated. But these decisions were a long time bearing fruit. They were easily circumvented. Substitutes for the grandfather clause were quickly found in the familiar "constitutional interpretation" test and comparable devices, which would not be struck until 40 years later. "Voluntary" exclusions of Negroes from primaries was soon approved, and only fell in 1944. The private restrictive covenant replaced the racial zoning ordinances and it was held legal; the Supreme Court did not ban State enforcement of these arrangements until 1948. And, by only slightly less flagrant methods, Negroes continued to be denied judicial due process. In short, however, praiseworthy its decisions (and since these were the NAACP's first victories, I would be the last to understate them), the Supreme Court had not significantly changed the Negro's condition. He had still not obtained the right to vote; nor was he freed from residential segregation or assured a fair trial. And, even more important, the Negro and a few white friends were fighting alone.

Nor were the advocates of white supremacy content to have all the wealth and all the votes and all the law on their side. The Klan was revived, lynchings increased to extraordinary numbers, and race riots erupted.

These were, indeed, the darkest days. But, at least, in a small way, the Negro began to protest and to organize. The NAACP and the Urban League were formed. DuBois and others rejected the acquiescent philosophy of Booker T. Washington. They found a very few friends in the white community. It would be a long time before their call would be heard, even among Negroes. Yet, they kindled a flame that, much later, would finally awaken the Nation.

1929 - 1948

There was to be very little concrete change in the next two decades, between 1929 and 1948. The Depression hit most people hard, but the poor hardest of all. And of course Negroes were poor. Nor did the New Deal bring dramatic relief to the Negro. Indeed, the Negro could not easily appreciate that he was being dealt a new hand in the supposed reapportionment of the Nation's riches. Again, he seemed to have been left out of the deal.

Segregation by law persisted and intensified. The new federal agencies adopted the policy; the old ones, like the military establishments, continued their own exclusionary practices. In the Thirties and early Forties the FHA gave an important push to residential segregation by restricting their insurance on loans to racially "homogeneous" neighborhoods. Though in decreasing numbers, lynchings persisted, as did race riots.

Yet, there were signs of change. Nothing actually changed for the average Negro during the period, but, at least, it now seemed clear that a new direction was beginning and that, eventually, things would improve. However ineffective they then were, it is significant that a Civil Rights Section in the Department of Justice and an FEPC Committee were created. Indicative, also, was the appointment of Negroes--including William Hastie and Robert Weaver--to relatively high government positions. Most important, perhaps, was the growing national concern with the problem of equality--evidenced in the organizational efforts to promote the cause of civil rights and the outspoken statements of prominent figures, both in and out of government. But, again, there would be a while to wait before practical benefits would come.

1948 to the present

The real march forward for the American Negro begins in 1948, first by very small steps, later by much bigger ones.

In that year, the Executive Branch of the federal government officially revoked its discriminatory policies and began a slow effort to undo what it had done. The desegregation of the armed forces was undertaken. Discrimination in government hiring was ordered stopped. And FHA reversed its stand on the insurability of homes in mixed neighborhoods. So, also, in 1948--urged to do so by the first amicus curiae brief ever filed by the United States in private civil rights litigation--the Supreme Court held unconstitutional judicial enforcement of racially restrictive covenants.

Now, at last, the movement toward equality was under way. Two years later--again at the urging of the Solicitor General, who took issue with the I.C.C.--the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in railroad dining cars. And, at the same Term, the Court in effect barred segregation in State graduate schools. By 1953 the Court had declared illegal discrimination by places of public accommodation in the Nation's Capitol--the Department of Justice having once more intervened on the side of Negro rights against the local authorities, as it would do henceforth with increasing frequency. And, the next year, the landmark School Segregation Cases would be decided.

These decisions and those which were to follow were not always self-executing. The District of Columbia promptly implemented the rule against discrimination in places of public accommodation and the ban on school segregation. A few border States accepted the Brown decision with good faith. But, in much of the South, there was to be "massive resistance" for a decade and more. Nevertheless, the tide had turned irrevocably and the tactics of delay and evasion could only postpone, not defeat, the victory won.

Equally important is the role of the legislative branch of the federal government. For the first time, the Court was not to remain alone in translating the constitutional promise of equality. At last, the Congress intervened with positive civil rights legislation--the first since 1875. I need not elaborate here the familiar Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Nor can we underestimate the significance of the changed role of the Executive Branch in this new era. I have already noted that my predecessors intervened in most of these cases on the side of Negro rights. Also, the civil rights legislation enacted is largely the product of Administration proposals. Perhaps most important, the Executive Branch has undertaken as never before to enforce and implement the court decisions and the new laws. Little Rock and Oxford, Mississippi, are the most dramatic examples. But, there are countless other daily occasions when the President, the Attorney General, and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice act to "execute" the law of the land.

Conclusion

I will attempt no assessment of how far we have come and what is left to be done. Clearly, there remains a great deal of work in translating into concrete reality the rights already won, and new tools must still be forged. That is the goal of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966. There are, however, some lessons for the future in the history of the struggle for Negro rights.

What is striking to me is the importance of law in determining the condition of the Negro. He was effectively enslaved, not by brute force, but by a law which declared him a chattel of his master, who was given a legal right to recapture him, even in free territory. He was emancipated by law, and then disfranchised and segregated by law. And, finally, he is winning equality by law.

Of course, law--whether embodied in acts of Congress or judicial decisions--is, in some measure, a response to national opinion, and, of course, non-legal, even illegal events, can significantly affect the development of the law. But I submit that the history of the Negro demonstrates the importance of getting rid of hostile laws and seeking the security of new friendly laws. Provided there is a determination to enforce it, law can change things for the better. There is very little truth in the old refrain that one cannot legislate equality. Laws not only provide concrete benefits; they can even change the hearts of men--some men, anyway--for good or evil. Certainly, I think the history I have just traced makes it clear that the hearts of men do not change of themselves.

Of course, I don't mean to exaggerate the force of law. Evasion, intimidation, violence, may sometimes defeat the best of laws. But, to an important degree, they, too, can effectively be legislated against. The simple fact is that most people will obey the law. And some at least will be converted by it. What is more, the Negro himself will more readily acquiesce in his lot unless he has a legally recognized claim to a better life. I think the

Segregation decision of 1954 probably did more than anything else to awaken the Negro from his apathy to demanding his right to equality.

It seems to me that the experience under the recent public accommodations law and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 prove the point. Of course there have been resistance and evasion and intimidation in both cases. But it must have surprised the cynics that so many restaurants in fact desegregated in obedience to the law and, more so, that so many Negroes in Alabama and elsewhere are actually voting less than a year after the Voting Act was passed.

I do not suggest a complacent reliance on the self-executing force of existing laws. On the contrary, I advocate more laws and stronger laws. And the passage of such laws requires untiring efforts.

Just as Supreme Court decisions on the "White Primary," "Restrictive Covenants," and school segregation provided the impetus for the stepped-up protests of Negroes, we must use the present tools--not as an end, but, rather as additional incentive to restudy and renew our drive toward ending the gap between theory and practice.

Moreover, laws have only limited effect if they are not vigorously enforced. What I do say is that I have faith in the efficacy of law. Perhaps that is because I am a lawyer and not a missionary. But I think history--which proves so many things--proves me right.

ADDRESS OF MR. ROY WILKINS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NAACP

Closing Session, June 2, 1966

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Council, guests on the dais, and all the distinguished invitees who have participated in this Conference:

I wish to say that I regard it as a privilege and a great honor to say this word at the concluding meeting of our sessions here in Washington.

This Conference which we are concluding tonight, is properly but an expression of the revolution of rising expectations which has been in being among Negro citizens and their allies since the date of the Second Emancipation, May 17, 1954.

On that date, the legal blessing which had been bestowed for 58 years upon the doctrine of separate-but-equal constitutional citizenship was withdrawn in the historic Brown decision of the United States Supreme Court.

These past two days have brought the first-in-history White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

There have been White House Conferences on health, children, foreign policy, education and other issues vital to our national welfare. Now, for the first time, the issue which has plagued both the national policy and the American conscience from Jamestown in 1619 to Watts in 1965, has moved to the center of the national stage.

Through most of our history it has been a matter for the states and for private organizations. We have cried out our anguish, voiced our protests and worked feverishly in patchwork efforts within the States, but we lacked the national recognition, of, and attention to, what we knew to be a national concern.

The handicap of the state perspective has been underscored no more effectively than by the correspondence in 1809 of Thomas Jefferson.

He wrote then to a friend:

"My doubts", he said, that is to the inherent abilities of Negroes, "were the result of personal observation in the limited sphere of my own state, where the opportunities..." -- this is certainly the understatement of the century!"...for the development of their genius were not favorable and those of exercising it still less so...but whatever be their degree of talent, it is no measure of their rights."

The present civil rights struggle is essentially an effort by the Negro American minority, handicapped above other minorities by skin color and a slave background, to find, in Jefferson's words, "favorable opportunities for the development and exercise of their genius."

Our conference today, called with uncommon courage by our President, has substituted for Jefferson's personal observation a White Paper of formidable facts, of fearless analysis and arraignment and of bold chartings of action reaching to the heart of the democratic ideal.

Since a survey of the vast variety of disabilities stemming from racial exploitation would require a month long conference and several volumes of reports and recommendations, four critical areas of living and citizenship were selected. No mere history of hardship, this, but a frank 1966 look at the present and into the future.

For example, on the section on Economic Security and Welfare, this sentence: "No more ugly and urgent crisis faces this nation today than the economic insecurity of Negro Americans. Employment and income problems are complex, long standing and rooted deeply...Negro unemployment is of disaster proportions... creative and large scale action must be taken to achieve full and fair employment for the Negro working-age population."

And this from the section on Education:

"American schools today are failing to fulfill their purpose of preparing children to be independent persons in an open society. It is incontestable that we have different qualities of education and therefore widely varying levels of opportunity through schooling for the Negro child and the white child...more than 90 per cent of school children are educated in racially segregated schools which provide inferior education through their failure..." and I quote direct "...to prepare their pupils for life in our pluralistic society and ever-shrinking world; defacto segregation continues as the prevailing pattern in the north and west, and if anything, has become more, rather than less, rigid."

On housing: "The consequences of the slums and the ghettos and the barriers to freedom of choice in housing loom large. The dimensions of this program" -- that is, of massive building and rehabilitation programs -- "are staggering--but they are no larger than American's space ventures."

The important Rent Supplement and Demonstration Cities programs we urgently recommend.

On administration of justice three categories were set forth, embracing protection of Negroes and civil rights workers in connection with the exercise of their rights; equal justice in the operation of the machinery of the law, that is, juries, courts, court officials and law enforcement agents; and police minority group community relations.

The material in the Council report, including the recommendations for action, has received critical scrutiny and has benefited from broadening and strengthening corrections and amendments, including home rule for D.C. by the conferees in the twelve committees.

Each of these are urgent suggestions--and obviously, there isn't time here to list all of them. One of the participants came to me triumphantly and said, "You know, we passed fifteen resolutions in the last 32 minutes!"

And, I submit to you that resolutions passed in that speedy fashion certainly ought not to be recounted here by me and I don't know how much time you would take reading them if you had the opportunity to read them.

It might be, Walter Reuther, that we will have to reverse our attitude on filibustering and stop that kind of speedy legislation.

The urgent, recurringly stated duty upon every conferee is to multiply his experience here in the communication he will effect among his fellow citizens back home.

He must take back home this record, not only of what the Council report contains, but of the amendments, the additions, the broadening and strengthening which will become a part of the report to the President as well as specific resolutions adopted by the committees this afternoon.

Each conferee must carry the message back home, the call to community action on the local level, the stirring of interrelated and purposeful state and regional action and the wide use of the newly acquired tools and channels provided by federal policy and legislation.

The new four part civil rights bill of 1966, now at or near the committee hearing stage in both the House and the Senate, offers a chance for immediate action this summer, not next winter, on aspects of at least three topics of this Conference.

A section of the bill, known as H.R. 14765, broadens the authority of the Attorney General to initiate school desegregation actions without waiting for the filing of complaints by parents.

Those of you who come from affected areas know that this places the burden of enforcing United States law upon the parents who are vulnerable to the pressures that can be generated to their own community, political social and even fiscal.

So, this bill of 1966 would remove that burden from the parents and place responsibility for enforcing United States law upon the United States government.

Another section would close some of the loopholes in the jury selection process in both state and federal courts which now permit racial discrimination, or exclusion, in that process.

A third section is in line with our Conference's recommendation on the administration of justice in providing for the handling in federal courts of the assailants of the civil rights workers and their friends who seek the free exercise of constitutional rights.

Finally, the new legislation would ban discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, a prime target of the participants in this Conference.

Each Congressman and Senator should be impressed, in this election year, with the need for enactment of this legislation.

After every such gigantic and seemingly impersonal gathering such as this, people tend to ask "What can one person do?"

Each section of the Council report, the White Paper of this Conference, contains specific enumeration of what can be done.

But, here, in this pending legislation, now before the Congress, is a task that can be undertaken in the next twenty-four hours.

In fact, urgency is the key word not only with respect to this Conference, but with respect to the whole deadly infection of racism in our national life.

In either intellectually patronizing or in stridently sneering tones it has been held in some quarters that conferences such as this are but "talk."

Now, the answer is that in an honest and accurate sense, they are talk, but so, too, was the Sermon on the Mount.

So was Patrick Henry's deathless oration in the Virginia Assembly.

So were the debates of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas.

What were the lamentations of the ancient Hebrews but talk to revive their people and to restore their relationship to God and to hope?

What, indeed, were the spirituals of the slaves of our own south but talk set to the chants for a new day of freedom and dignity?

There is room always for dissent on emphasis and tactics, but none on goals.

The destiny of twenty millions of Americans and of the nation to whose welfare that destiny is bound, cannot be left solely to the doctrinaire conformists who brook no dissent and who, lately, have begun to classify believers by the color of their skins.

In this long climb, Negroes have had white allies since the first white southerner violated the law by teaching slaves to read and write.

The devils have been overbalanced, by far, by the quiet unafraid friends--the students of recent years who went into the southern hinterlands and the dedicated men and women of all three great religious faiths who have brought a new fervor and a fresh courage to the whole freedom movement.

By the friends in organized labor who were a tower of financial strength and of legislative skills in the drive for the enactment of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964.

Now, students and observers have recognized that the bravery and resourcefulness and ever-lasting energy of the Negro American have marked the climb of all our people, white and black, to an awareness of the enormous task before our country.

As the President remarked in an aside last night, the Negro has ploughed a steady furrow. There has been this unremitting drive ahead by the black millions who, when darkness was all around and hope but a distant glimmer in the pervasive night, fought their way upward.

The mood today is not one of despair, but one of escalating expectation. The need is for urgency because our nation's neglect of the past is about to rendezvous with a world-wide technological expansion. The repercussions are felt from Biloxi to Bombay, to Nairobi, to London and back to Washington.

Urgency is the word.

After the Watts riot last August, the McCone report declared, and I quote:

"Our Commission has made many costly and extreme recommendations." But in addition, it called for a revolutionary attitude toward the problems of the city.

Revolutionary attitude means a discarding of the past routines, a welcome to daring, to innovation, to unorthodoxy. It means a looking forward, not a looking back.

Undergirding all, it means a commitment to more than structure and method and even to precise objectives. It means a commitment to a morality broader and higher than that concerned with self and group.

We must truly see others as ourselves and all as our nation -- our common and glorious heritage built upon man and his freedom. For that is what our country is about. If at times some of us become irritable or uneasy over the expectations of our largest minority population, let him read again the eloquent and perceptive words from President Johnson's Howard University speech. He said:

"The Negro like these others [that is, the other white minorities] will have to rely mostly on his own efforts. But he just cannot do it alone. For they did not have the heritage of centuries to overcome. They did not have a cultural tradition which had been twisted and battered by endless years of hatred and hopelessness. Nor were they excluded because of race or color, a feeling whose dark intensity is matched by no other prejudice in our society."

And, the President concluded as we here tonight might well conclude. He said:

"For what is justice?

It is to fulfill the fair expectations of man.

American justice is a very special thing. We have pursued it faithfully to the edge of our expectations. And, we have failed to find it for the American Negro.

It is the glorious opportunity of this generation to end the one huge wrong of the American nation and, in so doing, to find America for ourselves, a home for freedom."

Thank you.

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LABOR DAY MESSAGE (SEPTEMBER 5, 1966) ABC RADIO NETWORK
by
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AFL-CIO

Eighty-four years ago, in 1882, the Knights of Labor celebrated the first Labor Day in our nation's history. In the wake of the great Civil War, the Knights organized integrated union locals in the South and ran Negroes for public office. Southern oligarchs finally used racism as a weapon to destroy those early southern trade unions.

It is only fitting that we pause today to recall the dream of that early movement. For that dream of a Negro-Labor alliance is even more relevant today than it was eighty-four years ago.

We must pause also to remember that the modern civil rights movement owes much to the labor movement. Our recent civil rights gains were based largely on the economic progress the Negro registered with labor's help in the 1940's and 1950's. The Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 could not have been passed if the labor movement had not worked around the clock - concentrating its expert lobbying on congressmen whose constituencies were not substantially Negro. The Negro nonviolent movement owes a great deal to Gandhi and Thoreau, but it is also indebted to the American labor movement for much of its techniques - for example, the boycott, mass picketing and, most important, the sit-down strike.

Today, thanks to the monumental sacrifices of civil rights workers, the support of labor and religious groups, the Negro has at long last won his juridical rights. But in many areas of the South he is still too unorganized and too intimidated to use his vote effectively. He is also too poor to use integrated facilities, and too poor to buy homes in newly integrated suburbs. In fact, twelve years after the historic Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools, more Negro children attend all-black schools than in 1954. Moreover, the slums are more dilapidated and joblessness among Negro teenagers is increasing.

The only institution in this society whose economic programs coincides with the needs of the civil rights movement is the labor movement. Full and fair employment, a higher minimum wage, housing subsidies and democratic economic planning are the answers to Negro impoverishment and, let me add, to white impoverishment as well. They are the basic plans of the AFL-CIO economic program.

The American Federation of Teachers is vigorously organizing Negroes. The AFL-CIO has guaranteed the funds needed to organize the migrant laborer, and the Industrial Union Department has opened community grievance offices in Chicago to help Dr. Martin Luther King organize. Labor's fight for the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act will help the Negro. In the "right-to-work" states, not only do Negroes earn less than white workers, but they are falling further and further behind.

In the area of political action the goals of the labor movement and the civil rights movement are one and the same. When both movements joined hands Dixiecrats were defeated in Tennessee and Virginia. When they were divided and did not coordinate efforts in Alabama, racist-reactionaries won.

And thus we see that social justice (the objective of the civil rights movement) and economic reform (the objective of the labor movement) have become inextricably intertwined in our lifetime.

A separation between organized labor and the Negro struggle can only encourage the growth of reactionary currents in American political and cultural life. Alone, the civil rights movement cannot win jobs, better housing and decent schools. Alone, the labor movement does not have the power to defeat anti-labor legislation and to protect workers' rights.

The Negro-Labor alliance is our strongest weapon against the coalition of reactionary Republicans and Dixiecrats who would deprive the Negro of his civil rights, who would drag organized labor back to the nineteenth century and who would repeal social progress. The political power of this reactionary coalition must be shattered. It must be shattered in Congress where the seniority system and the lingering disenfranchisement of Negroes enables it to exercise a strangle hold over Congressional committees. When Representative Howard Smith of Virginia was defeated, he was immediately replaced as Chairman of the House Rules Committee by an ardent Mississippi segregationist.

It must be shattered on the local level where right-wing groups are launching a reactionary counterrevolution against the civil rights revolution. It must be shattered in the "right-to-work" states where it perpetuates a permanent depression economy. The reactionary coalition which denies us a substantial minimum wage, which denies us rent subsidies and which diminishes and demeans the war on poverty, can only be smashed by a strong Negro-Labor alliance. For when the masses of white workers join black workers in the streets and at the polls we will be well on the way to the democratic political revolution which will free all Americans from minority rule.

We must not only proclaim the need for an alliance, we must prove to the advocates of black power, to the worker who fears for his job and his home, to the depressed and alienated white poor, that progressive social change is possible. We must join in the fight for an end to poverty.

Let me say here that too many Americans are ignorant of labor's role in the fight against poverty, which is the fight for economic democracy. Between 1960 and 1965, after-tax corporate profits rose 67 percent, as compared with a rise of only 33 percent in wages, salaries and fringe benefits. Let these facts be borne in mind by those who were outraged by the airline strike and by the final settlement of 6 percent. I contend that the machinists' strike, which sought to divert enormous corporate profits into workers' wages and fringe benefits, struck a blow on behalf of the war on poverty.

For when wages and salaries lag behind profits, income is distributed upward; consumer purchasing power falls behind productivity and the end result is rising unemployment and poverty. In the face of fantastic corporate profits, guidelines which would restrict wage increases to 3.2 percent endanger the whole economy and create special hardships for workers at the bottom of the ladder.

This is only one example of how our economic policies contradict the war on poverty. Training and community action programs will avail us little if the wage-profit gap continues to spread. Yet, the 1964 tax cut had an effect of increasing corporate after-tax profits by $3 billion -- more than the cost of the entire federal war on poverty. And still there are those who would tell us that we lack the resources for a war on poverty, that domestic social spending must be slashed because of the war in Vietnam. They would have this war borne upon the bent shoulders of the poor.

I am proud that these voices of reaction are most sternly resisted by the American labor movement - at the collective bargaining table and, when there is no other recourse, in strikes and picket lines.

At the planning meeting for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" I proposed a $100 billion Freedom Budget, a massive investment to destroy the slums and eliminate poverty.

The Budget attacks all of the major causes of poverty - unemployment and underemployment, substandard pay, inadequate social insurance and welfare payments to those who cannot or should not be employed, bad housing, deficiencies in health services, education and training, and fiscal and monetary policies which tend to redistribute income regressively rather than progressively. The Freedom Budget leaves no room for discrimination in any form because its programs are addressed to all who need more opportunity and improved incomes and living standards, not to just some of them.

Let me interject a word here to those who say that Negroes are asking just for another handout and are refusing to help themselves. From the end of the nineteenth century up to the last generation, the United States absorbed and provided economic opportunity for millions and tens of millions of immigrants. These people were usually uneducated and a good many could not speak English. Yet the economy could profitably employ them. They had nothing but their hard work to offer, and they labored long hours, often in miserable sweatshops and unsafe mines.

But the industrial revolution had need of muscle power and immigrants could learn gradually and move up the ladder to greater skills. There were thus economic trends which helped people escape poverty. And then, perhaps the most decisive act of self-help on the part of that older generation was to organize the trade union movement. Unions not only struggled and won collective bargaining rights in the shop, they joined with the middle class reformists and the religious men of conscience and all partisans of social change.

Today, it is absolutely necessary that we go beyond the games of the past and guarantee a real right to work. For the American economy has become much more sophisticated than it was a generation ago; it needs scientists and engineers much more than muscle power.

Negroes, who have been driven off the farm into a city life for which they are not prepared, cannot be compared to the immigrants of old. The tenements which were jammed by newcomers were way stations of hope. The ghettoes of today have become dead ends of despair. We must guarantee full and fair employment - it can no longer be a question of pious statements of public intent which lead only to a deeper frustration. Twenty-two years late we must return to the idea of a legal obligatory guarantee of work. There have been too many vague promises.

The President's Commission on Automation reported that there are 5,300,000 public service jobs unfilled right now in health education, beautification, and the like. One of our top priorities should be training to fill them.

We have just had a debate over extending minimum wage coverage to the poorest of the poor. Opponents of that wage have said that if employers of stoop labor in the fields were required to pay a decent living wage, or if the salaries of hospital employees were raised, these occupations would be destroyed because the employer would be motivated to mechanize. I see no reason why these occupations should be preserved so long as useful and humane work can be found for those displaced. Let us not treat the unemployed and underemployed as a burden, but as a reservoir of talent who, if only given a chance, could make this society a better place to live in for all.

I can anticipate arguments which say that this program of massive spending discriminates in favor of the black man, or the poor generally. That is not true. It is only the first installment in giving those least able to pay at least the public assistance in housing that we have lavished on the rich.

After World War II, the GI Bill of Rights was instituted to help veterans go to school. It would be a wise social investment to pay the veterans of the ghetto to go to school today. And let us invest so that after we have torn down the slums and built new housing, schools and hospitals, we can fill their shells with teachers' aids, doctors, nurses hospital aids, artists and actors and their apprentices. We can build new towns, but not as hideouts for the white middle class where social problems and responsibilities are ignored. We can plan new towns from the ground up as integrated, productive communities.

We have before us the fantastic potential to celebrate the second centruy of America's existence by the abolition of ghettos and slums.

And I submit that this glorious dream is possible only if the civil rights and trade union movement work together hand in hand.

Sept [illegible]

Statement of Harlem Leaders re attack on Congressman Powell Chairmanship of Com on Labor & Education

~~Mr. [illegible]~~ - NAACP

Rev. Calendar = Urban League

~~Mr. Schiffman~~ = The Appollo

[redacted] →

~~Lawson~~

~~Dorothy Height~~ - Rev. 1 million women

A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th St.
New York City

STATEMENT BY HARLEM LEADERS

issued Tuesday, Sept. 20, 1966

We are deeply distressed by the effort now underway to strip Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of his power as Chairman of the House Committee on Labor and Education.

> Basil Patterson [illegible] — [illegible]

The Committee structures of both houses of Congress should long ago have been overhauled. As Harlem leaders, we are all to well aware of how Senator Eastland, the infamous racist who chairs the Senate Judiciary Committee, has abused his powers to block desperately needed civil rights and other progressive social legislation.

~~Mr. Huggins~~

We have seen John McMillan of South Carolina, Chairman of the District Affairs Committee, sit on legislation that would give home rule to the citizens of Washington, the majority of whom happen to be black.

C.J.
> Mr. Lester

We have seen Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, delay legislation on taxation.

> Lloyd B. Van Blaw →

These are but a few of the men who have acted to make their committees graveyards for important social legislation. The role of the House Rules Committee in barring legislation concerning the Negro is legendary.

> Kenneth Sherwood

As much as any group in American society and probably more, Negroes have been the victims of undemocratic structures, rules and procedures that cripple the Congress and undermine public confidence in many of its members.

At this very moment, a minority of Senators have filibustered to death a bill that would have given Negroes access to housing, protected civil rights workers from brutality and democratized jury systems. We have witnessed the degrading spectacle of the Senate unable to command a quorum. What is to be said of these "lawmakers" who will not permit the civil rights bill to come to a vote?

We call upon all of the Representatives and Senators of New York, upon Speaker McCormack, and upon President Johnson, to initiate and lend their full support to a campaign for reorganization of the Committees structures, seniority system and rule of both Houses of Congress, so that these bodies will more genuinely represent the will of the people.

We do not believe that such a reorganization can be properly launched by stripping Congressman Powell of his Committee powers. To single out Congressman Powell, while leaving intact the evil power of the Eastlands and other obstructionists can only encourage the suspicion that Congress has a double standard. It could be interpreted as a slap at the Negro community. It will drive a deeper wedge between the Negro movement and its allies.

We therefore call upon Congressman Gibbons and his colleagues of both parties to halt their action against Congressman Powell and to put their weight behind a total, undiscriminatory reorganization and reform in the Congress of the United States.

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ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT,
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE, AT FREEDOM BUDGET
PRESS CONFERENCE, SALEM METHODIST CHURCH
NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 26, 1966

Brothers and Sisters:

Let me express my deep appreciation to you for joining me today in the launching of "The Freedom Budget for All Americans."

Many of you have come long distances to be here - and not for the first time. For I see in this audience the faces of many men and women, black and white, who came together three years ago to realize another great dream - the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

In a very real sense we have gathered today to undertake the redemption and the completion of the goals set forth on that historic day in August of 1963.

Since that day much has changed. There are signs of a new resistance to our struggle. We face more complex and difficult problems. A weary, but no less cruel, indifference has settled upon elements in the Congress. And, within our own ranks, confusion and division have been exploited by our enemies.

But I believe, and profoundly hope, that from this day forth the opponents of social progress can take comfort no longer, for I am proud to announce to you, brothers and sisters, and to the members of the press, that, not since the March on Washington has there been such broad sponsorship and enthusiastic support for any undertaking as has been mobilized on behalf of "The Freedom Budget for All Americans."

We have the support of every national civil rights organization, of the united labor movement, of the major Protestant, Catholic and Jewish institutions, of forward-looking business leaders, of the most prominent economists and academicians, of students and intellectuals.

These forces have not come together to demand help for the Negro. Rather, we meet on a common ground of determination that in this, the richest and most productive society ever known to man, the scourge of poverty can and must be abolished - not in some distant future, not in this generation, but within the next ten years!

Negroes, of course, are no strangers to poverty. Two-thirds of our families have an annual income of $4,000 or less. This at a time when the latest studies show that an urban family of four requires $6,800 a year for a "modest but adequate" standard of living. But while most Negroes live in poverty and deprivation, it is not true that most of the poor and deprived are Negroes. We must not forget that 75 percent of the poor are white. No less than Negroes are they denied adequate income, decent housing, quality education, sufficient health care and security.

The tragedy is that the workings of our economy so often pit the white poor and the black poor against each other at the bottom of society. The tragedy is that groups only one generation removed from poverty themselves, haunted by the memory of scarcity and fearful of slipping back, step on the fingers of those struggling up the ladder.

And the tragedy is that not only the poor, the nearly poor, and the once poor, but all Americans, are the victims of our failure as a nation to distribute democratically the fruits of our abundance. For, directly or indirectly, not one of us is untouched by the steady spread of slums, the decay of our cities, the segregation and overcrowding of our public schools, the shocking deterioration of our hospitals, the violence and chaos in our streets, the idleness of able-bodied men deprived of work, and the anguished demoralization of our youth.

No more than the Western migrants of generations ago, can today's affluent migrants to the suburbs build a privileged Utopia apart from the cities darkened by blight. For better or worse, we are one nation and one people. We shall solve our problems together or together we shall enter a new era of social disorder and disintegration.

The "Freedom Budget" demonstrates that the abolition of poverty - its causes and symptoms - is not only morally right but economically imperative. It demonstrates that we can achieve full employment and full production if we will meet our unmet social needs, if we will clear the slums and rebuild our cities, if we will provide the schools and hospitals we need, if we will purify our air and water, if we will bring our transportation systems and natural resources development into line with our needs.

We cannot achieve these goals through haphazard, piecemeal efforts. We cannot solve the problems of the schools while leaving the slums intact. We cannot train people for jobs when there are no jobs. And so, brothers and sisters, what we need is an overall plan of attack, a coordinated mobilization of our natural resources. We need, in short, not a skirmish, not a battle - but a real war on poverty.

This is what the "Freedom Budget" is. It is not visionary or utopian. It is feasible. It is concrete. It is specific. It is quantitative. It talks dollars and cents. It sets goals and priorities. It tells how these can be achieved. And it places the responsibility for leadership with the Federal Government, which alone has the resources equal to the task.

The question is not whether we have the means. Before 1975 we will have a one trillion dollar economy. The question is whether we have the will. Ten years from now, will two-fifths of our nation still live in poverty and deprivation? This is, above all, a moral question. And upon the answer hangs not only the fate of the Negro - weighted down by centuries of exploitation, degradation and malice - but the fate of the nation.

The "Freedom Budget" is not a call for a handout. It is a challenge to the best traditions and possibilities of America. It is a call to those who have grown weary of slogans and gestures to rededicate themselves to the cause of social reconstruction. It is a plea to men of good will to give tangible substance to long-proclaimed ideals.

The "Freedom Budget" does not ask for the moon, but only for justice here on earth, in a land so well able to afford it.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
OF THE BARBADOS WORKERS' UNION
BRIDGETOWN, BARBADOS, NOVEMBER 20-26, 1966

Brother Chairman, distinguished Secretary of the Union, brothers and sisters, and fellow citizens of Barbadoes:

In the mane of the officers and members of my Union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the leaders of the Civil Rights movement of the United States, I hail and salute you on this celebration of your twenty-fifth anniversary.

Permit me to add that I am honored and delighted to have been invited by your able and dedicated leader, Brother Frank Walcott, one of the outstanding labor statesmen of these times, to share in the fellowship spirit of this great labor occasion.

AGE OF REVOLUTION

This is the age of revolution. There are the revolutions of science, technology and industrialism, with the new and bewildering phenomena of spacial explorations and nuclear fission; the revolutions of nationalism, the fires of which have swept over the great continents of Africa and Asia and the areas of Latin America and the Caribbean, leaving in their wake the ashes of the old hated and hateful empires of colonialism.

Nor is the church and religion, as shown by the challenge and spread of the spirit of ecumenicism initiated by Pope John XXIII, untouched by the winds of revolutionary change.

UNREST OF THE WORLD OF COLOR

And after nearly 400 years of exploitation, brutalization and humiliation, Negroes have shaken America to its very foundation with the thunder and lightning of the Civil Rights Revolution of rising expectations.

Perhaps the most stirring and dramatic event of modern times is the great world of color, two-thirds of mankind, on the march for freedom, equality and human dignity.

This manifestation of unrest, discontent, if not wrath, of the peoples of color against rejection oppression, alienation and apartheid is a dynamic upward thrust of the so-called undeveloped areas in an essentially new and potentially revolutionary attack upon the decadent and mythical concept of white supremacy.

Having stepped out of the long night of slavery and serfdom of the Past into the bright light of the Present of nationalist independence, millions of men of color, with heads erect and souls uncurbed, heads bloody but unbowed, are marching into the Future for a better tomorrow and the fellowship of man.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE NOT ENOUGH

But while colonialism has been swept from the continents of Africa and Asia, the baffling socio-economic problems of poverty, illiteracy and disease remain. The fact is, lessons of history teach that economic and political democracy and social well-being do not automatically follow nationalist revolutions. More profound social change is imperative to lift the people to higher levels of life and living.

Social revolutions must inevitably follow hard upon the heels of the development of a self-governing state. And, of course, a self-governing state has the task of developing a viable economy which must rest upon the modernization of agriculture and advancing industrialization. Such has been the behavior patterns of the transition of a colony from a sort of imperialistic mercantilistic status to an independent nation-state.

Of course this political and social change is not simple or easy for the developing countries never had a chance, under the mercantilism of colonialism, to achieve any considerable capital formation, mechanical or social technology. This is understandable since the colonial powers were fearful lest too much self-development of colonial subjects might encourage the spirit of independence and threaten continued colonial rule.

RACISM

In fact, the rise and development of world racism is contemporaneous with the rise and development of world colonialism and imperialism. The reason being that subjugation, domination and exploitation of peoples of color, in Africa and Asia, the United States, the Caribbean and Latin American countries, required a moral justification and a social and political explanation, and not in terms of material gain or economic profit. Hence, racism was invented.

It is an unproved assumption of the hereditary biological and perpetual superiority and inferiority of one human group to another. Verily, wars have been fought over race, as well as religion and national origin. And race was determined by the shape of the skull, color of skin, form of nose, texture of hair.

Yes, the American Civil War of 1861-65 was fought over black human beings who were slaves, and upon whose backs was built the Cotton Kingdom, the biggest business in the world in the middle nineteenth century, and the foundation of the world textile industry.

In very truth, racism, or the alleged anthropological justification of racial prejudice, is a social phenomenon created in our own time. It is a new way of separating the sheep from the goats. The old parable in the New Testament separated mankind as individuals: On the one hand, those who had done good, and on the other, those who had done evil. The new methodology divides them by hereditary bodily characteristics - cephalic index, color, and so forth.

Those who have certain hallmarks are known by these signs to be weaklings and incapable of the highest reaches of civilization, and those with white skin color, blue eyes, high nose, are the hope of the world. Racism asserts that those peoples who are white have the stigmata of superiority and those peoples who are nonwhite have the mark of inferiority.

RACIALISTS WRITE HISTORY

Racialists have written history to assure the white peoples that the strength and vigor of their race are immutable and guaranteed by the laws of Nature. He, however, must guard their pure blood from contamination by that of lesser breeds lest degeneration follow and his race lose its supremacy.

All over the world for the last generation this vicious doctrine has been invoked in every possible kind of conflict; sometimes national, between peoples as racially similar as the French and Germans; sometimes across the color line, as in Western fears of the so-called Yellow Peril; sometimes in class conflicts, as in France; sometimes in conflicts between immigrants who arrived a little earlier and those who came a little later, as in America.

It is essential, if we are to live in this world in peace and goodwill, that we understand racism in order that we may move to banish it into the limbo of oblivion. It is this doctrine of racism which Adolf Hitler used to build the Nazi Party which put six million Jews to death in the concentration camps of Auschwitz and Buchenwald. It is a blasphemous distortion of the Judeo-Christian philosophy of man. It is the dynamism of evil lynch law in the Southern area of the United States and the white backlash behind the violence against Negro families who seek to rent or purchase homes in white communities, and of the election of white segregationists in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi.

DR. KING'S MARCHES IN CHICAGO

Rabbi Robert J. Marx, director of the Chicago Federation of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a highly influential organization of Jewish lay leaders and clergy, is reported to have said, after he had participated in a march with Dr. Martin Luther King in Chicago for the right of a Negro to rent or buy a home wherever he chose: "What I saw.... seared my soul in a way that my participation in no other civil rights event had done. I was a fraid and I am afraid now. I saw how the concentration camp could have occurred and how men's hatred can lead them to kill. I saw Catholic priests reviled and nuns spat upon. I saw teenage boys ready to kill."

A young white out-of-state reporter, covering a civil rights march into Cicero, Illinois said: "I had the opportunity to cover, incognito, a meeting of the all-white Southwest Community Coordinating Council the other night and the experience scared the daylights out of me. I honestly believe if a Negro had walked into that place during the meeting they would have torn him to bits like animals." The reporter added: "They are certainly fertile recruiting grounds for the Nazis and other hate groups. Unchecked, they will hook up with politics, elect reactionary leaders and turn the clock back to the Stone Age. The thought is a nightmare. But what makes it so much more frightening is that large groups of whites like this throughout the country, frightened, unenlightened and strongly believing they are protecting their homes against the invasion of Negroes, can, if they become organized under such fanatics like George Lincoln Rockwell, self-styled Fuehrer of the American Nazi Party, turn this country into a Fascist state that would make Hitler's Germany seem like a paradise by comparison."

Verily, Race is one of the great world-wide problems of modern man. Upon it has been erected the catastrophic force of an aggressive and militant racism to serve the system of imperialistic colonialism. Some of its leading apostles were Arthur de Gobineau, set forth in his Essay on the Inequality of Human Races; Houston Stewart Chamberlain in The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, and Madison Grant in The Passing of the Great Race. They sought to defend the discrimination and exploitation of the slavery of peoples of color on the grounds of their racial inferiority.

While Western man has dominated the course of history in the last five centuries, more or less; has conquered and absorbed, and been conquered and absorbed by many and varied ethnic groups such as the Goths, Vandals, African Negroes and American Indians, and though Western civilization is strongly permeated by the false concept of white supremacy, it is not a white civilization.

Western man's heritage derived from earlier Mediterranean civilizations such as the Persians, Egyptians, Phoenicians and, of course, the Greeks and Romans. These people were the first to emancipate themselves from the shackles of a primitive nomadic or agricultural subsistence economy, to discover the division of labor, to learn how to trade, to manufacture, to accumulate capital, and to achieve mobility over land and sea.

Western man's spiritual heritage derived from Judaism, from the humanism of the ancient Greeks and from the teachings of Jesus Christ. Our civilization has for centuries practiced neither the Jewish teaching of justice under moral law nor the Greek teaching of rational thought and behavior, and least of all the Christian teaching of love, compassion and human brotherhood. The four forces that threaten the destruction of modern man are Racial Hatred, Poverty, Materialism and Nuclear Fission.

WAR ON WORLD POVERTY

If Western civilization is overrun and submerged by a global revolution of the underprivileged and have-nots, representing two-thirds of the human beings living on this earth in social misery, economic wretchedness, hunger, ignorance and disease, it will be chiefly because the ruling races of the West have failed to recognize that they are in no intrinsic sense superior or entitled to special privilege.

Jesus taught this doctrine of the brotherhood of man within the empire of the mighty Caesar. In Palestine in his day the alien was the hated Samaritan, and when the Samaritan woman said to him: "How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria, for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans," he preached his gospel to her and her townsfolk and many of them believed. St. Paul, the great crusader of the Christian religion, taught "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male or female, for ye are one in Christ Jesus."

Verily, all men, Negro and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, African and Asian, are members of one common human family. If all men are members of the human family of which God is Father and Creator, then all men are brothers; if all men are brothers, then all men are equal; if all men are equal, then all men are entitled to equal treatment; if all men are entitled to equal treatment then discrimination and segregation, bigotry, antagonism and hostility based upon race and color, religion, national origin or ancestry are morally wrong. If they are morally wrong then they should be abolished, prohibited and frowned upon by law and conscience, for they violate the principle of respect for the sacredness, dignity and infinite worth of the human personality.

While the disadvantaged peoples of color seek national and international laws and conventions to safeguard their human rights, the fact is no law or constitution or convention can give the neglected, abused and downtrodden their human rights. Laws and constitutions can only recognize one's human rights and insure the opportunity to exercise and enjoy them. An individual, regardless of race or color, religion or national origin, possesses his human rights as a result of his being human. He was born with these rights. The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is a natural right; it is God-given not man made. No human being or group of human beings are justified in presuming that they possess the power to give any human being his human rights.

ECONOMIC LIFE

But the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is not enough. The disadvantaged peoples of the developing countries must be given the means of life by the developed countries for they have, under colonialism, been robbed of the opportunity to build upon their aboriginal cultural endowment the social and mechanical technology to develop the means of life and progress.

The massive surge forward of the peoples of color to acquire the means of life, to narrow and abolish the gap of progress between them and Western man, as well as achieve respect for their history, is, without question, the most revolutionary movement of our revolutionary age.

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL MOTIVES

Moreover, let it be understood in the Western world that while attention must naturally be given to the need for more food, clothing, health and education, the driving forces behind the revolutions of rising expectations are political and psychological. These motives are just as strong as desires for improved economic well-being, and in many developing countries they are even more decisive in their immediate effects on attitudes and government policies.

Factors in the demand for modernization in developing countries, other than the desire to overcome poverty, include:

1) The desire of new, self-conscious nationalisms to attain or preserve independence, and to be free of foreign political or economic dominance, real or imagined.

2) The desire for the means of national defense and security.

3) The desire for national and personal respect, status, prestige and importance in the world, which experience shows is not too readily accorded to developing, weak countries or their citizens.

U.S.A. AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

While the United States has not done all that it might have done to advance the economic and social progress of developing countries, the record will show that its program of international aid is greater than that of any of the developed countries.

It is also to the great credit of the national Trade Union Center - the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, that it has been generous with its financial resources in helping to advance free, democratic trade unionism among the laboring masses of the developing countries.

But, of course, the United States Government and the AFL-CIO, in helping to advance the social, economic and educational progress of developing countries, are helping themselves, for the world in which mankind now lives cannot continue to exist half affluent and half impoverished.

The most effective tools the workers in developing and developed countries can fashion for their advancement are free, democratic trade unions, cooperatives, credit unions, the ballot and education.

Let me assure you that the Civil Rights Revolution in the United States is steadily advancing toward the achievement of racial and social justice. In this mighty struggle of black Americans for first-class citizenship they have the support and cooperation of the National Labor Center, the AFL-CIO and the Church, through the three faiths, Catholic, Jewish and Protestant.

And let me also indicate to you that President Lyndon B. Johnson is committed to a war on poverty, racial and social injustice, at home and abroad.

COMMITTEE OF CONSCIENCE AGAINST APARTHEID
211 East 43rd Street (Room 705)
New York, New York 10017

For information: M.L. Hooper
and Wendell Foster, American
Committee on Africa. TN 7-8733.

STATEMENT by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH ON PROGRESS OF BANK CAMPAIGN. DECEMBER 7, 1966

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Press:

I am here today in my capacity as Chairman of the Committee of Conscience Against Apartheid to present several pertinent facts about the progress of the Committee's campaign for the withdrawal of accounts from Chase Manhattan and First National City Banks. As you probably know this Committee was initiated by the American Committee on Africa and the University Christian Movement in order to extend and magnify the work of other groups which had conducted small scale campaigns on a similar issue. This issue is, of course, the direct financial support which Chase Manhattan and First National City give to the South African government and economy and therefore their support of the apartheid regime and its discriminatory policies.

The banks have granted loans worth $23.5 million to the South African government and its Industrial Development Corporation and they initiated the existing $40 million revolving credit facilities made available to the regime in conjunction with a consortium of eight other American banks. I am sure that I do not have to explain the manner in which this substantial financial involvement has not only enabled the perpetuation of the particular apartheid regime in South Africa, but also its pivotal role in the continuation of a complex of American corporate involvement in the country. And it is this business activity by 250 American companies which, while resulting in considerable profit for the companies involved, reveals to the majority of South African people the disparity between the United States official condemnation of apartheid and private American support of it.

I would like to inform you that as a measure of the success of our campaign for withdrawals from these banks that over $22 million has been or will be withdrawn by December 9th or shortly thereafter. In addition other large organizations and institutions are giving careful consideration to their own policies of banking with Chase and First National City. The sum to be withdrawn may, therefore, be considerably higher in the near future. The figure of $23 million is particularly symbolic in that it coincides with the above mentioned amount of non-consortium loans given by the banks to South Africa.

There have been some reports in the press that the two banks deny the validity of the figure of $23 million, a contradiction which should be clarified at this time. The figures which we published were based on the amounts of withdrawal pledges which the Committee has received from individuals, organizations, and institutions. Large withdrawals include a $15 million account (already withdrawn), one of $6.5 million (to be withdrawn soon after December 9th), ones of $200,000, $65,000, $40,000, $35,000 etc. Smaller individual and business accounts range from $4.50 to the thousands.

The confusion of figures probably stems from two factors: first of all some of the withdrawals connected with the campaign have occurred without informing the banks of the specific reason for withdrawal and secondly, some institutions have wanted to withhold identification from fear of reprisals: action by the specific bank and other related concerns which might have adverse effects on the business or organization making the withdrawal. In spite of these factors we can identify a number of organizations - including local churches, denominational and ecumenical religious associations, student councils, student religious committees and peace organizations which have removed their accounts. The wide range of backing for the action advocated by the Committee was recently revealed in an open letter to the banks signed by some 60 labor, civil rights, church and government leaders who called on Chase Manhattan and First National City to disengage financially from South Africa.

The campaign will culminate at noon on Friday, December 9th (the day before Human Rights Day) with a demonstration at 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza proceeding at 1 P.M. to the First National City headquarters at 55 Wall Street. Although fear was expressed by Chase Manhattan Bank of our violating its private property during the picket, the bank has been informed that its lawyers misinterpreted the announced demonstration site as the Plaza itself rather than the sidewalk located at the address 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza. The picket will take place as scheduled with participants coming from various metropolitan organizations, youth and college groups.

On the same day there will be 'sympathy' demonstrations in several other cities at the plant locations of American corporations involved in South Africa. These will include Boston, Baltimore and Philadelphia. These protests also presage the type of campaign for total disengagement from South Africa which we see developing out of the bank campaign.

Statement Presented to Harlem Leaders by A. Philip Randolph on December 29th, 1966 in protest against the unseating of Rep. Powell in the 90th Congress of the United States.

While we do not, and will never condone all the actions of any Congressman - including those of Congressman Powell -- we view with alarm and disbelief the attempt by a small and vindictive clique in the House of Representatives to investigate and unseat the Representative from Harlem. Our alarm and disbelief arise out of the following:

1. Congressman Powell is not the sole repository of Congressional ethics, and should not be asked to be purer or cleaner than his colleagues. There are numerous other Congressmen whose conduct raises more serious questions than those alleged against Congressman Powell. There are numerous Congressmen who have advocated violation of the Bill of Rights, who have actively resisted implementation of Civil Rights Bills, and who have been consistent in their defiance of the United States Constitution. Why are not these Congressmen also under investigation?

2. In the deplorable event that Congressman Powell is unseated, it is clear to us that this will be in violation of the democratic process, since it has been repeatedly demonstrated -- most recently in the November elections -- that Congressman Powell has the full confidence of his Harlem constituents. There is no doubt in our minds -- nor can there be in anybody else's -- that, like Julian Bond in Georgia, Congressman Powell would be returned again and again to Congress by his constituents.

3. The 90th Congress has not yet convened, and we do not believe it is either legal or constitutional for the 89th Congress to investigate or arbitrate upon the conduct of members of the 90th Congress. Such action, if it is desirable, can only properly originate in and with the new Congress.

4. We can reach no other conclusion than that this is an effort to single out and victimize Congressman Powell, and this effort will be interpreted by the Negro community throughout the United States as racism masquerading behind a screen of Congressional piety and self-righteousness.

Beyond this, it is our view that the move to bar Congressman Powell from taking his seat on January 20th is certainly not calculated to improve the moral image of the United States among non-white peoples of Asia and Africa. Rather, it can only reinforce the already strongly held notion that Negro Americans are judged and treated by a different standard of morality than that by which white Americans are treated.

We therefore condemn and reject this attempt to punish Congressman Powell as being petty, spiteful, and ulterior, and we shall continue to do so until an equal interest is shown in the questionable behavior of all other Congressmen. Further, we call upon the President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives to use their good offices to spare the country and the entire legislative process the embarrassing and absurd spectacle of this farce.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AT THE
THIRD BIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE
AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA
WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 26, 1967

AFRICA - CHALLENGE AND CRISIS

Africa is a vast human volcano seething with unrest which threatens eruption at any time into a massive, violent, catastrophic race war between black and white Africans.

An irrepressible bloody conflict looms menacingly upon the horizon of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. South of the Zambezi River, which divides Zambia from Rhodesia, is a hotel which overlooks the vast expanse of Kariba Lake. At the entrance to the hotel is a sign which reads: "This hotel is not multiracial." This is a warning of "ne plus ultra", or no further beyond, to the traveler who may entertain beliefs in the idea of the brotherhood of man, for he is crossing the divide of Africa into two completely different worlds.

To the north as far as the Sahara Desert virtually all of the continent, as a result of the sweep of the fires of nationalist revolutions of rising expectations, is ruled by Black Africans.

To the south lies the white man's Africa. Four million whites of Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola and Mozambique live among and dominate, exploit and oppress 30 million Black Africans.

IMPENDING CONFRONTATION

The impending hostile racial confrontation stems from two dynamic forces:

One, the determination of Black Africans to rule all Africa south of the Sahara Desert.

Two, the equal determination of White Africans to maintain their control of southern Africa at any cost.

The danger of armed conflict between Black and White Africa was escalated and became more acute when the Rhodesian Government, representing 220,000 whites, on December 5, rejected British terms for ending a year old dispute over Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence without regard to the wishes and interests of 4 million Black Africans.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S LEADERSHIP ON AFRICA

President Johnson is to be commended upon his constructive, wise and timely act of statesmanship in supporting the highly sensitive policy of mandatory sanctions against the rebel regime of Rhodesia voted by the United Nations. It is not surprising that the John Birch Society-Barry Goldwater reactionary wing in the Senate should intemperately denounce President Johnson's order invoking sanctions against Rhodesia as "dictatorial, deceitful and dangerous." These anti-Black African critics and partisans of the white African school of thought contend that the Ian Smith white government of Rhodesia has only exercised the right of self-determination and that does not constitute a threat to the peace.

While Ambassador Arthur Goldberg has brilliantly answered the opponents of President Johnson's Administration's position on Rhodesia, support is needed and required, especially from the Black American community as a catalyst for mobilizing public opinion in support of the cause of Black Southern Rhodesia in particular, and Black Africa in general.

Well, does the New York Times editorially observe in a recent issue: "And anyone who argues that this illegal act aimed at perpetuating the rule of the 6 percent white minority over the 94 percent African majority is not a long-run threat to peace simply ignores the realities in Southeast Africa."

SANCTIONS

Moreover, in view of the growing mood of anger of Black Africans and the widening credibility gap between Black and White Africa, as well as between Black Africa and Western Man, it is a serious question as to whether the sanctions will be vigorously enforced and, if adequately enforced, whether they can bring down the rebel Smith regime of Rhodesia.

MILITARY FORCE

Certainly there is little faith among Black Africans in sanctions alone as an effective weapon to topple white Rhodesia. Black Africans take the position that the only answer to white Rhodesia's refusal to agree to Britain's demands for guarantees of majority rule for the country's four million blacks is the use of military force by Great Britain or the Military Peace-Keeping Forces of the United Nations.

Verily, there is considerable justification for the skepticism of Black Africans in the capability of sanctions alone to overthrow Rhodesia. Black Africans understand that white governments in southern Africa are realizing that survival is only possible, at least for some time to come, if they unite into a white bastion, for a defeat for one is a defeat for all. Thus, until sanctions are extended to South Africa, a great industrial power and the heart of the alliance of southern White African governments, Rhodesia is not likely to fall under the pressure of U. N. sanctions.

There is, of course, another weapon in the arsenal of the U. N., namely, international military force. But unless much greater pressure of world opinion is mobilized to defeat the white rebellion in Rhodesia, its implementation is quite unlikely.

If the U. N. venture against Rhodesia should succeed, it will have established its importance as an instrument for the peaceful settlement of one of the last stubborn problems of world decolonization. If it should fail, it will have reduced the U. N. to a sounding board of world problems and an agency for occasional voluntary peace missions.

BRITAIN AND MILITARY FORCE

Because of long historical political domination and economic exploitation of Black Africans in southern Africa by Great Britain, it is the responsibility of Britain to employ her military power to strike down the Rhodesian government. But Britain evinces a lack of will to send expeditionary forces to Rhodesia to bring down the white Rhodesia government in the interest of the Black African majority. Britain just cannot stomach white British soldiers shooting their white kith and kin in Rhodesia for Black African majority rule.

But, at the turn of the century, British troops went to South Africa and fought for three years against the Boers before achieving a doubtful victory. The Boers used guerrilla war tactics and, although the British were much stronger, the war dragged on. Thousands lost their lives. There is no reason to assume that it would be different today.

While Britain stresses its appalling financial plight as a reason for not embarking upon military action against the rebel Ian Smith regime, one might inquire where Britain found the money to support the Malaysian operation, and to send troops to Aden, and to pay for the support of the puppet states in the Persian Gulf.

BLACK AFRICANS CANNOT WIN ALONE

Obviously, because of South Africa's staong army, viable economy and prosperous export and import trade with Great Britain, United States, West Germany and Japan, Black Africa cannot win the fight against the evil racialism of apartheid of South Africa and Rhodesia alone. Britain has 3.5 billion dollars worth of investments, and the United States 700 million, in South Africa. More than 200 U. S. companies are doing business with South Africa.

A revolving credit of 40 million dollars has been extended to South Africa by ten great American banks, including Chase Manhattan, First National City, Chemical, Bankers Trust, Morgan Guaranty, Manufacturere Hanover Trust, Irving Trust in New York, Continental of Illinois, National Trust and Saving, and First National in Chicago. This economic blood of the banks of the United States helps to give and maintain the life of apartheid.

Despite the utter horror of the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 and the unspeakable degredation of the racial separatism of the system of Batustans, it will take nothing less than a major revolution to break the grip of South Africa on the financial lifeline of American business. Of course it can be done if the American churches, unions, educational and fraternal institutions could be aroused to withdraw large amounts of their accounts in these giant banks because of their support of apartheid. There is no nerve so sensitive as the nerve of the pocketbook.

FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID

The fight against apartheid has been waged not only inside South Africa but in almost every part of the world, be it said to the great credit and racial pride of Black Africans. A veritable deluge of information and propaganda has been disemminated, pointing out the evils and inhumanities of apartheid. This has resulted in an unparalled growth of repugnance to apartheid and total commitment by its victims to fight for its eradication.

The South African government has now taken steps to counter this rising tide of propaganda against apartheid. Her information services are expending millions of pounds on counterpropaganda. Semi-government bodies are hard at work trying to sell apartheid to the world. This is proof of the value of and need of Negroes of the United States and the West Indies joining hands with our Black African brothers in warning the world of the grave dangers of apartheid to the peace of the world.

The life of a non-European under apartheid is very cheap in South Africa, as cheap as the life of a Jew in Nazi Germany. But if the Buchenwald in South Africa, the sadistic fury with which the Herrenvolk policemen belabor the Black African - guilty or not guilty - is comparable only to the brutality of the SS Guards, and if we accept the premise - as I hope the nations of the world do - that peace is indivisible; if we accept the moral concept that there could be no peace as long as the scourge of Nazism exists in any corner of the globe, then it follows that the defeat of Nazism is not the final chapter of the struggle against tyranny.

To the Black Africans,and to us of African descent,there can be no peace in the world as long as the tyranny of apartheid remains. One of the grossest of insults, not only to the millions of Black Africans and non-Europeans of South Africa but to all those who are honestly striving to shape the world upon new foundations of freedom, equality, racial and social justice, occurred when, in 1945, Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, who had once declared that "every white man in South Africa believes in the suppression of the Negro,except those who are mad, quite mad", stood before the assembled peoples of the world and pleaded for an article on human rights in the United Nations charter.

Nothing so vividly illustrates the twisted contradiction of thought in the minds of white Western man. What brought it about? What caused this paradox? I believe it was the slave trade commerce in human beings between Africa and America,which flourished between the Renaissance and the American Civil War, which is the prime and effective cause of the contradictions in European and American civilization and the illogic in modern thought and the collapse of human culture. Nor are Nazi Germany and South Africa alone guilty of this grave moral contradiction. How can we account for the Founding Fathers of the United States writing the

Declaration of Independence, in which they asserted, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness," while they owned slaves.

DEVELOPMENT DECADE

While the freedom fighters of Black Africa, the West Indies and the United States must not cease in their crusade against apartheid in white South Africa, it must not be forgotten that Black Africa, Asia and the Carribean countries are in the category of "have-nots." They are developing countries yet seeking to enter the Twentieth Century while many of them, in many respects, have not yet reached the Nineteenth. Many still need to achieve the precondition of industrialization, including stable government and the capacity of advancing technology. It, too, is important to recognize that the price of admission to the industrial society is much higher today than it was a century ago. Technology is costlier, capital requirements aregreater, established producers are harder to overtake in world commerical competition. The fact is the poor nations are getting poorer while the rich nations are getting richer. Of the 80 or more developing countries of the world, 30 or so depend for more than half their foreign exchange earnings on exports of a single crop or commodity such as cocoa or sugar.

Just as a Marshall Plan was necessary to help rebuild Europe out of its ashes of economic exhaustion and despair, it is obvious that Africa, Asia and the Caribbean areas of the world, whose people have been exploited and oppressed for centuries by imperialist colonialism, must be lifted up by another world Marshall Plan, under the aegis of the United Nations, or the world may set afire with a conflict of catastrophic dimensions between the "have" and "have-not" countries. The United States, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, should lead the way. It is the responsibility of Negro Americans to point the way.

AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA

I therefore want to commend the Negro leaders who have seen the wisdom of forming and developing this movement to awaken, inform and arouse the mind and conscience of black and white America to the menace of apartheid.

A strong, aggressive and dedicated Negro movement committed to the abolition of apartheid in Africa can exercise effective and meaningful influence on the foreign policy of the United States in behalf of Black Africa. Such a movement can give help and hope to the brave and dedicated black African freedom fighters in the Resistance movement against apartheid in South Africa and Angola, Rhodesia and Mozambique.

Negroes in the United States and West Indies have exhibited pride in the great aboriginal cultural endowment and heritage of Africa, which well might be the original home of Homo sapiens.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois' imperishable work for the recognition of the monumental contribution of ancient and medieval Africa to civilization must ever live in the book and memory of all black men.

He held five Pan-African conferences during his lifetime for the memoralization of the priceless treasures of art, science and philosophy of our African forebears.

His last creative effort was the conception and building of the Encyclopedia Africana in Ghana. Let us hope that African, American and West Indian Negro scholars will not permit this great work to die. It will be of incomparable value, not only to all Africa and the black men and women and youth of America and the West Indies, but to modern man.

In Greek mythology Andromeda was the black daughter of Cephus, King of Ethiopia, and of Cassiopeia,

> That starr'd Ethiop Queen that strove
> To set her beauty's praise
> Above the sea nymphs and their powers offended.

It is that Poseidon, angry at this black woman's affront to the Nereids, threatened to flood the land and send a sea monster. The Egyptian oracle of Ammon foretold that only the sacrifice of Andromeda to the monster could stay destruction. Thus, Andromeda was chained and exposed on a headland facing the sea; Perseus, forefather of the Asiatic Persians of Iran, returning from the slaying of Gorgon freed Andromeda and married her. After her death she reigned among the stars, her arms extended and chained, together with Cassiopeia and Perseus; and anyone may see them shining upon a beautiful night.

"It might be asked what has this or any other fairy tale to do with a world in crisis, stricken, starving, and half-insane; or with the relations of Africa to Europe and America? Very little perhaps; and yet we must remember that this folk tale was part of the culture complex of the Mediterranean area where there was no color bar and no name of race; and where, at least in theory, the world was at war between civilization and barbarism. Perhaps then in some way this legend may guide us in the present and future." Thus, spoke that great scholar of sorrow and light - Dr. DuBois.

Finally, I speak of the Africa of which Langston Hughes sings:

> I've known rivers:
> I've known rivers ancient as the
> world and older than the flow of
> human blood in human veins.
>
> My soul has grown deep like the rivers.
> I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.
> I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.
> I looked upon the Nile and raised the Pyramids above it.

Statement on the Unseating of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell

Issued by A. Philip Randolph, April 3, 1967

We are assembled as citizens of the 18th Congressional District and of Harlem to carry out the following program:

1. To wage a vigorous and militant campaign in the 18th Congressional District to re-elect Congressman Powell on April 11, 1967.

2. To support with all our resources the legal fight to enable the Congressman to return to Harlem and to enable him to meet with his constituents without threat of arrest.

3. To declare our unqualified support of the legal battle now being carried on by able attorneys to reverse the action of Congress, which deprived the 18th Congressional District of its duly elected representative on Jan. 10, 1967. Congress acted to remove Congressman Powell despite the fact that he met all the qualifications required by the Federal Constitution namely: citizenship, residency, and age. Further, we declare our determination to see to it that Congressman Powell is reappointed Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Education. Both President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon Baines Johnson agreed that Powell was one of the best committee chairman in the House, having successfully managed 60 bills on the floor in a period of five years.

4. We must not forget that the removal of Congressman Powell from this important Committee Chairmanship -- one of the most powerful committees in Congress -- was the main objective of the anti-Negro forces in Congress, forces which could not bear to see a Negro exercise great power over important legislation.

5. To make it unmistakably clear to the Congress and to American citizens that Negroes of Harlem (and the entire nation) will never surrender their right to choose and elect their own candidates to represent them in Congress.

6. We hold that Congress does not have the right to substitute its judgment for the will of the voters of the 18th Congressional District. Those voters will evaluate and determine the eligibility of Congressman Powell to represent them.

7. We believe that not only have the Constitutional rights of Congressman Powell been invaded but the Constitutional rights of the citizens of his district have been violated also. They have the right to be represented in Congress by those who they elect; that right was nullified by Congress' refusal to seat Adam Clayton Powell.

8. Therefore, we herewith, register our definite condemnation of the narrow, bigoted action of Congress, which was an expression of the mob spirit, and racial bias instead of the considered and deliberative thought required of a democratically elected legislative body. Some Congressmen were so racially inflamed and bitterly prejudiced against Congressman Powell that their behavior lost every

shred and aspect of Congressional dignity. They subjected Representative Powell and twenty-two million black Americans to a disgraceful public exhibition, to humiliation, agony and torment. Nothing like this has ever happened to a Congressman in the House of Representatives before, and I pray that America will become too civilized to repeat it again.

9. Now, we ask you to turn to the case of Senator Thomas J. Dodd, his flagrant financial manipulations make the puny so-called misdemeanors of Rep. Powell look like a Sunday School picnic. The Senate Select Committee on Standards and Conduct decided that the Senator is guilty of unethical conduct, but it is still debating whether to recommend that he be censured, condemned or rebuked. He survives his ordeal with all his privileges, seat and seniority rights intact. His punishment amounts to merely a tap on the wrist, with practically little if any verbal chastisement.

10. Why is this? The answer is clearly that Congress has a double ethical and racial standard: one for Dodd, a white man; and another for Powell, a black man.

In the light of this crucifixion of Powell, the entire affair can only be regarded as a political farce; a mockery of democracy; a travesty upon Congressional morality; a blow to representative government and an insult to the common sense of the people of this nation.

Some Congressmen remain blind to the fact that one of the greatest events of the twentieth century is the Civil Rights Revolution, which is destined to completely change and democratize America. These Congressmen seem unable to understand that the old ways of regarding Negroes as less than men and second-class citizens are over and gone forever.

Thus, let each of us go forth from this meeting with the determination to re-elect Adam Clayton Powell by an overwhelming majority.

CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
ON RECEIVING THE PACEM IN TERRIS PEACE AND
FREEDOM AWARD OF THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL
COUNCIL, DAVENPORT, IOWA, APRIL 5, 1967

WORLD OF COLOR IN REVOLUTION

The Civil Rights Revolution is the American wave of future social and racial change. It reflects the spirit of the Revolutions of Rising Expectations in the Great World of Color. The winds of change, challenge and crisis are blowing among some two-thirds of the people of the world. They are the world of the Have Nots; theirs is a world of poverty, disease and ignorance. Between these millions of Africans and Asians and Western man yawns a widening poverty and credibility gap. Will it ever be closed before the entire world of color and poverty burst into blazing catastrophic flames of resentment, resistance and rebellion? Thoughtful world leaders are in quest of the answer to this pressing question.

Having won political independence against colonialism in the great majority of African and Asian countries, the barricades of the classical democratic revolution have been dismantled with the cessation of the rumble of marching men, but only to be followed by social revolutions with the goals of political stability, economic and social justice.

Verily, following the behavior patterns of bourgeois revolutions, not only have the glamour and drama of the elan of nationalist revolutions in the world of color eroded but in some countries counterrevolutionary dictatorships have followed. But while the engine of revolutionary nationalism in Africa and Asia has been stalled in the quicksands of success, namely, the achievement of independence, or stopped dead in its tracks by counterrevolutionary totalitarian dictatorships, the revolutionary struggle for racial and social justice will reassert itself and move forward if given a helping hand by the free world, which may help to keep the free world free.

CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

While there is historical diversity in backgrounds of the nationalist revolutions in Africa and Asia and the Civil Rights Revolution in the United States, there is striking comparability in their development and goals.

Both unequivocally demand the complete abolition of the color bar and assert their rejection of the doctrine of hereditary racial inferiority of peoples of color and white supremacy. Both have been the victims of Western imperialistic colonialism. Both have been and are yet blocked upon the path of progress by poverty and pauperism, illiteracy and the sickness of world-wide,horrible, festering, explosive ghettoes of color. Both have reached a plateau of psychological and spiritual relaxation, frustration, fragmentation and obvious debilitation.

CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION NOT DEAD

But,contrary to some social critics, the Civil Rights Revolution is not dead. The vitality expressed in the great and dramatic demonstrations in the form of marches and sit-ins, against the American system of racism in Alabama, Mississippi, Little Rock, Watts, California, New York City and Chicago, is no longer apparent.

The reason for this is that the basic fulfillment of the mission of the Civil Rights Revolution has been achieved. This consists in the establishment of the illegality of discrimination and segregation based upon race by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The fight for the 1967 Civil Rights Act for open occupancy in housing is yet to be won. This Federal civil rights legislation provides for the use and enjoyment of conventional civil rights, including the ballot and various forms of public accommodation.

In other words, the use of the strategy and tactic of various forms of demonstrations in the streets has about run its course. Demonstrations no longer need to be the dominant form of strategy. They played a vital role of awakening the attention and enlisting the interest of broad segments of the American public, including the church, labor, students, liberals and professionals, in the problem of racial bias.

Of course some forms of public demonstrations to stimulate public opinion in certain racial issues undoubtedly continue to be necessary from time to time, for strategy and tactics are merely forms of response to social and racial reality which must be developed with respect to changes in time, place and the nature of the problem.

Albeit, the nature of strategy and tactics is also regulated by the law of diminishing returns in the form of response from the people who are expected and desired to become involved. Today, it is a matter of common knowledge that the Negro masses don't respond to public demonstrations in numbers or enthusiasm which marked the early days of the Revolution.

This waning enthusiasm for demonstrations has been caused by the following developments:

1) The successful big push for civil rights legislation in 1964 and 1965 with the support and skillful legislative guidance of President Johnson.

2) The fragmentation and frustration of the civil rights movement because of the successful enactment of civil rights legislation.

3) The shift of public attention and interest in the Civil Rights Revolution to the war in Vietnam.

4) The defection from active participation in the Freedom Movement of white liberals, labor, students and professionals to the fight against the war in Vietnam, resulting in picket lines and marches of protest in the streets against the war in Vietnam.

The Civil Rights Revolution has been practically abandoned and forgotten. It lacked the glamor and drama of war. In very truth, the war in Vietnam has pushed the Civil Rights Revolution from the center of the stage of American history.

But not only did a large number of white friends of the civil rights movement cease actively to work for the cause of civil rights, a number of Negro civil rights leaders are now participating actively in the peace movement against the war in Vietnam.

Practically all of the various groups of the American social spectrum, with the exception of the trade unions, that played major roles in making the civil rights demonstrations, including the big March on Washington, August 28, 1963, an overwhelming success, are either no longer in the ranks of the civil rights struggle or they give only token cooperation. This is not to suggest that these groups have turned against civil rights as a principle, but they no longer work in the movement. It is also fair to point out that, no doubt, many of the white friends of the

Civil Rights Revolution are inactive because there are few major civil rights efforts for them to be active in.

RISE OF WHITE BACKLASH

It must be said to the great credit and honor of organized labor that although many of the members of trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations were influenced adversely against the civil rights movement because of a false evaluation of proposed legislation for open occupancy of housing, fearing lest the purchase of property by a Negro in a white community would result in the depreciation of the value of property, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, expressed his unequivocal opposition to the white backlash in the face of protests from some white AFL-CIO union members, especially in the Chicago area. He took a similar position toward Southern trade union members of the AFL-CIO when some of them expressed opposition, in the early Sixties, to the civil rights position of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations although he expressed his disagreement with some of the tactics of the civil rights leaders.

PEACE MOVEMENT

Let me indicate that although the civil rights movement has naturally lost ground, as a result of the rise and development of the peace movement against the war in Vietnam, I do not condemn any of the workers, black or white, now in the peace movement who formerly were (and some still are) veritable towers of strength in the Civil Rights Revolution.

In this age of the Atomic Bomb when war can threaten the very survival of man, the peace movement is one of the great basic creative forces of the modern world.

May I say that I, too, am committed to the peace movement. I do not believe that the United States can successfully serve as the policeman of the world. I hope to see the disengagement of our country in Southeast Asia at the earliest possible date, without escalation of the war, and I think President Johnson wants the same thing. The fact is, Western man - the white man - is only tolerated in any area of the world of color, Africa or Asia or the Isles of the Sea, because of his long role of ruthless colonial oppression and exploitation.

However, I am not active in the peace movement because I think that the Civil Rights Revolution and the nationalist revolutions of Asia and Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, involving the great majority of the peoples of the world, represent the wave of the future and the destinies, fortunes and hopes of mankind.

Moreover, I don't think that it is possible for Negroes to wage war on two fronts at the same time without sacrificing the interests of one of the fronts. It is hardly possible to fight for civil rights on the Alabama-Mississippi front and on the Vietnam War front, for or against the Vietnam War. For this reason I have advised civil rights leaders I have had occasion to talk to on this issue that I consider it strategically and tactically unsound to plunge the civil rights movement into the Vietnam War, for or against the war, and that the Civil Rights Revolution is the Negroes' primary cause in America today.

Negroes lost one chance to achieve first-class citizenship when they lost the Reconstruction Revolution, as a result of the rise of the Confederate Counterrevolution following the Civil War in 1865. The 13th Amendment of 1865, the 14th Amendment of 1868, the 15th Amendment of 1870 and the Civil Rights Act of 1875, designed to help the Freedmen, were swept into political oblivion by the angry winds of the Confederate Counterrevolution, spearheaded by the Ku Klux Klan with torch and gun.

The United States Supreme Court handed down the famous Plessy vs. Ferguson decision in which it propounded the doctrine of separate but equal which became the foundation of the legalization of racial discrimination and segregation in our land. The Republican Party, so-called friend of the Negro, turned its back upon the Black Freedmen, and even the fires of freedom preached by the abolitionists turned into ashes of indifference, and the Black Freedmen, landless, moneyless, voteless, friendless and hopeless, were driven from the ballot box back to the cotton plantations and left to the tender mercies of their former slave masters.

IMPLEMENTATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

It must be remembered that while major progress has been made in the enactment of Federal civil rights legislation by the Congress, it is yet to be implemented. Achieving implementation is not less difficult than achieving enactment of legislation, especially is this true with the reimplementation of the unholy alliance of southern Democrats or Republicans with northern reactionary Republicans.

THE PRESIDENT'S LEGISLATIVE STRATEGY

While continuing to press for the implementation of existing civil rights legislation, Negroes have the responsibility vigorously to back President Johnson's omnibus civil rights bill, strategically set forth in six parts, which forbids discrimination in the sale and rental of housing in Title IV, together with Titles I and II banning discrimination in the selection of federal, state and local juries. This 1967 Civil Rights Act also strengthens the Fair Employment Practice section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, extends the life of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights for five years, and gives Federal protection to anyone exercising a Federally guaranteed right.

When, as, and if this bill is passed in this Congress, it will have completed the legislative design of the Civil Rights Revolution, providing for Negroes the status of first-class citizenship.

With respect to the controversial open occupancy housing section of the bill, the question may be asked: How will Negro boys react, who have answered their country's call to fight in Vietnam, when upon their return bearing the scars of war are told that they cannot buy or rent a home for their family in Cicero, Illinois because they are black? The answer is: How would any American react?

NEGRO DILEMMA

Verily, Negroes who have suffered the whips and scorns of time for centuries on the way to the Promised Land of Freedom, are now caught up in a dilemma of seeking to push forward the frontiers of racial and social justice while the country is moving to the right under the impact of the war in Vietnam. If they fail to put their maximum social, political and moral strength behind the freedom movement they will lose the opportunity to employ the Civil Rights Revolution as a catalyst for the development of a social revolution, the objectives of which are jobs, integrated education and integrated housing. But even if Negroes employ the full resources in the struggle for political, economic and ethnic democracy, they are confronted with change from reform to reaction, marked by the white backlash and a possible slackening economic pace of the country.

The lessons of history teach us that while wars sometimes give rise to revolutions, such as followed the first World War in Russia in 1917, they are also accompanied and followed by reaction which occurred in the United States during and after the first World War.

ECONOMIC AND EDUCATION GAP

Moreover, even if Negroes won,today,all of the civil rights and liberties white Americans possess they would still be victims of the baffling ravages of the Black Ghetto; family instability, because of lack of jobs with adequate wages for the man of the home; inability, because of lack of skills and training, to fit into the structure of advancing technology.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the rate of unemployment among Negro males is twice that of the whites, and the rate of joblessness of Negro teenagers is four or five times the rate of white teenagers.

WHAT THEN IS TO BE DONE?

First, a revolution in methodology to effect a solution of the problem involving jobs, education, housing and the abolition of the festering slums is imperative. The era of the demonstrations in the streets as the strategy to achieve social and economic change is over. The battle must be shifted from the streets to the conference room for confrontation through discussion and debate. The Civil Rights Revolution can no more solve the racial economic problems than a sewing machine can grind wheat into flour.

It must be recognized that the realization of the economic and social objectives will involve the transformation of the Civil Rights Revolution into a social revolution. The Civil Rights Revolution has prepared the way for this change, for social revolution can only be developed within the framework of a democratic society of free men.

REBUILD COALITION

But the Social Revolution will not only require different method, strategy and tactic, it will require a new social technology.

More is at stake than the improvement of the economic and social condition of Negroes. The Social Revolution must bring a new way of life to 35 million Americans now living in poverty, some 80 percent of whom are white, besides millions of white and black Americans who live in a state of deprivation, or a short step above the poverty line of an annual income, for a family of four of $3,100.

Thus, the task of the black and white working poor and deprived is to build a broad national Coalition of Conscience which will work to secure a Federal Freedom Budget to provide the monetary and fiscal tools to enable the private and public sectors of the economy to create a national gross product and stimulate and maintain a rate of economic growth to insure full employment, maximum production and maximum aggregate economic demand, to the end of banishing poverty from this land.

However, Negroes cannot build a national Coalition of Conscience alone. It can only be built by Organized Labor, the three faiths, Catholic, Jewish and Protestant, the Liberal and Educational communities, students, and small businesses and small farmers and migrant farm workers - Mexican-Americans and Puerto Rican-Americans.

The idea of a Coalition of Conscience represents the reality of our democratic pluralistic society and is more powerful in achieving the social good than the sum of the social forces of which it is composed. This is so because it is constructed not upon the concept of advancing the fortunes of any particular segment of our society but the total good of the whole society.

This is an expression of the eternal truth of the common humanity of all mankind. In very truth, all men, white and black, Jew and Protestant, African, Asian, European and American are members of one common human family of which God is Father and Creator. If all men are members of one human family, then all men are brothers; if all men are brothers, all men are equal; if all men are equal, all men are entitled to equal treatment; if all men are entitled to equal treatment, then discrimination and segregation based upon race or color, religion or national origin is morally wrong and should be abolished.

This is the moral basis of the Civil Rights Revolution which seeks to eliminate all distinctions of racial, religious or nationality origin. And while it is necessary to seek the enactment of civil rights legislation to insure equality of social, economic and political opportunities in our society, it is a mandate to enforce the recognition and respect for the possession by Negroes, as well as whites, of human rights, such as the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In other words, no law can give me my right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I was born with this right. It is God-given, not man-made. I possess this right as a result of my being human and God made me human.

The role of government and law is to prevent any force in our society from depriving me of the privilege to exercise and enjoy these rights that are natural rights. Even a government such as that of Mississippi or Alabama, and the Federal Government itself, must be restrained by the moral force of the Coalition of Conscience from trampling upon my human rights, for my human rights are antecedent to,and independent of,government. It took a Civil War to stop the Federal Government from invading the human rights of Negroes who were held slaves for a quarter of a thousand years with the sanction of government and law.

BLACK POWER

Now, no single force, group or institution in America possesses the power to protect and advance the social justice of the poor, the lowly born, the weak, the outcast because of race or color. This is why the cry of Black Power is an illusion and a deception. Moreover, power is not the product of a mere expression of a wish. It is just a slogan, not even a program. While its proponents mean well, they fail to understand that social power arises basically from the ownership or control of property.

While Negroes are justified in seeking to build economic and political power, if the fortunes of the Negro are to be determined on a basis of their sheer power alone, Negroes are hopeless. Neither in numbers, control of economic forces or political strength can they win their battle for racial and social justice. This is not only a social reality with respect to Negroes, it is equally true with respect to the Jews, Irish, or any ethnic minority.

Of course the cry of Black Power by Stokely Carmichael, an able civil rights activist, is not new. Marcus Garvey, in the Twenties, raised the cry of "Back to Africa" and the development of a Black Army to challenge the imperial colonial powers of Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and Portugal. Then there was Malcolm X who preached this slogan.

The doctrine of Negro salvation through isolation, in an age of advancing technology which is bringing the world closer together, is pure fantasy. Moreover, black racism is as unsound, indefensible, ugly and dangerous as white racism. Both contain the seeds of their own destruction and are delusions of a false racial grandeur.

Negroes must join hands with their white brothers and sisters and march forward with America. They have turned America around to recognize and accept the egalitarian doctrine of mankind. And be it said to the great credit of President Lyndon Baines Johnson, he has played an impressive role in the great struggle for racial and social justice. No one can deny that he has done more to advance the cause of civil rights than any President in the history of the United States, including Abraham Lincoln. Of course, the late President John F. Kennedy was on the same path but he never had a chance.

And let me hail and salute the young Negro women and students, the Catholic nuns and priests, the Jewish young men and women and rabbis, and the Protestant ministers for their battle for the freedom movement.

STATEMENT OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
City Employees Rally
Madison Square Garden
May 23, 1967

The Rockefeller-Travia Bill is a reactionary measure that would turn the clock of labor history back. It would, specifically, return public employees to the days of 1928 when they were at the mercy of company unions and yellow-dog contracts. Nobody knows this better than I do. In 1933 we in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters rejoiced in the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act only to discover that -- like public employees today -- our basic rights were not, in fact, protected as were those of other workers.

We had been told that Negroes would never strike, that they were docile and congenital strike-breakers. The Pullman Company believed that, and banked on it, just as today the Board of Education, the State Legislature, Rockefeller and Travia believe that public employees are both unwilling and unable to unite and sustain mass action. But we fooled the Pullman Company, and you can do the same to Rockefeller and Travia.

Pullman Porters went on to raise the living standards of countless Negroes, to organize the first March on Washington, to fight for Fair Employment Practices and to later inspire the Montgomery Boycott. Today public employees will revitalize the labor movement, both by insisting on their right to be protected by sound labor principles and by joining bread and butter issues with questions of human dignity.

And make no mistake about it, every reactionary in the country has a stake in the success of the Rockefeller-Travia Bill. If the TWU can be cowed, if the UFT is not permitted to press for the improvement of the school system and a higher standard of living for teachers, if AFSCME cannot represent hospital, welfare, and other workers, then this will release a shock wave all over the country in which all unions of public employees will be crushed.

But history does provide its worthwhile lessons. I urge you not to despair. If a small band of Negro Pullman Porters, in the bleaker days, could perservere and prevail, so will you. I pledge you my whole-hearted support in your fight against the Rockefeller-Travia Bill. We must fight that Bill and we will win.

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON AFRICA BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, MAY 26, 1967

On Tuesday, January 24, the New York Times reported that the United States Embassy in Capetown, South Africa had announced that the United States aircraft carrier, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, returning from combat duty in South Viet Nam, would make a courtesy call at Capetown from February 4 through February 7.

The U. S. Embassy in Capetown described the visit as "routine." Such a visit would be far from routine.

The aircraft carrier Franklin Delano Roosevelt - which has Negro servicemen amongst its crew - cannot make a courtesy call to South Africa without doing a vast disservice to the ideals, principles and honor of the United States, without doing dishonor to Negro servicemen in particular, and without offending the democratic sensibilities of all men who love freedom in this nation, in Africa, in Asia and throughout the world. It is ironic and tragic that a U. S. naval vessel should dishonor America's stated objective of defending freedom in Asia by exposing the very men fighting there to the cruel and dehumanizing experience of apartheid on their way from the very battlefields of Viet Nam.

In 1965, when the carrier Independence was scheduled to call at Capetown the U. S. Government, under pressure of men of good will, finally rejected such a visit as a matter of policy.

I believe that this conference, at the appropriate time, should unanimously go on record to urge the President, Lyndon Baines Johnson, and the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, to cancel such a visit as a affront to democracy and an insult to the black people of the country and of Africa.

Unless and until the government of South Africa is willing to guarantee total equality of treatment not only to American servicemen of color, but also to its own citizens of color, in short, until the South African government policy of apartheid is abandoned once and for all, no such visits should take place.

It is inconceivable that the U. S. Government would for one moment tolerate that Negro servicemen returning from Viet Nam should be subjected to the humiliation, the discrimination and the segregation they would endure in South Africa.

I, therefore, urge this assembled body, at the proper time, to dispatch the following telegram to Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, and to Lyndon Baines Johnson, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Services of the United States:

> "We are deeply distressed that the U. S. aircraft carrier, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, is reported to be stopping in Capetown, South Africa, February 4 - 7. In view of South Africa's apartheid policy such a visit will violate our basic principles and past policy statements. It contradicts the policy set in 1965 when carrier Independence bypassed Capetown. We strongly urge reaffirmation of previous policy and cancellation of carrier's call at Capetown. Such a visit will be an insult to American Negroes, to the black people of Africa, and to democratic men throughout the world dedicated to the elimination of apartheid."

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, JUNE 4, 1967

Permit me to express my pleasure and delight to have been honored with the opportunity to share in the fine fellowship spirit of this Commencement of this great institution of learning. It has given us some of the distinguished leaders of our country.

I have come to reflect with the faculty and students upon the rise, struggle and promise of the Negro Freedom Movement.

We live in an age of revolutions. There is the revolution of science, technology and industrialism, revealing the new and bewildering phenomena of spacial explorations and nuclear fission; and the revolutions of civil rights and nationalism, with the restless and challenging mood of rising expectations, the fires of which have swept over the great continents of Asia and Africa, and the areas of Latin America and the Caribbean, leaving in their wake the ashes of the old hated and hateful empires of colonialism.

Nor is the Church and religion, as shown by the spread of the spirit of ecumenism initiated by Pope John XXIII, Protestant and Jewish religious leaders, untouched by the winds of revolutionary change.

UNREST OF THE WORLD OF COLOR

And, after nearly 300 years of exploitation and humiliation, the thunder of the protest of the Black Revolt has shaken America to its very foundations.

Perhaps the most stirring and dramatic event of modern times is the great world of color, two-thirds of mankind, on the march to freedom, equality and human dignity.

This manifestation of unrest and discontent, if not wrath, of the peoples of color against rejection, oppression, alienation and apartheid is a dynamic upward thrust of the so-called undeveloped areas, in an essentially new and potentially revolutionary attack upon the decadent and mythical concept of white supremacy.

Having stepped out of the long night of slavery and serfdom of the past into the bright light of the present struggle for nationalist independence and racial justice, millions of men of color, with heads bloody but unbowed, souls uncurbed, are marching into the future for a better tomorrow and the fellowship of man.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE NOT ENOUGH

But while colonialism has been swept from the continents of Africa and Asia, the baffling socio-economic problems of poverty, illiteracy and disease remain. The fact is, lessons of history teach that economic and political democracy and social well-being do not automatically follow nationalist or civil rights revolutions. More profound social change is imperative to lift the poeple to higher levels of life and living.

Social revolutions must inevitably follow hard upon the heels of the development of a self-governing state and the triumph of a revolution for civil rights. A self-governing state has the taks of developing a viable economy which must rest upon the modernization of agriculture and advancing industrialization. Such has been the behavior patterns of the transition of a colony from a sort of imperialistic mercantilistic status to an independent nation-state. And American Negroes, while members of a free, powerful nation-state, are far from free. Of course this political and social change is not simple or easy for the developing countries never had a chance, under the mercantilism of colonialism, to achieve any considerable capital formation, mechanical or social technology. This is understandable, since the colonial powers were fearful lest too much self-development of colonial subjects might encourage the spirit of independence and threaten continued colonial rule. In the South, Negroes have been and even are now brutally subjugated by white rule which stems partially from fear of a black revolt.

RACISM

In fact, the rise and development of world racism is contemporaneous with the rise and development of world colonialism and imperialism. The reason being that subjugation, domination and exploitation of peoples of color in Africa and Asia, the United States, the Caribbean and Latin American countries, required pseudo-moral justification and social and political explanation for the material gain or economic profit out of the human misery of colonialism. Hence, racism had to be invented.

With an profound sense of prophecy the late and lamented William Edward Burghardt DuBois, in his Souls of Black Folk, stated:

> Herein lie buried many things which if read with patience may show the strange meaning of being black here at the dawning of the Twentieth Century. This meaning is not without interest to you, gentle reader, for the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line.

Verily, the history of the American Negro is the history of this color line.

Of the black slaves' fighting faith in freedom, DuBois continues:

> Away back in the days of bondage they thought to see in one divine event the end of all doubt and disappointment; few men ever worshipped Freedom with such unquestioning faith as did the American Negro for two centuries. To him, so far as he thought and dreamed, slavery was indeed the sum of all villainies, the cause of all sorrow, the root of all prejudices; emancipation was the key to a promised land of sweeter beauty than ever before the eyes of wearied Israelites.
>
> In song and exhortation swelled one refrain - Liberty; in his tears and curses the God he implored had freedom in his right hand. At last it came - suddenly, fearfully, like a dream. With one wild carnival of blood and passion came the message in his own plaintive cadences:
>
> Shout, O'children!
> Shout, you're free!
> For God has bought your liberty!

FREEDOM FADES AWAY

But had the dawn of the morning of freedom really come?

Hardly!

While the Reconstruction Revolution was celebrated by the enactment of the famous War Amendments - the Thirteenth of 1865 abolished slavery; the Fourteenth of 1868 made the Negro a citizen; and the Fifteenth of 1870 gave him the right to vote - reenforced by the Civil Rights Act of 1870, it is a notorious fact that neither of these measures was ever fully enforced.

Why? There were four major reasons:

One, the reconciliation of the old ruling slave oligarchy with former liberals, with some prominent abolitionists. Even such former anti-slavery publications as the Atlantic Monthly, Harpers, The Nation, North American Review, resorted to the use of such myths as the hereditary racial inferiority of the Negro.

Two, the desertion of the Republican Party. This was evident when following the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876, President Hayes, Republican, who won as a result of highly questionable political maneuvering, withdrew the Federal Army forces from the South, leaving the Black Freedmen to the tender mercies of their former slave masters. Of course, this deal was mutually beneficial to the North and South. The former needed control of the federal government's power of taxation to protect and advance rising industrial capitalism, and the latter, completely bankrupt, needed cheap labor to rebuild the cotton plantations.

Three, the rise of the Confederate Counterrevolution following the end of the war. Mounted by the terror and violence of the Ku Klux Klan and the U. S. Supreme Court decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896, which propounded the doctrine of separate but equal, the legal foundation for the American system of racial segregation and discrimination, the Confederate forces drove the Freedmen from the ballot box, and with the poll tax, white primaries, grandfather clauses and literacy tests, banished the Negro from the political and civic life of the South.

Fourth, labor and farmers revolts. And, finally, the Freedmen were soon forgotten by the American public. This was due largely to violent nation-wide strikes and farmers' rebellion against the Gilded Age which denied the workers decent wages and the right of union organization, and the farmers profitable prices for their products. This upheaval resulted in pushing the Black Freedmen from the center of the stage of American history.

Negroes emerged from this dreadful crisis landless, voteless, moneyless and friendless, if not hopeless.

Though the march of the Black Americans to Canaan, the Promised Land, was stopped dead in its tracks by the fires of hate and terror, there was no turning back. The seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution had been planted by the slave insurrections of Cato in 1739, Gabriel in 1800, Vesey in 1822 and Nat Turner in 1831. Black slaves were striking hard to break the system of slavery itself through violent group insurrections, flight from the land of Pharaoh and suicide. Thus, Hugh McCall, one of the earliest historians of Georgia, remarked that. "the Negro could not be supposed to be content in slavery, and would grasp with avidity at the most desperate attempts which promised freedom."

NAACP

In 1910, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, together with a few dedicated white liberals, formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A long chain of battles have been fought, won and lost for Negro freedom.

In 1954, the U. S. Supreme Court handed down the momentous Brown decision for the desegregation and integration of public schools, as a result of legal action of the NAACP.

In 1955 there was the famous boycott of jim crow buses in Montgomery, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, followed by a rash of demonstrations in the form of lunch counter sit-ins, freedom rides, the fight against segregation and police-dog brutality in Birmingham, Alabama, the Big March on Washington of August 28, 1963, the Montgomery-Selma, Alabama march, school boycotts, marches for jobs, marches against ghettos, marches to strengthen the war on poverty, and highlighted by the racial explosions in Watts, Harlem, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and many other areas.

RESULT

With the vigorous leadership by President Johnson of civil rights legislation in the Congress, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were enacted into law. This was a major victory of the Civil Rights Revolution. Because it enabled Negroes to enjoy public accommodations in southern cities hitherto denied them, and made possible widespread and extensive voter registration in the South, the first impression in many areas was that the battles of the Negro freedom movement were over.

While Federal civil rights legislation had established the illegality of discrimination and segregation based upon race or color,in public schools, industry and labor unions, the big problem, yet unsolved, was implementation.

Because of the obvious progress of the Civil Rights Revolution, Negroes today, as they did at the end of the Civil War, paradoxically face an uncertain future. When emancipation was proclaimed in 1863, Negroes were no longer slaves but they were not yet citizens legally. So, today, Negroes are legally free American citizens but they cannot yet completely act like it because the legality is still questioned by the diehard segregationists.

But while the implementation of existing civil rights legislation, and the enactment of a Federal Fair Housing Act, are not less difficult than enactment of primary civil rights legislation, the basic fulfillment of the mission of the Civil Rights Revolution has been achieved.

NEW PERIOD

Thus, Negroes face the challenge of effecting a transition from, or a transformation of, the Civil Rights Revolution into a Social Revolution, which alone can solve the problem of joblessness and poverty, slum housing, ignorance and disease for the black and white working poor. This will require a struggle to achieve profound social change in the institutions of our American society, involving a more equitable redistribution of the abundant wealth of our affluent economic order, the National Gross Product of which today is some seven hundred billion, five hundred million dollars and, in the Seventies, will no doubt reach a trillion dollars. Thus, the Social Revolution requires a base for an effective powerful thrust toward economic and social objectives wider than the Civil Rights Revolution of black Americans can provide.

NEW APPROACHES

Since the Social Revolution envisions new and different goals from the conventional civil rights objectives, new tactics and strategies, or tools with which to build and advance social change, must be developed. This will be the task of the workers in the trade unions, the black and white unemployed, brutally exploited migrant farm laborers, and the enlightened and liberally oriented members of the religious faiths - Jews, Catholics and Protestants - and the intellectual, liberal and student forces, committed to a free, democratic society.

BLACK POWER

Apostles of Black Power (a more dramatic term for Black Nationalism or Black Garveyism) and White Power (another term for Nazism and apartheid), magnificent delusions of racial grandeur, are committed to a reversal of an irreversible world view and trend of science and technology toward integration and cooperation. It represents a futile hope for and belief in racial salvation through isolation and separation, a policy long advocated by segregationists in the United States and propagandists of apartheid in South Africa.

But this is not to suggest that Negroes should not work to develop power. They need to build political power through the ballot; economic power through labor unions and all forms of business enterprises, cooperatives and credit unions; and social power through community organizations. Practically all ethnic groups - Jews, Irish and Italians - and trade union workers have proceeded along this path. But the doctrine of black power or white power has overtones of racism which tends to propel the poor of ethnic groups into confrontation of violent conflict instead of mutual cooperation for social progress.

But while I reject the implications of black power, its advocates must be free to be heard in a free society. The right to be wrong is as sacred as the right to be right. Any ideology or schism should be permitted to stand or fall in the free market of discussion. However, black or white racism, or anti-Semitism, is a menace to a free community and a free world and it must be opposed.

SCHOOLS

While Negro youth can secure inspiration and motivation from the identification with the glorious ancient aboriginal African cultural endowment and heritage, the deification of a race tends to become antisocial and eventuates into racial extremism such as white supremacy, Nazism, anti-Semitism and black nationalism, which can become a danger to freedom, democracy, racial and social justice.

Fearful and disturbing adumbrations of a racist doctrine are already manifesting themselves in the increasing well-meaning, but misguided, demand of some Negroes in some communities for Boards of Education to surrender to them the right to determine curricula and select principals and teachers of public schools, on the grounds that Negro youth need the inspiration of Negro educational leadership. Though Negro youth can benefit from Negro symbols of educational progress, it is unwise and a distinct disservice to Negro youth for their parents to possess such power since most of the Negro parents, like white parents, lack the professional education to equip them to evaluate, for instance, a prospective teacher of mathematics or physics, chemistry or languages.

Some agitation has developed against white teachers, per se, in Negro communities, and even the ugly head of anti-Semitism has been raised. No teacher should be assigned to teach in any public school on a basis of race. While, no doubt, this has been done, such a policy must not be supported.

PEACE PROBLEM

Relative to the Civil Rights Revolution and the Peace Movement, permit me to observe that I, too, am committed to the Peace Movement although I am not a pacifist. I opposed the first World War because of its hypocritical slogan of "making the world safe for democracy" while Negroes were being mobbed and lynched and denied the right to vote though they were fighting and dying overseas. However, I supported the second World War because of Nazi racism and anti-Semitism. I also supported the Korean War which was waged to arrest the expansion of communism.

Of course I should like to see the United States stop the bombing of North Vietnam and avoid further escalation of the war, and effect a disengagement of its military forces' involvement in Southeast Asia at the earliest possible date which, I feel certain, President Johnson also wants and seeks to achieve. But I would not advocate the unilateral withdrawal of the United States Army. nor do I place all the blame for the continuance of the war on the United States for there is no doubt about the repeated efforts of the President to take the war from the battlefield to the conference table.

I am not for, or against, the war in Vietnam since taking sides would only serve to help plunge the Civil Rights Freedom Movement into the raging war-peace controversy. But this is not to suggest that Negro boys should refuse to answer the call of their country to serve along with white boys in this war. And, of course, I am unequivocally opposed to the burning of draft cards, and especially do I condemn burning the flag of our country.

In relation to the civil rights and peace movements, I consider it tactically unsound for a civil rights leader, or a leader of the peace movement, to attempt to assume a position of leadership in both movements at the same time.

Either the civil rights Alabama-Mississippi front or the Vietnam war front will receive primary consideration. Up to this day, the Vietnam war has received national focus and has practically pushed the Civil Rights Revolution off the center of the stage of contemporary American history. The white liberals and students, while no doubt are still for civil rights, are marching for peace in Vietnam, not for civil rights in Alabama and Mississippi where Negroes are still exposed to the propaganda fire power of the segregationists and civil rights workers are still victims of violence and murder.

CONSULTATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS

Because of the crisis in the Civil Rights Revolution which has been deepened by the peace movement against the war in Vietnam, civil rights leaders need to come together oftener for consultation on tactics and strategy, and even goals. There is practically no consultation among civil rights leaders during this crisis. Since tactics and strategy are the tools with which movements are advanced, they must be developed and evaluated in response to existing social and racial realities, with relevance to time and locale, from time to time.

I raise this question because probably the most costly of political casualties to the Civil Rights Revolution was the defeat of Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, a liberal of towering moral and political strength in the Senate. Consultation by civil rights leaders on tactics and strategy, involving the marches in Chicago and Cicero during his campaign for his political life, might have saved this champion of racial and social justice.

Now, one of the most vital and significant Presidential elections ever held in the United States is coming in 1968.

Civil rights leaders face an urgent call, implicit in the rapidly shifting political spectrum, to foregather in a closed conference for consultation on political trends toward the approaching Presidential election. Even without proclaiming collectively any choice of a candidate, they should ponder the future fortunes of the Civil Rights Revolution and the fate of the black and white working poor which will inevitably be involved in the question: Which American shall direct the political destinies of our nation from the White House?

If Negro Americans lose this election it may result in their losing not only the Civil Rights Freedom Movement but they may be alienated from the center of Federal power for a generation; a situation comparable to the collapse of the Reconstruction Movement following the withdrawal of the Federal Army from the South by President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877.

Hence, the time is rapidly approaching when civil rights leaders will be expected to tell the Negro masses where they stand.

To the graduates and students, may God give you the courage, strength and faith to serve, with your knowledge and understanding, as a mighty fortress of moral commitment and dedication to the sacredness of the dignity of the human personality, democracy and freedom, racial, social justice and peace for all men everywhere, and may you never falter.

Let me close with a priceless gem from the great American poet, the lamented Langston Hughes:

> Hold fast to dreams
> For if dreams die
> Life is a broken winged bird
> That cannot fly.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT LABOR DAY OBSERVANCE IN THE
CIVIC ARENA, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA
SEPTEMBER 4, 1967

LABOR DAY AND RACIAL JUSTICE

This Labor Day is marked by a world in crisis, change and revolution.

Pope John XXIII's Encyclical, Pacem in Terris (Peace on Earth) reflects the vision of a world order - and a challenge to modern man with the fearful weaponry of the atom bomb.

A major threat to the peace of the world, as a result of the failure of the leaders of the great nation-states to resolve by negotiation the existing disputes among the great powers, is the lack of effective action to narrow the widening gap between the white affluent nations and the disadvantaged, increasingly discontented two-thirds peoples of color of mankind that live in poverty and degradation.

The need for effective action to relax the growing tensions and to arrest the present trend, which allows the rich nations to become richer and the poor nations to become poorer, is overwhelmingly great and imperative. Without achieving this objective the conflict between the house of "haves" and the house of "have-nots" will be as great a threat to the peace of the world as nuclear weapons of war.

It is vital that Western man realize that there can be no universal consensus to achieve a warless world so long as two-thirds of the world's rapidly growing population is fighting a losing battle for survival. Hungry, sick, impoverished, ignorant and oppressed people can do no more than struggle against the cruel present, and think of the future world only in terms of their own hunger of body and hunger of soul.

Cognizant of this deepening and dangerous human condition of poverty and want, Pope Paul VI issued his encyclical, Progresso Populorum (Development of Peoples). This is a timely pronouncement concerning the need for development of peoples of poverty in the world.

In Geneva, a clear call to mankind, concerning the growing risk of a third World War to the peace of the world, has been vigorously registered by the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Secretary of the World Council of Churches.

PROBLEM OF POVERTY AT HOME

It is well to take note of the fact, on the occasion of this celebration of Labor Day, that just as the plight and plague of poverty of some two billion peoples of color in the world constitute a grave peril to the peace of the world, so poverty of millions of people of color in the United States constitutes a danger to peace in our land where the poor grow poorer and the rich grow richer.

While the percentage of black Americans in the poverty line in practically all of the big cities is bewildering and frighteningly high, especially among teenagers, ranging in some areas around 40 to 50 percent, there are millions of white Americans in the poverty line - with the big difference that most impoverished white Americans, chiefly because of color, have the opportunity to escape into greener economic pastures while Negroes, because of color, find it more difficult and often impossible to escape.

Thus, while there are Negroes who have acquired education and training and have broken out of the poverty line, the broad masses of black Americans, because of a lack of opportunity for training and education, have been sentenced to a perpetual bare, hopeless existence for themselves and families in the most debasing, degrading and dismal areas in America, the black ghettos, breeding grounds of crime, narcotics addiction, rats and roach-infested slum housing, and high prices for poor quality goods.

NOT JOBS ALONE

But Negroes don't want jobs only. They want jobs with a living wage and decent working conditions with opportunity for advancement, with acquired training and skills, to higher wage levels to provide higher purchasing power with which to secure a more abundant life.

ROLE OF LABOR UNIONS

However, good jobs mean little without the means to protect them and make them better and secure. Hence, more than a million and a half Negro workers are members of unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Although the house of labor is not yet fully free from racial discrimination, only a few segregated local unions are left. The Negro worker is moving steadily ahead in apprenticeship training for membership in the highly skilled trades, increasingly with the cooperation of a sound, forward-looking leadership, and his militant refusal to take no for an answer.

CIVIL RIGHTS-LABOR ALLIANCE

One of the great constructive developments of the early 1960's was the alliance of the Civil Rights Freedom Movement and the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, without which it is highly doubtful that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 could have passed in the Congress. And it is also highly doubtful that without the civil rights-labor alliance the fight of the AFL-CIO against anti-labor Right-to-Work laws in Oklahoma and Ohio could have succeeded.

If there is any single basic cause of the increasing value of the Negro market it is the wage increase of millions of Negro workers, made possible through the struggle and power of the organized labor movement. This fact renders a civil rights-labor alliance basically meaningful for it reflects the stake labor and civil rights have in such an alliance. Thus, the basis of the new Coalition, to fight for more and better jobs, integrated housing and education in the cities, is properly the civil rights-labor alliance.

While Negroes have the task of fighting to eliminate every vestige of racial bias in labor unions, as well as in business, schools, and even churches, Negroes and labor must have the good sense never to permit anything to break up the mutually advantageous labor-civil rights alliance even though they may not be in one hundred percent agreement on tactics and strategy at all times.

The reason for this alliance is simple and clear. It is that ninety-nine and nine-tenths percent of Negroes are workers who must work and fight for a living. Therefore, they belong in unions, not black unions competing with white workers to the disadvantage of black and white workers and to the advantage of business, but in unions of white and black workers devoted to fight for all workers regardless of race, religion or national origin.

RIOTS IN THE STREETS

Therefore, the solution of the basic problem of Black Americans is not riots in the streets, looting, vandalizing and pillaging stores, violence and lawlessness, throwing Molotov cocktails into buildings setting them afire, resulting in burning down their own communities, with Negroes being the chief victims of gunfire. While stores can be restored, the lives of dead Negroes, some teenagers, are gone forever.

But it must not be forgotten that Negroes are not the only Americans who have staged riots in the streets. The Founding Fathers staged riots in the streets of Boston against King George III of Great Britain and seized the tea of British merchants and threw it into Boston Harbor. The workers staged riots in the streets for the right to form unions and against starvation wages. White women rioted for women's suffrage. Farmers rioted and burned up their farms to create a scarcity of products to increase prices. However, this is in historical explanation, not justification of riots.

In a free, democratic society, with the right of free speech, free assembly and the right to vote, there is no logical reason for riots to achieve basic and desirable social change.

The fact is there can be no racial and social justice and freedom except within the framework of civil order, and there can by no civil order except upon a basis of racial and social justice.

Permit me to emphasize the fact that the behavioral patterns young Negro teenager display in riots in the streets are products of the ghettoization of their lives from birth, which has created in them a deep sense of frustration, alienation, resignation, desperation and hopelessness. Some of them are drug addicts, too weak to kick the habit. They are sick and need medical and psychiatric therapy. They are not hardened, evil criminals though their deeds are criminal and must be curbed in the interest of themselves, innocent citizens, and society as a whole. They can be physically and psychologically restored to normality and a useful life if firmly apprehended.

Moreover, these teenagers and adults,who engage in looting stores in riots, represent a minuscule percent of Negro youth, and Negroes generally, but they constitute a menace to law-abiding citizens. Their breed is belched up in every transition and convulsion of social change. The adults who loot are not Negro workers. They are the lumpen proletariat who, in every revolution, prey upon property and persons and hence must be made to pay the price for their crimes.

Let no one, black or white, be deceived into believing that violence can win freedom and justice. Violence only begets violence. No one wins. Everybody loses, but especially the Negro, as shown in the recent riots. When leaders, black or white, counsel violence, they are like children playing with matches in an attic filled with dynamite in a house full of people. It is unthinkable; it cannot be tolerated. It is a matter of experience that anyone can start a fire he cannot stop.

And, while criticisms of President Johnson's policies may be justified, civil rights leaders in particular, and Negroes in general, should not forget that President Johnson has done more to advance the cause of civil rights than any president in the history of this country, including Abraham Lincoln.

The paradoxical age we live in is well illustrated by the opening of Dicken's "Tale of Two Cities":

> "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times," Dickens wrote, "it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness; it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity; it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness; it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair."

Dickens, of course, was writing about the time of the French Revolution but his dreams are not inapplicable to this era of the Civil Rights Revolution in America.

On the one hand, Black Americans are earning more and spending more today than ever before in their history. In this respect they are living in "the best of times. . . . the season of light . . .the spring of hope."

On the other hand, there is a wide gap between the annual income of Negro and white families, unemployment among Negroes is twice as high as among white Americans, and they are sentenced to segregated housing and segregated schools. Thus, for the Negro it is "the worst of times. . . the age of foolishness. . . the epoch of incredulity. . . the season of darkness. . . the winter of despair."

THREATS

Finally, to my Negro brothers whom I love, with all your faults along with your virtues, let us stop this talk of burning down cities and urging Negroes to buy guns - which is a species of senseless suicidal folly and a pathetic exhibition of a sickness of infantile leftism and extremism.

Moreover, the cry of Black Power by some well-meaning but misguided leaders cannot achieve real power - economic, social and political - which every Negro naturally ought to fight for. Black Power is a giant leap backward to the degradation of segregation which, for a hundred years, has been and still is the source and cause of Black Americans being at the bottom of the economic, political and social totem pole. It is just a weak edition of Garveyism, which was bankrupt, repudiated and rejected in the 1920's.

Let us not retreat to segregation or racial isolation in the search of the road to economic, social and political salvation, for segregation is an evil and vicious thing originated and devised by the Ku Klux Klan and the worst elements of anti-Negro forces in America.

I reject the concept of Black Power because of its obvious overtones of racism. Black racism is just as ugly, indefensible and unsound as white racism. White racism begets black racism and black racism begets white racism. Black and white racism tends toward the polarization, with incentives for hostile confrontation, instead of the cooperation of the races - a major imperative for the achievement of social peace and progress.

The inspiration and motivation of Negro youth to strive for the realization of their highest intellectual potential, for the service and advancement of Black Americans, requires a profound sense of historical identification with the glorious and ancient African cultural heritage, tradition and endowment which will give them a belief in their role of creative somebodyness in the society of man.

This concept stems from the reality of the challenge of Agrica in her struggle for her place in the sun of history with all the races of mankind, not from racial hate and conflict reflected in the slogan of Black Power.

On this Labor Day may all workers, black and white, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, join hands as members of one common human family of which God is Father and Creator, to banish fear and human hate from this land.

If all men are members of one common human family then all men are brothers; if all men are brothers then all men are equal; if all men are equal then all men are entitled to equal treatment; if all men are entitled to equal treatment, racial discrimination and segregation are morally wrong and should be abolished, and respect for the dignity of the personality of every human being recognized as his sacred right, a right which is God-given and not man-made.

On this Labor Day may all workers and citizens committed to the fight and struggle for civil rights and labor's rights understand that these rights can only be achieved and preserved within the framework of a free,democratic society. They cannot be won, or exist, in a totalitarian society, whether Fascist or Communist of the Peking or Soviet Union vintage.

On this Labor Day let white and black workers resolve that as they have labored, fought, bled and died to make this country free, strong and great, we shall continue to labor, fight and, if necessary, die to keep this country free, strong, just and great.

Remarks by A. Philip Randolph
at the Eugene V. Debs Award Dinner
Terre Haute, Indiana
September 23, 1967

My fellow workers, comrades and friends, I feel deeply humble and highly appreciative of the fact that I have been chosen to receive the Debs Award

Sometimes referred to as the "lionhearted agitator", Debs was a great prophet and crusader of the poor, the oppressed and downtrodden workers.

With a passionate dedication to peace, social and racial justice, and profound orientations to christian, democratic socialism, as against materialist Marxism, Debs went up and down the country calling upon the masses to awake, organize and fight for freedom, peace and plenty.

Realizing that the workers on the picket line, with their leaders at the collective bargaining table, needed labor's power at the ballot box, in the 1912 Presidential election he, as the standard-bearer of the Socialist Party polled 901,839, or nearly a million votes.

But he was ever conscious of the fact that the ballot alone could not emancipate the working class and so he organized railroad workers in probably the first industrial union and led the great Pullman Strike of 1894. Though the strike was lost, he fired the hearts of American workers with a fighting faith in freedom and fortitude.

As a great champion for peace he opposed the first World War and was sent to the Atlanta penitentiary, and pardoned by

President Woodrow Wilson.

Debs came upon the stage of American history when labor and capital were locked in ceaseless warfare in such struggles as the Haymarket Massacre, the Populist movement, and the farmers' uprisings. Mark Twain called this period the Gilded Age, or the time of the industrial tycoons.

Let us here today drink of the refreshing waters of the democratic spirit of Debs, a colossal and dynamic spirit of the workers of America and the world. Debs reflected in his big heart the social conscience of idealism and humanism which envisaged freedom from want and freedom from hate - racial, religious or national. If Debs were here today he would be marching for civil rights.

I had the pleasure and inspiration of having known the great Debs. He campaigned in Harlem to elect my lovely wife to the New York legislature on the Socialist ticket.

Debs was an holy warrior for and guardian of the life and labor of the forgotten man - the humble laborer.

Being a gentle, lovable, gracious and kindly man, he won the hearts of Negro prisoners in the Atlanta prison with him. His lanky, Lincolnesque, bony frame, his meekness and humility gave him the image of an ancient prophet wholly without guile or a sense of power or pride in the brilliance of his distinguished life and labor. He was poor in the things of this world, but rich in the things of the spirit.

May his memory ever live in the book and memory of the numberless, oppressed toilers of the earth and inspire us to march forward to a world of social and racial justice, freedom and equality, peace and plenty; a warless world without racism, black or white, brown or yellow, in which all men are recognized as members of one common human family with respect for the dignity and worth of their personality.

Such was the dream of Eugene Debs.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT 23RD ANNUAL DINNER OF THE
LIBERAL PARTY OF NEW YORK STATE
OCTOBER 11, 1967

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL ORDER

The Civil Rights Revolution which broke upon the country in the early 1960's is probably the greatest challenge and threat to the United States since the Civil War.

It made its advent following the celebrated United States Supreme Court decision for the desegregation and integration of public schools in 1954, with demonstrations in the form of sit-ins, freedom rides, boycotts, picketing, and marches in the streets.

The question is being asked: Why the Black Revolt?

The answer is that the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed. While the surrender of General Lee to General Grant at Appomattox meant that the Negro was no longer a slave, it did not mean that he was wholly free.

Hard upon the dawning of Emancipation the angry winds of racial hate of the Confederate Counterrevolution swept across the land, resulting in the nullification of the Thirteenth Amentment of 1865, the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868, the Fifteenth Amendment of 1870, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875.

By 1877, Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican standard-bearer, who had won the Presidential election by a deal, withdrew the Federal Army - sole protection of the Freedmen - from the South.

This event marked the collapse of the Reconstruction Revolution, under which former slaves had been elected to the legislatures of every state in the South; twenty went to the Congress and two sat in the Senate.

In 1896 the United States Supreme Court handed down the famous decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson in which the doctrine of separate but equal, the legal basis of racial segregation and discrimination in America, sounded the death knell of the citizenship of the Black American.

In 1910 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, with the help of a number of white liberals. Such was the beginning of the Civil Rights Revolution which sought to give meaning and reality to the War Amendments and wipe out the infamous doctrine of separate but equal.

Now, here we are at a new phase of the revolution, at the crossroads in American history.

America is shocked, startled and stunned by the wave of riots, disorders and violence in the streets. There are Watts, Newark and Detroit. And there may be others.

Revolutions don't begin overnight and they don't end overnight.

What is to be done?

Number one, blaming Negroes for the riots will not stop them. Moreover, white America must be made to understand that Negroes cannot be held responsible for causing the riots. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, the irresponsible extremist militants, cannot cause riots. But they can start a riot. Any person can start a riot by throwing a Molotov cocktail into a store window, setting buildings afire.

The hard fact is, America is responsible for causing riots, disorders and violence in the streets because America has created the black ghettos of poverty, joblessness, hopelessness and despair. These ghettos are kegs of racial-social dynamite which will explode when anyone strikes a match and applies it to them. These kegs of racial dynamite would not explode in the streets unless they were placed in the streets by someone. Negroes didn't put them there, but conflicts with Negroes and the police can cause them to blow up.

And when Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, or irresponsible agitators such as members of the Ku Klux Klan, go around telling people to get themselves guns, they are like children playing with matches in an attic filled with kegs of dynamite in a house full of people.

What is the remedy?

Legislation against riots is not the answer. Seeking scapegoats through Congressional investigations is not the answer. It is comparable to a doctor prescribing aspirin for cancer. Riots in the streets are effects of a cause, with roots reaching back to three hundred years of slavery, a hundred years of racial segregation and existing poverty, slum housing, segregated, low quality education, and racial bias.

Verily, the problem can only be solved with a massive program in the form of millions of jobs annually, not only for the black poor but for the white poor also for there are thirty million Americans living in poverty, all of whom are not Negroes. Black poverty cannot and will not be solved until white poverty is also solved.

And civil order cannot exist without racial and social justice and racial and social justice can only exist within the framework of civil order.

History shows that violent oppression provokes violent resentment, resistance and rejection, regardless of race, color, religion or nationality.

The founding fathers started riots and disorders in the streets when they seized the tea of British merchants and threw it into the Boston Harbor. But the British caused the riots by a policy of taxation without representation. The workers rioted in the streets in the 1870's, 80's and 90's for the right to form labor unions and against starvation wages. Women rioted in the streets for the right of suffrage. Farmers burned up their own farms to create a scarcity of produce to increase prices.

But let me add that I cite this history by way of explanation not justification. I am opposed to riots, disorders and violence in the streets by Negroes or anyone else. Violence begets violence; it solves no problems.

Black and white workers, Catholics, Jews and Protestants, the liberal and university communities must unite into a massive coalition of conscience to create the force and power to back and support President Johnson's war on poverty, a program which is sound, but the country needs more of it.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute proposes a Freedom Budget For All Americans built upon the principle of full employment, maximum production and maximum purchasing power to create maximum aggregate demand for goods and services as the key to the solution of joblessness.

Full employment would not rest upon the so-called make-work, or the leaves-raking type of jobs but upon meeting the unmet needs of the country, such as the building of low-income and middle-income housing, hospitals, libraries, schools, playgrounds and children day-care centers.

Of course, a minimum wage level for both urban and migrant farm workers is a sine qua non, with the federal, state and city governments recognized as employers of last resort.

The Freedom Budget holds that with the sound rate of economic growth and the continued increase in the National Gross Product, as a result of American technology, there is no economic justification for the existence of poverty in the United States.

And there is no place in a democratic society for black racism or white racism or anti-Semitism, the only society within which civil rights, labor's rights and civil liberties can exist.

Let us applaud the spirit of brotherhood of the black and white citizens of Cleveland for the victory of Carl B. Stokes in the Democratic primary for nomination for Mayor. And we must applaud him for appealing to black and white citizens for support since, if elected, he must represent all of the citizens of Cleveland.

May God give us the strength, faith, courage and will never to pander to the evil, vicious and anti-social and dangerous spirit of black racism, or white racism or anti-Semitism, but that we shall ever fight to achieve and maintain freedom, justice and equality, peace and plenty for all.

Address by A. Philip Randolph
at Labor Human Rights Award Dinner
Honoring George Meany
Americana Hotel, New York City
November 9, 1967

Mr. President, I salute you as a great president of a great nation. You will go down in history as the President of civil rights; the President of advancing education and the President of the War on Poverty. I salute you as the President who has done more to advance the cause of civil rights than any President in the history of the United States, including Abraham Lincoln.

Let me add that the late President John F. Kennedy must also be remembered for his initiation of the policy of employing the Federal Government to forward the cause of civil rights, and for this Negroes should and will ever remember him with gratitude and affection.

My good friend and brother, George Meany, distinguished President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, I hail and salute you as a great labor statesman, a great American and a great human being.

Mrs. George Meany, distinguished members of the dais, and members and friends of the Jewish Labor Committee, I am honored for this privilege to share in the fellowship spirit of the occasion.

These are times of racial and social crisis, conflict and challenge, chaos, confusion, frustration and despair throughout the nation.

There is an escalation of racial riots and violence in the streets on the one hand, and violent peace demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, on the other. In Watts, California; Newark, New Jersey; and Detroit, Michigan violent racial eruptions took on the fearful patterns of full-fledged race wars, involving the loss of life and destruction of property of both Negro and white citizens. These explosions pose a threat to the peace and order of the cities, states and the nation.

What is the cause back of this apparent epidemic of devastating racial uprisings of past summers and probably future summers?

Just a word about what is not the cause. First, don't blame the H. Rap Browns and Stokely Carmichaels as being responsible for causing the riots. While their demagogic, inflammatory propaganda against white people may tend to condition the minds of some teenagers, and unthinking, unemployed, Negro adults without hope, to throw Molotov cocktails, bottles and bricks into store windows, setting building afire, thereby triggering a riot and violence in the Negro community, this is but the occasion, not the cause of the riots.

The fact is, anybody can start riots and disorders in the streets by throwing bottles and bombs into store windows and buildings, resulting in their going up in flames. But the root causes of violence and riots in the streets run deeper into the social and economic conditions of the past, such as 300 years of slavery and 100 years of racial segregation and plantation serfdom; the continuing second-class citizenship status of Negro-Americans; the social decay and deterioration of the Negro communities, which suggests a sort of national conspiracy against the black poor and, for that matter, the white poor also.

KEGS OF RACIAL DYNAMITE

The irresponsible Negro extremist militants, like the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, strike the matches and fire the fuses of the kegs of racial dynamite in the black ghettos in practically all urban and rural areas of the country that blow up into furious, destructive, raging riots.

What are the kegs of racial dynamite? The kegs of dynamite consist in widespread joblessness, hopelessness, despair, anguish, drug addition, slums and broken homes.

The black racial extremists didn't put the kegs of racial dynamite in the streets of the ghettos. America put them there, because America created and maintained the ghettos, and America must remove them.

In fact, the Ku Klux Klan, which arose in 1865 at the end of the Civil War, with gun and torch drowned and destroyed the Black Reconstruction Revolution and the 13th and 14th Amendments to the Constitution, the hope of the Negro freedmen, in blood and death. The South has sown the winds of racial hate and oppression for a quarter of a thousand years, winked and connived at by all America, and now America is reaping the whirlwinds of racial retribution.

It is a law of social dynamics that violent oppression, repression and persecution of a people inevitably, in time, begets and provokes a violent response of angry resentment, resistance and revolt by the oppressed, regardless of race or color, religion or national origin. Action begets reaction in contrary direction.

I present this analysis by way of explanation, not justification. I am opposed to riots and violence in the streets. Violence only begets violence. It cures no social ills, but only aggravates and makes them worse. No one is justified in endangering the life and property of innocent men and women by violence however just their cause may be.

But our American society must be held responsible for social violence by any of its social segments which springs from social wrongs which it has not sought to correct with racial and social justice.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

The remedy is not Black Power.

Black Power is neither a program or a philosophy; it is, like White Supremacy, merely a slogan. Black Power is not the wave of the future. It is no promise of a golden era of progress and prosperity for black Americans. Black Power is rather a giant step backward to the degradation of segregation, the source and cause of the fact that Negroes are at the bottom of the economic, political and social totem pole in America today.

Negroes have been fighting for a hundred years to destroy racial segregation which stems from the concept of the hereditary racial inferiority of black people in America, Africa, the West Indies and Latin America.

Black Power, like White Supremacy, has overtones of racism and racism, black or white or anti-Semitic, is ugly, indefensible, reprehensible, vicious, evil and dangerous to those who practice it. History shows that whoever bear the guilt of practicing black racism or white racism, or anti-Semitism, eventually become their own gravediggers.

SEARCH FOR SCAPEGOAT

Now, because of the Congressional search for a scapegoat, in the interest of exacting legislation to ban riots in the streets, I think I should add that it is only fair to observe that Negroes didn't start riots in the streets in American history.

The Founding Fathers staged riots in the streets of Boston as a result of seizing the tea of British merchants and throwing it into the sea. While the riots were touched off by throwing the tea in the sea, confiscating the tea was not the cause of the riots. The cause was British taxation without representation of the American colonies. Such was the cause of the American Revolution of 1776. King George III levied many acts against the colonies to penalize them, but they never stopped the Revolution.

Nor is Congressional legislation the answer to Negro riots in the streets.

Anti-labor union forces enacted legislation against strikes of the workers. But it never stopped the workers from waging strikes when they felt they were victims of industrial, economic and social injustice. The answer goes deeper than anti-labor laws or anti-riot laws.

Basically, there can be no racial peace and order without racial justice, nor can racial justice obtain except within the framework of civil order.

Black Power, like the American Communist Party, pledges its power to build a black nation. Of course, American Negroes are not about to reject the U. S. Supreme Court decision on desegregation and integration of public schools of 1954 to return to the Supreme Court decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson, of 1896, which propounded the infamous doctrine of separate but equal - the decision which gave legality to racial discrimination and segregation in this nation.

NEGROES AND POWER

But this is not to suggest that Negroes should not build power. They should develop power; namely, economic power, political power and social power. Other American minority groups have shown the wisdom of building power.

However, economic power does not arise by the cry of Black Power. It stems from (1) the ownership of property, (2) the development of business enterprises, not in Harlem only but also on Broadway, (3) the formation of cooperatives (consumers' and producers') and credit unions, and (4) the organization of black workers with white workers into bona-fide labor unions (not black unions, nor white unions) to fight for increased wages and improved working conditions. This, of course, assumes the elimination of racial bias in labor unions, since when workers divide upon a basis of race, color, religion or national origin they weaken their collective bargaining power, which plays into the hands of the bosses.

Since the large majority of Negroes work for wages, with which they pruchase food, clothing, housing and education, labor unions are indispensable to their economic progress and security. It is a matter of common knowledge that the economic improvement of the Negro in America today is directly due to the increasing membership of Negro workers in labor unions, now ranging around a million and a half in the AFL-CIO, whose increased wage has steadily narrowed the gap between the average annual median income of black and white families, especially since the industrial union revolution in the Thirties and as a result of the second World War of the Forties. Even the progress and basis of Negro business and the professional classes rest upon the wages of the black worker.

Thus, when Black Power leaders unwittingly cross union picket lines during a strike, they are undermining the very foundation of the bread and butter, education and cultural future of black Americans. Moreover, organized labor has sponsored and fought for all of the progressive social and civil rights legislation in the Congress and state legislatures, such as social security, minimum wages, war on poverty measures, rent supplements, anti-rat legislation, rent control and educational and health bills.

Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, was right when he stated that the trade union movement is the most successful anti-poverty organization in our nation's history.

However, the labor movement has not abolished poverty, but it has lifted more American people out of poverty than any other agency directed to that end. And it is also correct to observe that it has lifted more Negroes out of poverty than any other institution in America.

I do not mean to say that the labor movement could not have done more for Negroes. I certainly cannot dispute the charges that, for many years, some unions discriminated against Negroes. But it is proper to note that discrimination now persists only in a minority segment of the labor movement. Moreover, it is pertinent to point out that past history tended to obscure an equally important truth - that despite discriminatory practices, the labor movement was, and remains, the single most integrated institution in our American society.

Negroes need to build political power to elect able and responsible Negroes to office in the city, state and federal government - North, South, East and West - as well as to support their white political friends and punish their enemies.

In the last five years Negroes have increased their political power in the South by a million votes, despite efforts to block black voter registration by the murder of thirteen civil rights workers, two of whom were young Andy Goodman and Michael Schwerner, between 1962 and 1967. The Negroes' political voting potential in the nation constitutes one of their most promising and effective instrumentalities in the struggle for full first-class citizenship.

OUR CRISIS TODAY

What is the American crisis today?

(1) It consists in festering, decaying, deteriorating, esplosive black ghettos, plagued by the sickness of the escalation of anti-whiteism, joblessness, hopelessness, frustration and despair, marked by a frightening growth in the belief in the cult of violence as the solution of the American racial dilemma

(2) Breakdown of Negro-white dialogue

(3) Intensification of the ideological split of the civil rights movement

(4) Abandonment of resort to orderly dissent to riotous rebellion

(5) Growth of the white backlash - election of Stokes and Hatcher as Mayors of Cleveland and Gary may indicate a decline of the white backlash

(6) Loss of vitality of American liberalism

(7) Failure of the integration of education

(8) The attacks upon the War on Poverty and the policies of the Great Society by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in Congress

(9) The growing menace of rightism in the country, under the leadership of John Birchism and Ku Klux Klanism

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

First, we need to rebuild a national coalition of conscience reflecting the will and strength of the alliance of labor and the civil rights movement, together with the liberal, church and business communities, to meet the challenge of our urban crisis.

Second, call upon the national coalition of conscience to work for the development of a rebirth of an uncompromising commitment to the preservation and strengthening of our free, democratic American society, within the framework of which alone can civil rights, labor's rights and civil liberties survive.

Third, especially must the labor, civil rights and liberal communities unite their forces to achieve meaningful and constructive social change. We must unite if we are to bring back into Congress in 1968 the fifty-seven liberal congressmen defeated in 1966, to fight for massive public works to create jobs and workers' training programs to enable the black and white poor to perform the new jobs that are already developing as a result of the revolution of science, technology and industrialism. We must save and revitalize the war on poverty and we must continue the struggle to insure participation of the poor in the formulation and execution of those programs designed for the benefit of the poor.

Fourth, labor and the civil rights movement must not fail realistically to evaluate the George Wallace Third Party movement in the coming Presidential election of 1968. This election is crucially significant to labor and the Negro. If Wallace should secure a hundred electoral votes, the election could be thrown into the House of Representatives where each state, however small in population, possesses one vote, which could result in the South determining who shall be the next President. This could be a political calamity to the Negro comparable to the political struggle in the Presidential election of 1876 between Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican and Samuel J. Tilden, Democrat. That election was thrown into the House; Hayes won, and in return for the victory given him by the Confederate members of the House, he withdrew the Federal Army from the South, resulting in the collapse of the Reconstruction Revolution and the consolidation of racial segregation and exploitation of the black freedmen on the old cotton plantations, the revival of the Black Code, and the institution of lynch law as a weapon of racial intimidation.

Thus, labor and the civil rights movement had better be sure that they reward their friends and punish their enemies.

On a basis of the record, President Lyndon B. Johnson can greatly be considered a friend of the cause of civil rights and he has not failed labor.

Thus, my good friend George, and fellow workers and citizens, I plan to call a conference of civil rights leaders to evaluate this political crisis which confronts us, in order that labor and the Negro, on the basis of a national coalition of conscience, may face the future prepared to do battle for freedom, racial and social justice and the cause of the black and white poor.

May all Americans realize that all men, Negro and Puerto Rican, Catholic, Jew and Protestant, are members of one common human family of which God is Father and Creator, and that every human being is entitled to respect for the dignity and worth of his personality, and that his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is God given and not man made. Thus, discrimination based upon race, color or religion is morally wrong and must be eliminated and cast into the ash can of history.

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What is the cause back of this apparent epidemic of devastating racial uprisings?

Just a word about what is not the cause. First, don't blame H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael as being responsible for causing the riots. While their demagogic, inflammatory propaganda against white people may tend to condition the minds of some teenagers and unthinking, unemployed, hopeless Negro adults to throw Molotov cocktails, bottles and bricks into store windows, setting buildings afire, thereby triggering a riot and violence in the Negro community, this is but the occasion, not the cause of the riots.

The fact is, anybody can start a riot and disorder in the streets by throwing bottles and bombs into store windows and buildings, resulting in them going up in flames. But the root causes of the violence and riots in the streets run deeper into the social and economic conditions of the past, such as 300 years of slavery and 100 years of racial segregation and plantation serfdom; the continuing second-class citizenship status of Negro-Americans; the social decay and deterioration of the Negro communities, which suggests a sort of national conspiracy against the black poor and, for that matter, the white poor also.

KEGS OF RACIAL DYNAMITE

The irresponsible Negro extremist militants, like the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, strike the matches and fire the fuses of the kegs of racial dynamite in the black ghettos in practically all urban and rural areas of the country that blow up into furious, destructive, raging riots.

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The black racial extremists didn't put the kegs of racial dynamite in the streets of the ghettos. America put them there, because America created and maintained the ghettos.

In fact, the Ku Klux Klan, which arose in 1865 at the end of the Civil War, with gun and torch drowned and destroyed the Black Reconstruction Revolution and the 13th and 14th Amendments to the Constitution, the hope of the Negro freedmen, in blood and death. The South has sown the winds of racial hate and oppression for a quarter of a thousand years, winked and connived at by all

America, and now America is reaping the whirlwinds of racial retribution.

It is a law of social dynamics that violent oppression, repression and persecution of a people inevitably, in time, begets and provokes a violent response of angry resentment, resistance and revolt by the oppressed, regardless of race or color, religion or national origin. Action begets reaction in contrary direction.

I present this analysis by way of explanation, not justification. I am opposed to riots and violence in the streets. Violence only begets violence. It cures no social ills, but only aggravates and makes them worse. No one is justified in endangering the life and property of innocent men and women by violence however just their cause may be.

But our American society must be held responsible for social violence by any of its social segments which springs from social wrongs which it has not sought to correct with racial and social justice.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

The remedy is not Black Power.

Black Power is neither a program or a philosophy; it is merely a slogan. Black Power is not the wave of the future. It is no promise of a golden era of progress and prosperity for black Americans. Black Power is rather a giant step backward to the degradation of segregation, the source and cause of the fact that Negroes are at the bottom of the economic, political and social totem pole in America today.

Negroes have been fighting for a hundred years to destroy racial segregation which stems from the concept of the hereditary racial inferiority of black people in America, Africa, the West Indies and Latin America.

Black Power, like White Supremacy, has overtones of racism and racism, black or white or anti-Semitic, is ugly, indefensible, reprehensible, vicious, evil and dangerous to those who practice it. History shows that whoever bears the guilt of practicing black racism or white racism, or anti-Semitism, eventually become their own gravediggers.

SEARCH FOR SCAPEGOAT

Now, because of the Congressional search for a scapegoat, in the interest of enacting legislation to ban riots in the streets, I think I should add that it is only fair to observe that Negroes didn't start riots in the streets in American history.

The Founding Fathers staged riots in the streets of Boston as a result of seizing the tea of British merchants and throwing it into the sea. While the riots were touched off by throwing the tea in the sea, confiscating the tea was not the cause of the riots. The cause was British taxation without representation of the American colonies. Such was the cause of the American Revolution of 1776. King George III levied many acts against the colonies to penalize them, but they never stopped the Revolution.

Nor is Congressional legislation the answer to Negro riots in the streets.

Anti-labor union forces enacted legislation against strikes of the workers. But it never stopped the workers from waging strikes when they felt they were victims of industrial, economic and social injustice. The answer goes deeper than anti-labor laws.

Basically, there can be no racial peace and order without racial racial justice, nor can racial justice obtain except within the framework of civil order.

Black Power, like the American Communist Party, pledges its power to build a black nation. Of course, American Negroes are not about to reject the U. S. Supreme Court decision on desegregation and integration of public schools of 1954 to return to the Supreme Court decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson, in 1896, which propounded the infamous doctrine of separate but equal - the decision which gave legality to racial discrimination and segregation.

NEGROES AND POWER

But this is not to suggest that Negroes should not build power. They should develop power; namely, economic power, political power and social power. Other American minority groups have shown the wisdom of building power.

However, economic power does not arise by the cry of Black Power. It stems from (1) the ownership of property, (2) the development of business enterprises, not in Harlem only but also on Broadway, (3) the formation of cooperatives (consumers' and producers') and credit unions, and (4) the organization of black workers into bona-fide labor unions (not black unions) to fight for increased wages and improved working conditions. This, of course, assumes the elimination of racial bias in labor unions and the elimination of Negro prejudice against labor unions, since when workers divide upon a basis of race, color, religion or national origin they weaken their collective bargaining power, which plays into the hands of the bosses.

Since the large majority of Negroes work for wages, with which they purchase food, clothing, housing and education, labor unions are indispensable to their economic progress and security. It is a matter of common knowledge that the economic improvement of the Negro in America today is directly due to the increasing membership of Negro workers in labor unions, now ranging around a million and a half in the AFL-CIO, whose increased wage has steadily narrowed the gap between the average annual median income of black and white families, especially since the industrial union revolution in the Thirties and as a result of the second World War of the Forties. Even the progress and basis of Negro business and the professional classes rest upon the wage of the black workers.

Thus, when Black Power leaders unwittingly cross union picket lines during a strike, they are undermining the very foundation of the bread and butter, education and cultural future of black Americans. Moreover, organized labor has sponsored and fought for all of the progressive social and civil rights legislation in the Congress and state legislatures, such as social security, minimum wages, war on poverty measures, rent supplements, anti-rat legislation, rent control and educational and health bills.

Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, was right when he stated that the trade union movement is the most successful anti-poverty organization in our nation's history.

The labor movement has not abolished poverty, but it has lifted more American people out of poverty than any other agency directed to that end. And it is also correct to observe that it has lifted more Negroes out of poverty than any other institution in America.

I do not mean to say that the labor movement could not have done more for Negroes. I certainly cannot dispute the charge that, for many years, some unions discriminated against Negroes. But it is proper to note that discrimination now persists only in a minority segment of the labor movement. Moreover, it is pertinent to point out that past history tended to obscure an equally important truth - that despite discriminatory practices, the labor movement was, and remains, the single most integrated institution in our American society.

Negroes need to build political power to elect able and responsible Negroes to office in the city, state and federal government - North, South, East and West - as well as to support their white friends and punish their enemies.

In the last five years Negroes have increased their political power in the South by a million votes, despite efforts to block black voter registration by the murder of thirteen civil rights workers between 1962 and 1967. The Negroes' political voting potential in the nation constitutes one of their most promising and effective instrumentalities in the struggle for full first-class citizenship.

OUR CRISIS TODAY

What is the American crisis today?

(1) It consists in festering, decaying, deteriorating, explosive black ghettos, plagues by the sickness of the escalation of anti-whiteism, joblessness, hopelessness, frustration and despair, marked by a frightening growth in the belief in the cult of violence as the solution of the American racial dilemma

(2) Breakdown of Negro-white dialogue

(3) Intensification of the ideological split of the civil rights movement.

(4) Abandonment of resort to orderly dissent to riotous rebellion

(5) Growth of the white backlash

(6) Loss of vitality of American liberalism

(7) Failure of the integration of education

(8) The attacks upon the War on Poverty and the policies of the Great Society by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in Congress

(9) The growing menace of rightism in the country, under the leadership of John Birchism and Ku Klux Klanism

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

First, we need to rebuild a national coalition of conscience reflecting the will and strength of the alliance of labor and the civil rights movement, together with the liberal and church and business communities, to meet the challenge of our urban crisis.

Second, call upon the national coalition of conscience to work for the development of a rebirth of an uncompromising commitment to the preservation and strengthening of our free, democratic American society, within the framework of which alone can civil rights, labor's rights, and civil liberties survive.

Third, especially must the labor, civil rights and liberal communities unite their forces to achieve meaningful and constructive social change. We must unite if we are to bring back into Congress in 1968 the forty-seven liberal congressmen defeated in 1966, to fight for massive public works to create jobs and workers' training programs to enable the black and white poor to perform the new jobs that are already developing as a result of the revolution of science, technology and industrialism. We must save and revitalize the war on poverty and we must continue the struggle to insure participation of the poor in formulating and executing those programs designed for the benefit of the poor.

Fourth, labor and the civil rights movement must not fail realistically to evaluate the George Wallace Third Party movement in the coming Presidential election of 1968. This election is crucially significant to labor and the Negro. If Wallace should secure a hundred electoral votes, the election could be thrown into the House of Representatives where each state, however small in population, possesses one vote, which could result in the South determining who shall be the next President. This could be a political calamity to the Negro comparable to the election of 1876 between Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican and Samuel J. Tilden, Democrat. That election was thrown into the House; Hayes won, and in return for the victory given him by the Confederate members of the House, he withdrew the Federal Army from the South, resulting in the collapse of the Reconstruction Revolution and the consolidation of racial segregation and exploitation of the black freedmen on the old cotton plantations, the revival of the Black Code, and the institution of lynch law as a weapon of racial intimidation.

Thus, labor and the civil rights movement had better be sure that they reward their friends and punish their enemies.

On a basis of the record, President Jyndon B. Johnson has done more to advance the cause of civil rights than any President in the history of the United States, including Abraham Lincoln, and he has not failed labor.

Let me also add that the late President John F. Kennedy must be given credit for initiating the employment of the Federal Government to advance the cause of civil rights and Negroes will ever remember him with gratitude and affection.

Thus, my good friend George, and fellow workers and citizens, I plan to call a conference of civil rights leaders to evaluate this political crisis which confronts us, in order that labor and the Negro, as the basis of a national coalition of conscience, may face the future prepared to do battle for freedom, racial and social justice and the cause of the black and white poor.

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AT THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE
OF RACE RELATIONS, FISK UNIVERSITY,
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, JUNE 24, 1968

THE CRISIS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

The Civil Rights Revolution is in crisis. It is a deepening and widening crisis of fragmentation and frustration. A gravitational pull of centrifugation from the old axis of the civil rights movement to its periphery or polycentrism, ideologically and structurally, has set in.

This social action has resulted in the multiplication of a raft of civil rights movements, leaders, slogans and doctrines. Therefore, there is no consistent, coordinated mobilization of the moral, organizational, social and political forces of the Negro for a basic attack upon the growing escalation of white racism in the country.

Even the Poor Peoples' March on Washington, brilliantly conceived by Dr. Martin Luther King and ably planned by Rev. Ralph Abernathy, did not reflect the strength or views of the black people organizationally though it received their good will, but without broad participation of the organizations of Negroes.

COALITION OF CONSCIENCE

It would be immensely difficult, if not impossible, to build a national crusading coalition of conscience of civil rights movements, together with organization participation of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, labor and business which sponsored the great March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 28, 1963.

It was this coalition of conscience under the leadership of

Dr. Martin Luther King which confronted and challenged white racism in the streets of Birmingham and up and down the highways of Alabama, together with the big March on Washington in 1963, which provided the thrust and power that secured the congressional enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The Urban Coalition, composed of black and white Americans in the business, labor, church and university communities, is continuing the principle of the coalition of conscience with high prospects and promise of constructive and creative action for the advancement of racial and social justice.

Verily, the coalition of conscience of racial, religious and social diversities has spoken to America with a compelling and convincing eloquence about the imperatives of the American dream for the black and white poor.

FAILURES OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Disenchanted and disillusioned with the limitations of achievements of the Civil Rights Revolution, young black militants not only denounced and rejected the civil rights movement as the road to racial emancipation, but disavowed racial integration as a valid and desirable objective of the Negro struggle. This position was the result of the failure of the Civil Rights Revolution to achieve five major objectives of basic concern to the Negro in the light of his rising expectations:

One, failure to abolish white racism.

Two, failure to abolish poverty.

Three, failure to abolish the ghetto.

Four, failure to abolish joblessness.

Five, failure to abolish segregation in education and housing.

But while the abolition of white racism, poverty, the ghetto, joblessness and segregation in education and housing is devoutly to be wished, they are beyond the nature and purpose of the Civil Rights Revolution.

The primary, if not sole, purpose of the Civil Rights Revolution was to establish through Congressional legislation the illegality of discrimination and segregation based upon race or color. This was achieved in the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 relating to open occupancy in the sale and rental of housing.

IMPLEMENTATION OF LEGISLATION

But this civil rights legislation is yet to be made completely effective through implementation. This, of course, will require organization, education and time. However, even the complete implementation of civil rights legislation will not suffice, for civil rights that involve the right to the enjoyment of privileges such as hotel accommodations and various forms of entertainment that require expenditure of money are much beyond the impoverished broad black masses.

Hence, the attainment of civil rights, while needed and desirable, if not indispensable, is more the concern of the black bourgeoisie than the black proletariat, largely because of the correlation of more and higher desires with higher incomes.

POLITICAL POWER

But because the modern state, which controls the armed forces and the power of taxation, is the most powerful force in any society - whether a democracy, oligarchy or monarchy - when the Civil Rights Revolution provided the Negro with the ballot it armed him with one of the most effective weapons with which to bring his influence to bear upon the American governing apparatus, and it fulfilled its major mission.

It is a matter of common knowledge that every single important group in the United States - ethnic, religious, economic and sectional - has built and employed political power to protect and advance its interests with much more consistency and constancy than the Negro, because he has had little political power.

BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION

Moreover, it is pertinent to observe that the Civil Rights Revolution is a bourgeois democratic revolution which is definitely limited in the range, power and area of action. History has not designed the Civil Rights Revolution to solve the problems of jobs, housing and education. These are social problems that can only be solved by a social revolution.

There is a striking comparability between the Civil Rights Revolution and African and Asian nationalist revolutions of the decades of the forties, fifties and sixties. These nationalist revolutions swept imperialist colonialism into the dustbin of history and brought national independence to these African and Asian peoples. The heads of African and Asian states took their seats alongside the leaders of the great western powers in the United Nations.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

However, while these bourgeois nationalist revolutions were a sine qua non to the political and cultural progress of the African and Asian peoples, they did not banish poverty, illiteracy and disease from these lands.

This can only be achieved by social revolutions with scientific and technological orientations of continental dimensions. And this can only be realized by the Western imperialist powers, including the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain and, formerly, Germany, that imposed the oppression and exploitation of colonial rule upon these countries which blocked their political, social, economic, industrial and commercial progress for centuries, recognizing the debt they owe these developing nations by extending to them consistently meaningful economic, educational and industrial aid.

Unless this is done the world of "have-nots" that embrace some two-thirds of the people of the world, who happen to be colored, may be propelled into a worldwide revolution of violence, blood and death against the white world of the "haves" and sweep modern civilization into oblivion.

BOURGEOIS REVOLUTIONS AS CATALYSTS

However, both the bourgeois civil rights and nationalist revolutions are serving as catalysts in bringing into being the social revolutions that can and will reflect the economic, social and political realities of these times. Unless the pent-up frustration and fears, despair and disillusionment, hopelessness and hunger can find expression in the genius of a social revolution that is bent upon the resolution of the problems of bread and butter, shelter and rainment, cultural and ethnic pride, resentment, resistance and revolt are inevitable in the black American ghettos, black Africa, brown and yellow Asia and Latin America.

Social revolutions will evolve out of the impact of cultural, ethnic and social determinism involving sharp limitations upon the scope and power of civil rights and nationalist forces for basic social change.

Some of the pressing and crucial problems that are insoluble with the tools and processes of civil rights and nationalist revolutions include:

One, the redistribution of wealth and opportunity;

Two, the acquisition and utilization of mechanical and social technology;

Three, the development of a broader base of struggle for economic democracy to involve the black, white, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and Indian poor and deprived;

Four, the pressure of the challenge to all America for a profound commitment to the fight for the universal brotherhood of man and a world of freedom and justice, peace and plenty.

SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

There are of course various schools of thought among Negroes, as is the case with all social movements, with respect to strategy, tactics, methodology and philosophy to meet the racial and social crisis of these times. These schools of thought generally fall into three categories; namely, Conservatives, or right; Moderates, or center and Radical, or left.

The tendency is for the Conservatives to move either farther to the right or toward the center. As a rule, the trend of the Moderates is toward the right or left, and the Radicals to shift either toward the Moderates or farther left.

Applying this formula to the ideological structure of the Civil Rights Revolution; the Conservatives will remain relatively stable. So will the Moderates. But the Black Powerites, or militants, who proclaim the tactics and methodology of violence as the road to social change and assert their program to be black capitalism and black labor unionism, would be classifiable in the philosophy of racial and social reaction.

ROLE OF BLACK POWER

If the cry of Black Power which is neither a program or a philosophy, but is only a slogan, is designed to encourage Negroes to follow the example of the Jews, Irish, Italians, labor and business in building power - political, economic and social, community-wise, it is understandable and meritorious.

This racial position, of course, is not new. Leaders of black people have been preaching the gospel of developing political power with the use of the ballot to reward their friends and punish their enemies, and elect and secure appointment of Negroes to public office, since 1865 to 1877, the beginning and end of the Reconstruction Revolution, the collapse of which was brought about by the violent, angry winds of the Confederate Counterrevolution with roots in slavery and the Civil War.

This counterrevolution of unspeakable human hate nullified the Civil War Amendments, negated the Civil Rights Act of 1875, and created a wave of public anti-black freedmen sentiment which induced the United States Supreme Court to hand down the notorious and infamous decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896 which propounded the doctrine of separate but equal, and established the legal justification and rationale of segregation and discrimination based upon race and color in this land.

RACIAL IDENTITY

The search of Black Powerites for racial identity and expression of pride in the beauty of black people and the historical, glorious, ancient African cultural heritage and endowment is eminently laudable. My father, a black man and a proletarian preacher, taught me and my brother this lesson, before the fireplace in an old shanty in Florida, long before we had reached our teens. No people can climb the mountain peaks of progress who are psychologically sorry for themselves. A people rejected and alienated seek a ritual of symbolism in their struggles for deliverance to bring fresh courage to their spirits heavy with the prose of life.

ACHILLES HEEL OF BLACK POWERISM

But like Achilles, a Greek warrior and hero of Homer's Iliad, who was vulnerable only in the heel, so the Black Powerites, too, expose their vulnerable heel when they propound the doctrine of salvation through racial isolation and segregation. This policy of seeking refuge from the arena of the competitive struggle for survival in the backstreets of segregation is an affront to the brave black rebel slaves who gave their lives in 250 or more insurrections against slavery, seeking the status of free men for their black brothers and sisters.

Even segregation when unavoidable, such as Negroes are now in the ghetto, which blunts and stunts the moral and intellectual growth of black children, should be publicly and morally condemned and rejected until it is abolished.

This is not to suggest that Negroes should not continue to develop their economic, political and social power in the ghettos to provide quality education and better moral environmental conditions for the children. To voluntarily accept the stigma of racial inferiority which attaches to a condition of segregation is an exhibition of self-hate and self-rejection, if not an exhibition of mental infantilism.

It is considered to be the manifest destiny of the so-called master white race to force the alleged lesser breeds, or peoples of color, into the slums of the world. This dangerous and fallacious doctrine of the master race, based upon the idea of the natural inequality of ethnic groups, was the foundation of imperialist colonialism with its terrifying oppression of the peoples of Africa and Asia for centuries.

Instead of black Americans locking themselves in ghettos with no communication or association with the varied citizens of the country, they should, with other ethnic groups, enter into the free, flowing life of the nation where acculturation - the process of intercultural contact with diverse peoples resulting in new and creative patterns of life, art, religion and philosophy - may develop.

BLACK MILITANTS AROUSED AMERICA

But although I consider black capitalism, black unionism and black statism as unsound, if not fantastic, black militants deserve the credit of having aroused the consciousness of America to the immediacy, magnitude and impending danger of racial explosions in our urban cities.

Black capitalism and black unionism are based upon the economic fallacy that class struggle or the conflict between workers and employers, taking the form of strikes and lockouts, don't obtain between black workers and black capitalists because of the Negro struggle against white racism. One has only to observe the struggle of black African workers against black African states to be relieved of this illusion.

The reason for the infraction of industrial peace in a Negro enterprise by strikes by black workers is that the economic fact of exploitation of Negro labor by Negro business is just as natural and inevitable as the exploitation of white workers by white employers. Some of the bitterest strikes carried on in New York City were by Jewish garment workers against Jewish garment employers.

VIOLENCE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

A monumental blunder in tactics and strategy on the part of black militants is belief in violence as a basic, constructive and effective instrument of social change. The veneration of violence and guerilla warfare as the cure of the sickness of white racism is not only one of the most dangerous concepts of these times but is a strategy of suicidal folly to be attempted by one-tenth of the population of the country. But even if Negroes represented nine-tenths of the people of the country it would still be wrong to resort to violence to achieve racial and social justice.

Some of the black militants and members of Students for a Democratic Society have been indoctrinated by the cult of violence set forth by Dr. Franz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth, with an introduction by Jean Paul Sartre, which is a passionate defense of and justification for the war against the French in Algeria. The book, which is a fiery attack upon the French colonial rule in Algeria, a semi-agricultural and industrial country, has no comparability in problems or reasons for the use of similar tactics and strategy for solutions of black America.

A few black militants, in company with some white members of the Students for a Democratic Society, have become virtually entranced over the revolutionary pronouncements of Ernesto Che Guevara and Mao Tse-tung as though they constitute an infallible Bible of tactics, strategy and methodology for the Negro struggle for freedom and justice in America.

In the light of the existing crisis of the Civil Rights Revolution, arising largely as a result of an unsound evaluation of tactics and strategy in relation to changing racial and social realities, I urge the black students, black poor, and black leaders to reject the revolutionary romanticism of freedom rolling out of the barrel of a gun and recognize, accept and defend the proposition that poverty, joblessness, integrated education and open occupancy in housing can be achieved within the framework of a democratic society through the propaganda of the word and not the propaganda of the deed or direct action.

This policy of the Industrial Workers of the World (the IWW) led them to the streets to struggle in the early years of the twentieth century to fight the battle against the brutality of laissez-faire economics. But the movement was finally shattered and the leaders became their own gravediggers.

To reject the position of organization, education, and non-violent demonstration and resort to violence can and will only eventuate in chaos and anarchy, bloodshed and death, followed by a nationwide racial and social reaction with the escalation of black and white racism.

But when you raise the issue of violence, riots in the streets and the burning of buildings with Molotov cocktails, the question of law and order confronts you. Of course, law and order must prevail. However, law and order per se is not the end. Racial and social justice is the end. But racial and social justice cannot obtain except within the framework of law and order, and law and order cannot exist unless racial and social justice prevail as a reality. Poverty and racism preclude social peace. Verily, violence is the effect of racial and social injustice. Until the cause is removed, the effect will persist. There is nothing sacred about law and order. Slavery has existed under law and order. But freedom cannot exist for blacks or whites without law and order. Violence begets violence. It solves nothing.

While the French Revolution was the advance guard of social evolution and progressive change, it was made by the philosophers. Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau turned France from clericalism and monarchy before the reign of Louis XVI when Robespierre, Danton and Saint-Just seized the Revolution and propelled it into the nightmare of the tragic convulsion of terrorism and regicide in 1793 which was followed by Napoleon and reaction.

MORE ON BLACK SEPARATISM

Let me add that the concept of black separatism is based upon the assumption of the adequacy of the Negro alone to build an effective revolutionary movement for his emancipation. This is hardly a tenable position in the light of history.

The American Revolution may have foundered upon the rock of despair had it not been for cooperative participation,on land and sea, of France, Holland and Spain.

And, in the light of the growing ugly specter of black racism, it is highly apropos to point out that Negroes should never forget the help they received, moral, financial and educational, in the early years of the Civil Rights Revolution from labor, young white students such as Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, together with church forces, including Catholics, Prtoestants and Jews, liberals and business. These are valid instances in proof. Practically all of the revolutions of the African and Asian states received support from colonial nationals in imperialist colonial countries.

AFFECTION FOR BLACK MILITANTS

But let me pause to observe that while I disagree with the tactics of black militants, I possess an abiding affection for their spirit. I was a black militant during the first World War. Then, I was practically left of all of the Negro leaders in philosophy, tactics and strategy, including Dr. DuBois and Monroe Trotter. I consider myself in social philosophy left of the black militants today, but right of them in methodology. It is my view that if the black militants did not exist it would be to the interest of black people, if not America, to create them.

APR retires as head
of Brotherhood

REPORT BY INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT A. PHILIP RANDOLPH TO THE SIXTH TRIENNIAL CONVENTION AND FORTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, SEPTEMBER 2, 1968

International Officers and Delegates of the Sixth Triennial Convention and Forty-third Anniversary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Greetings!

Forty-three years ago, in the Elks' Auditorium at 126 Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City, the first meeting of Pullman porters was held which led to the organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

It was the responsibility of your humble servant to plan and preside over that meeting. It was probably one of the strangest and most unorthodox meetings ever held to set up a union or a church or a fraternal society, or for any reason.

As the chairman, I called the meeting to order, gave the prayer, began the singing of Hold the Fort, followed by my address which dealt with the reasons for calling this meeting at the suggestion of some unknown Pullman Porters to form a bona fide labor union of Pullman Porters for Pullman Porters.

But, before beginning my speech, I advised and cautioned the audience which packed the hall that no porter in the meeting should make a speech, or a motion, or ask a question, to avoid being reported by stool pigeons to the Pullman superintendents which, most likely, would result in his being fired.

Before announcing the end of the meeting, I pointed out to the men that this meeting was conducted without porters' participation to avoid their victimization which would play into the hands of Pullman to wreck the movement by throwing some of our stouthearted men in the streets in the beginning of our crusade. I added that there would not be any future meetings like this one since the porters cannot hope to build a bona fide labor union without their taking the risks of joining the union and fighting for the union. Such is the start of the building of every trade union.

As I looked over that group of silent but stalwart men, I felt, with deep emotion, that there were porters who would become economic martyrs for the cause, yes, the cause, because the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, phoenix-like, would rise bloodied from its strenuous struggles as a great moral challenge, as well as a powerful economic force, in its victorious march for economic justice as a union and as a cause.

AUGUST 25, 1925

This dramatic, unforgettable meeting was held August 25, 1925, forty-three years ago, seven years after the end of the first World War. The angry winds of reaction were rising. Powerful economic royalists, represented by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, had contrived the so-called American Plan which was a euphemism for the Company Union, Yellow Dog Contract, and Right-to-Work laws.

Since William Gibbs McAdoo, son-in-law of President Woodrow Wilson, and a member of his Cabinet and Director of Transportation, had, in the interest of avoiding work stoppages during the war, proclaimed and issued General Orders asserting the right of workers in war production and related industries such as railroads to self-organization, Pullman, one of America's corporate giants, in order to relieve the Pullman porters of the trouble of organizing a union, promptly set up the famous Plan of Employee Representation, a bona fide company union of the worst stripe.

Phony nationwide elections of officers of the Plan were held periodically. If a porter failed to vote right in the elections he was called in to give the reason why, suggesting some possible contamination by "that Randolph movement." As a rule, some question was raised concerning debts of the porter of which Pullman stool pigeons had informed the Superintendent, hinting to the porter that he might find it necessary to seek a job from Randolph who has no job himself.

EMPLOYEE PLAN CONFERENCES

Following the elections, conferences of the Plan, composed of the prearranged elected representatives in the various Pullman districts and agencies in the country, were held, usually in the YMCA in Chicago. It was addressed by one or two important officials of the Pullman Company and some Negro bishop, important preacher or politician.

At the close of the conference, a so-called Agreement, written under Pullman supervision, was read and presented to the delegates for signatures. No porter in the conference, of course, would be so ungentlemanly as to suggest any changes in the Agreement or hesitate to sign on the dotted line.

Strangely enough there was one such instance. The culprit was our distinguished and courageous First International Vice President, Bennie Smith. The occasion scared the porter-delegates to death, shocked, startled and stunned Pullman officials in the headquarters in Chicago and throughout the country. Pullman officials, proud and powerful, some of whom were scions and Brahmins of the world of industry and finance, were livid with rage, chiefly over the fact that their stool-pigeon system had failed. It just was not understandable how a screened elected company union delegate to the prestigious Plan of Employee Representation conference could fail to sign the Agreement.

Despite the prayers of the stool-pigeon fraternity with Brother Smith, pleading with him, in the name of the future of the porters and the Negro race, to sign the Agreement, he refused. When it was all over he came over to the Vincennes Hotel where Brother Webster and myself, who knew what was going to happen, awaited him. We went out and celebrated the occasion in the nightspots on the Southside. This was one of the great victories of the Brotherhood over Pullman, and it was our major propaganda piece from then on.

Of course Brother Smith was promptly fired. I immediately had him to go South, especially to Jacksonville to direct the organization campaign with Brother Darby who was representing the Brotherhood. Brother Smith Proceeded to the South armed with bundles of the Messenger Magazine for which he sought subscriptions from the porters and the public.

Pullman officials, aroused and troubled over the presence of Bennie Smith in Jacksonville, alerted the police about his activities. The police arrested him and he was charged with selling a magazine which advocated social equality. This was enough. He was hailed before a judge as an agent of a northern union to foment strife and trouble among the colored population. The judge told Brother Smith he would give him a few hours to get out of town or he would send him to the Blue Jay Farm. When he returned north, I assigned him to supervise the Detroit and Canadian area. He is there now.

DISCHARGE OF SOME AGGRESSIVE PORTERS

Recognizing the growing involvement with and commitment of the porters to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Pullman strategists resorted to the age-old weapon of the discharge to halt the march of the union. In St. Louis, Oakland, Chicago and New York City, old porters,nearing pension age and active in the Brotherhood, were struck down for the slightest dereliction of duty. Naturally, this bare-knuckles attack tended to throw the fear of God into the hearts of the porters and their families. But it didn't break their spirit. They continued to attend the meetings of the Brotherhood and joined in singing "Hold the fort for we are coming, union men be strong."

At the end of every year some of the most gallant warriors of the Brotherhood union army had fallen, but the army continued to march on.

FEDERAL LOCALS IN AFL

Realizing that the porters needed the sustaining moral consciousness of membership in a wider community of union forces, the Brotherhood secured some ten, more or less, federal union charters from the American Federation of Labor which gave the porters' leadership a voice in the house of organized labor. Thus, in every annual convention of the AFL the voice of the porters was heard demanding in resolutions the abolition of discrimination based upon race, color, religion or national origin in all unions affiliated with the Federation. While the resolutions were consistently rejected, with attacks upon the porters' leaders, they were consistently presented from year to year. We missed only one convention from 1929. It was the convention which was held in Vancouver, British Columbia. Reason: unable to raise the railroad fare for Brother Webster and myself. It was reported that when it was certain the Brotherhood delegates had not registered, some of the delegates laughingly called upon President Green, in the interest of peace, to hold future conventions in Vancouver.

INTERNATIONAL CHARTER

But while President Green at times manifested irritation under bitter attacks of Brotherhood delegates on the Federation, he issued a statement of cooperation of the AFL with the Brotherhood when it set a strike date against Pullman. He counseled with Brotherhood leaders on strategy in handling the strike threat, assuring us of financial help in the event of the strike while advising that it would be an act of trade union wisdom to call it off and resume the building of membership.

And when the Brotherhood Memphis local division was denied the use of the city auditorium for a public labor education rally, President Green, upon being informed about the incident, ordered the Memphis Central Labor Council to call upon Mayor Crump, the powerful Boss of the city, and demand that the use of the city auditorium be granted the Brotherhood. The Mayor refused. President Green then ordered the Central Labor Council officers to cooperate with Brotherhood officials in securing a suitable place and to give the labor rally their full support. This was done. A monster meeting was held in one of the largest Negro churches in Memphis. It was opened by the president of the labor council, followed by your humble servant who paid his respects to Boss Crump, much to the discomfort of the Negro leadership of the city who had urged the Brotherhood leaders to call the meeting off and leave town, expressing fear lest the city become the victim of racial violence.

In the early 1930's, President Green presented an international charter to the leaders of the Brotherhood at a meeting in a public school in Chicago. The Brotherhood was the first labor union under Negro leadership to be granted an international charter in the history of organized labor in the country. This was not because the AFL had refused to grant such a charter but because there was no bona fide union international in scope under Negro leadership to receive one.

REPRESENTATION ELECTION

But this international charter was only available to the Brotherhood after it attained the structural status of an international union. It took the Brotherhood ten long years to achieve this goal. It required that the Brotherhood win a nationwide election against the Pullman company union under the supervision of the National Mediation Board. This was done in 1935.

AGREEMENT

Following the certification of the Brotherhood as the duly authorized representative of Pullman porters and attendants, conferences for the negotiation of an agreement covering wages and rules governing working conditions began, and continued over a period of two years. When the Agreement was completed and signed by representatives of Pullman and the Brotherhood, an indeterminate period of the interpretation and application of the rules of the Agreement began.

M. P. WEBSTER

The acknowledged master of interpreting and applying the rules of the Agreement for the settlement of claims and grievances for the members was Brother M. P. Webster. There was nothing he enjoyed more than winning a case involving a claim or grievance against Pullman or a railroad. The international vice presidents and international field representatives of the Brotherhood attained their proficiency in the handling of claims and grievances largely under his tutelage.

Fortunately for the members of the Brotherhood, the international and local officers of the organization, in the United States and Canada, are men of unimpeachable integrity, organizational knowledgeability and expertise.

Be it said to the eternal credit of the Brotherhood that it has lifted the porters and attendants, train and mail porters from a condition of semi-serfs to the status of middle-class wage earners with a sense of greater economic and social security.

TASK AHEAD

Since separate statements of significant improvements in wages, working conditions, job protection, vacation, paid holidays, hospital and medical care, pensions and away-from-home expense allowance have been set forth in detail,for the Pullman porters, railroad sleeping car porters, attendants, train and mail porters in the United States and Canada, by International Vice President McNeal and International Field Representative Blanchette, I will not list them in this report.

May I observe, however, that at the termination of the moratorium in 1969 of allowable wage increases for Pullman and railroad employes in the United States represented by the Brotherhood, Section 6 notices for all of the wage increases received by the nonoperating railway employees during the moratorium will be sent to the Pullman Company and railway carriers for the application of the said increased wages to the employees represented by the Brotherhood.

DECLINE OF RAILROAD PASSENGER SERVICE

Because of the continued discontinuance and deterioration of railway and Pullman passenger service, one of the most important and encouraging developments for Pullman and railway porters and attendants in recent years is a report of the Interstate Commerce Commission to the Congress appearing in the New York Times, June 26, 1968, which repeatedly criticised the Federal Government for not promoting rail passenger service and also pointed out that the lack of government promotion encouraged the railroads to allow the quality and quantity of their passenger service to deteriorate.

G. E. Leighty, chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, said: "The report of Interstate Commerce Commission Hearing Examiner John Messer on the plight of the rail passenger service in the United States is indeed a hopeful sign that the Commission may now assume responsible leadership in the field of rail passenger service."

In contrast to the negative attitude of most of the railroad corporations, Mr. Stuart Saunders, chairman of Penn Central Company, on June 6, 1968, declared: "I would like to propose, either as corollary or an alternative to a congressional review, that a National Railroad Passenger Council be created by appropriate governmental action to espedite solution of this (passenger service) problem. This council should be a group representative of the public, the railroads, and the governmental agencies concerned with transportation policy. It should move promptly, in as brief a time as possible, to study the problem and issue a report as a basis for formulating a railroad passenger service program within the larger context of the national transportation policy. Such a report is fundamental in determining the extent to which the federal government must support rail passenger service."

This statement by Mr. Saunders, who is undoubtedly the most powerful personality in the railway industry today, is the most encouraging ray of hope for the revival of the railway passenger which has appeared in the last decade. I want to suggest that he left out one of the most important factors, namely, organized railroad labor.

It is difficult to understand, in the light of a population explosion reflected in a continuing congestion of the airways with airplanes, and the highways with automobiles and trucks, how any single mode of existing transportation can be eliminated, and especially railroads that are indispensable in peace and war.

THE BROTHERHOOD AND THE BLACK GHETTOS

Now, it is a well-known fact that the Brotherhood was built by the porters - Pullman and railroad porters and attendants in the United States and Canada.

Since the Brotherhood was born in the belly of the black ghettos in the United States and Canada, its life and struggles were naturally influenced and affected by the leadership and institutions, hatreds, poverty and prejudices of the Negro communities. Thus, white labor unions that were universally charged, with some justification, with the sin of having excluded Negro workers from membership were violently roasted as the enemy of the race. White capitalists, on the other hand, who contributed, though meagerly, financially to Negro colleges were viewed as benefactors of the race. Pullman naturally exploited this windfall of race bias.

BLACK POWER - BLACK MILITANTS

Today the black community is torn and rent by the controversy over Black Power.

The cry of Black Power by Black Militants is based upon the assumption that Negroes are powerless because they are black. Negroes are powerless because they are poor, and they are poor because they are property-less and lack certain types of organization. Thus, it is pertinent in this connection to observe upon the sources of power. They are as follows:

First, the basic source of power is the ownership of property;

Second, the organization of corporate business for the production and sale of goods and services for profit;

Third, the organization of workers into labor unions to bargain collectively with employers for the sale of their labor in the labor market for wages;

Fourth, the organization of consumers' and producers' cooperatives and credit unions to avoid exploitation by high prices;

Fifth, the formation of community organizations to plan for the investment of social capital by private and public agencies for the creation of social, cultural and spiritual values, such as parks, playgrounds, libraries, museums of art and natural history, highways, public schools, colleges and universities, theatres and opera houses, for the improvement and enrichment of the life of the community;

Sixth, the building of political organizations;

Seventh, the organization of the military arm of the government.

Such are the major sources of power.

Of course, organized religion and organized education are forces that exercise a profound influence upon the course of life of every people.

But although Black Militants evince no comprehension of the nature and sources of power their explosive rhetoric of bravado creates a sort of traumatic shock wave which exacts unprecedented public attention and concern about the life and living of the Negro in America.

In fact, if they didn't exist, I would propose, in the interest of the advancement of the Negro and America, that they be created. Not because their position is strategically correct but because in every revolutionary or reform movement three general categories of policy and action emerge; namely, the conservative or right, moderate or center, and radical or left. These are not stable and unchangeable social strata, but rather a complex of processes that go through uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away as a result of inner impulses to development and modification, and because of the contradiction and conflict of the forces and tendencies at work in the movement. Moreover, historically, dialectically and philosophically, nothing in the social, intellectual or physical world is final, absolute, sacred or omniscient.

Let the Black Militants speak!

This is not to suggest that I am in agreement with all of their tactics, strategy and methodology. Not at all! However, I am persuaded to agree that the Black Militants have been responsible for deepening the American consciousness of the immediacy, magnitude and danger of the racial crisis in the cities.

They have quickened American concern about opportunity for jobs for Negroes in all areas of American life.

They have challenged and stirred the American mind and conscience about the exclusion of the cultural achievements of Black Americans from the historiography of our American society.

They have vigorously stressed the need of the Negro's interest in self-help.

They have accented the search for identity and the Africans' contribution of an ancient glorious historical cultural heritage and endowment to world civilization.

Such are the assets of the Black Militants.

LIABILITIES OF BLACK MILITANTS

A major liability of Black Militants is their worship at the altar of the cult of violence, in obedience to the nihilistic philosophy of Franz Fanon, the French-speaking Negro psychiatrist from Martinique, who became the ideologist of the Algerian National Liberation Front during its long war against France. In his major work, The Wretched of the Earth, he expounds his simplistic philosophy.

While theories of violent revolutionary action may be applicable in a small semi-industrial-agricultural colony such as Algeria, it does not follow that they can explain the socio-political behavior patterns in a highly complex, scientific, technological society such as the United States.

Waving Marx and Lenin aside as revolutionary old-hat, Black Militants, along with their fellow white student revolutionaries, follow unquestioningly the charismatic Ernesto Che Guevara in his catastrophic guerrilla warfare in the Bolivian mountains of Latin America in quest for identification with the struggles of the Third World to bring down the centers of exploitation of Western capitalist man.

Swayed and intrigued by the legend of the revolutionary story of Regis Debray of Paris, now in prison in Bolivia, who wrote an explosive book, Revolution in the Revolution, black and white militants accept it as a veritable little bible of revolutionary tactics and strategy for the liberation of the oppressed and exploited colored world of Have-nots.

VIOLENCE

Thus, leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee go around calling upon Negroes to "get themselves some guns" for protection when trouble comes.

This commitment to violence as the major strategy to effect basic social change is not only an exhibition of the sickness of infantile leftism but a dangerous form of mindless madness. Violence settles nothing. Violence only begets violence. It does not inspire a forward march by the black avant-garde to new fields of racial creativity, but to reaction, frustration and despair.

DON'T BLAME BLACK MILITANTS

But it would be a gross miscarriage of justice to blame Black Militants for their psychological delinquencies. Their racial behavior patterns have been formed and shaped by a quarter of a thousand years of slavery and a hundred years of segregation, the most brutalizing form of violence ever visited upon human beings. When you add to this record of oppression and man's inhumanity to man, decades of lynchings and peonage, it is an act of unspeakable arrogance and stupidity to berate the American black man about violence.

It is a postulate of Holy Writ that if you sow the wind you will reap the whirlwind. America has sown the wind and she is reaping the whirlwind.

BLACK AMERICA FIGHTS FOR NEW LIFE

Just as a chick, which is the result of the transformation of an egg exposed to the heat of the body of a hen for twenty-one, or more, days, pecks a hole in the shell, creating a spot of blood and causing it to crack up, thereby releasing it to step forth into the world and stand upon it feet as a new independent life, so the Negro in America has been transformed by a long and tragic experience in the social, economic and political shell of white racism, expressed in the horrible oppression of segregation and discrimination, which was justified by the doctrine of hereditary racial inferiority, and steps forth as a new force in quest of a new life of freedom, equality, racial and social justice for an independent existence, struggle and adventure.

Hence the Black man is now involved in a great historical process,after centuries of environmental, cultural and economic determinism, to take his place as a duly recognized member of the civilized family of mankind.

The nature of the historical preparation of the Negro, who constitute the ghetto underclass, will consist in proceeding dialectically through leaps, catastrophes and revolutions.

While modern medical science can render the birth of a child less painful it cannot stop the birth or eliminate total pain after the birth process has reached a certain stage.

Thus, the birth of the concept and urge for a new freedom, independence, justice, identity and equality of black Americans will inevitably be attended by racial and social pain, agony, the loss of some battles, frustration, despair, and some bloodshed, for it is set down in Holy Writ that there can be no remission of sin except through blood. Though the struggles of the Negro against second-rate status be attended by blood and tears, it will never be abandoned.

The Black Revolution cannot fail! It will not fail! If it were to fail, America would fail, for the Black Revolution is a continuation of the American nationalist revolution of which the incompleted Civil War Revolution was a basic phase.

In this connection, I do not refer to riots in the streets involving the throwing of bottles and bricks and Molotov cocktails, setting stores and buildings afire. Riots are not a revolution. They may be the by-product of a revolution. They, in fact, are the handiwork of the lumpen-proletariat that may, and often do, become the engine of the counterrevolution.

One has only to note the uncontrollable changing character of the Chinese Cultural Proletarian Revolution for and against Mao Tse-tung. Revolutions tend to turn societies around to develop in a different and new direction which involves organization, education, and dedication of leadership for social justice. Whereas riots are emotional outbursts of a reign of terror by the forgotten, unemployed and unemployable, hopeless, hungry members of the ghetto underclass, black or white, to prey upon society regardless of race or color, and dissipate the black revolutionary determination.

Moreover, one of the great lessons of the ancient medieval and modern world is that when the people are without bread they will break out into insurrectional uprisings against society. Let Negroes beware of the dangerous propaganda that Jews are responsible for their economic ill fortune.

May God help the black militants, moderates or conservatives never to bear the guilt in their hearts of stirring up the passions of hate in the black masses against the Jews in the black ghettos which could result in their hands becoming incarnadine with the blood of our Jewish brothers, or of going in some black Nazi cabal to make it impossible for Jews to do business in any Negro community.

If Negroes have suffered from unfair prices from some Jewish merchants, they have met a similar fate at the hands of black and white Christian merchants. Who among the consumers of America has not heard the warning "caveat emptor" - let the buyer beware?

BLACK ANTI-SEMITISM

Though Negro anti-whiteism is a form of emotional irrationalism, it is a natural response to the conspiracy of white racism which enslaved and oppressed Negroes for nearly a half of a thousand years. But Negroes have no such justification for the senseless bigotry of anti-Semitism.

Surely Negroes, who have suffered from lynchings of white Christian Klansmen, will not spit upon the outstretched hand of their Jewish brothers and sisters, some of whom, like young Andy Goodman and Michael Schwerner, gave their lives in the Civil Rights Revolution for the freedom of their black brothers and sisters.

While the Negro lives in a world poisoned by the virus of

Christian hatred of the Jew, they must develop the strength and nobility of the human spirit to resist, resent and reject the degenerate, uncivilized, Christian anti-Semitic hatemongers and develop the moral will, decency and understanding to help free the white Christian world of its anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism.

LAW AND ORDER

When the question of violence is raised, the issue of law and order is posed. Because Negroes cannot avoid periods of socio-racial turmoil, trials and troubles, it does not follow that they should not seek to avoid them, just as at certain periods a community which is visited by storms and hurricanes with terror and destruction should out of common sense attempt to escape or mitigate them.

Now while everybody is naturally concerned about preventing riots, lawlessness, looting and the burning of stores and houses from which neither black or white citizens can fully escape, it should be obvious that riots and lawlessness are the effects of a cause and the effects will not disappear until the cause is removed.

What is the cause of riots and lawlessness? The answer is racial and social injustice. Law and order, while desirable and necessary, is not an end. It is not sacred. It is a means to the end which is justice. It must be remembered that chattel slavery existed for three hundred years under law and order. Of course racial and social justice can only exist within the framework of law and order.

While law and order must be maintained for the protection of life and property, and to prevent the cities from degenerating into anarchy and lawlessness, law and order must not be used as a pretext for the repression of the Civil Rights Revolution by the billy and gun of the police which, of course, will only pour fuel upon the fires of racial anger, resentment and rebellion and disorder.

Thus, law and order which is not an end but a means to an end; namely, racial and social justice, is a necessary condition to racial and social justice. In very truth, racial and social justice and law and order must go hand in hand.

ALL AMERICA RESPONSIBLE FOR RIOTS

All America is responsible for the cities being under a siege of violence, riots and lawlessness because all America constitute the historical cultural and environmental determinism that rendered the catastrophic explosion of violence and disorder in the cities inevitable.

Just as it is impossible to halt the biochemical transformation of the egg under exposure to the heat and development forces of the body of the hen, moving, as it were, to the shattering of the shell by the revolt of the chick for a free, independent life, so the steady, planless, irrational, though natural, trend of the developing socio-civil rights revolution will move ever forward to the breakup of the hard shell of the social-racial imprisonment of the Negro as a fraction of a man and citizen by white racism.

BLACK COMMUNITIES

One of the major demands of Black Powerites is the control of the black community, with schools, businesses and various institutions under black control.

There is no sound argument why Negroes should not seek to own and operate businesses in the ghettos, just as the Jews controlled the businesses on the Lower East Side of New York in the early years of the twentieth century. But, of course, the Jews did not seek to confine the ownership and operation of businesses to the Jewish communities. They owned businesses all over the city. They practically controlled the businesses in the heart of the city, and this is as it should be.

The control of the so-called Black Community is no solution of the employment problem of the masses of black workers. If Negroes owned every business in Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, including stores, banks, restaurants and hot-dog stands, it would not constitute a drop in the bucket as a solution of the Negro job problem. Retail stores don't represent large volumes of business transactions. They don't make millionaires.

Moreover, there are ghettos packed and jammed with Negroes in every city in this country, many of whom owned beautiful homes, but the businesses are owned and operated by white merchants.

In the West Indian islands the black population represent some 90 to 98 percent, but they don't control the economy. The economy is in the hands of East Indians, Chinese, Englishmen and Jews. Negroes work for these groups on the sugar cane plantations and in the stores and hotels. Of course, some day this might change, but not by driving these various ethnic groups out of the ghettos, or the islands, by violence. Any human being should enjoy the right to own and do business wherever he has the capital and ability to conduct business. The condition for operating a business successfully involves the capacity to compete. Negroes cannot expect to operate a business successfully on a basis of race. Negroes, like other consumers, will buy where they can get the best bargain in price and quality of goods and services. And this is as it should be.

Now, the idea of Negroes developing their own businesses is not the invention of black nationalists. Booker T. Washington was the father of this idea. His motto was: "Let your bucket down where you are."

BLACK CAPITALISM

Besides, black capitalism is no solution of Negro poverty anymore than is white capitalism a solution of the white poor. A Negro businessman, like a white businessman, is primarily concerned about operating his business for profit, not to abolish poverty. This is not to suggest that there should not be any Negro capitalists.

BLACK UNIONISM

And, of course, black unionism, a cardinal proposal of black militants, is pure fantasy.

Negro workers, like white workers, join unions to fight for higher wages, shorter hours of work, paid holidays, job protection, pensions, health and hospital insurance, not to advance black unionism. Black workers will join unions and fight black business employers just as hard and bitterly as white workers fight white employers for decent wages. And black businessmen will fight black employees to keep from meeting the wage demands of their black employees as white employers fight white workers.

BROTHERHOOD BLACK MILITANTS

Now, a word about the Brotherhood Black Militants. We had some, you know, and I am immensely proud of them. They flourished in the early dark days.

Bennie Smith, 1st International Vice President, was one. He stood up against the Pullman power establishment and refused to sign a Yellow Dog Contract despite the fact every Pullman porter delegate to the conference signed on the dotted line.

There was Ashley L. Totten, our first International Secretary-Treasurer. When I sent out the Call and set the date for the porters' strike against Pullman, I made a brief trip to a number of Brotherhood divisions to make talks and note the state of the spirit of the men.

I found Totten in a little hole in a Negro business building collecting sawed-off shotguns, railroad iron taps, boxes of matches, knives and billies. It scared me. I asked him what was he going to do with the ammunition. He said he wasn't going to let any stool pigeon get into the Pullman yards. I told him he was going to get all of the Brotherhood officials put in jail before we got a chance to strike. I persuaded him to dispense with the hardware.

When the debate on the value of a union to the Pullman porters was planned, to be held in Chicago between a prominent Negro politician and myself, Totten arrived in Chicago on his run the morning of the day of the debate. He asked the Pullman superintendent for permission to lay over until the next day. The superintendent, naturally, knew why he wanted to lay over. He was refused. He laid over anyway and he was fired. The day after the debate Totten was the main speaker at a big Pullman porters' rally. He paced up and down the platform shaking his fists at the stool-pigeon department. Brother Webster whispered in my ear when Totten finished, "That's our man. Take him to the Coast with you." I did, and Totten laid on the stool pigeons at every stop.

When Totten and I got to the Coast we found Dellums and Dad More, two red-hot firebrands on the stool pigeons. The meeting halls were packed with porters and Dellums called the roll of the stool pigeons and Dad More would cuss 'em out. Dellums was threatening to put the secretary of the Oakland Division in jail for stealing the dues. He got the Brotherhood money from the bonding company.

In the Twin Cities we were met by Frank Boyd, short and fat, who came rocking down the platform cussing out the stool pigeons. He had rounded up a bunch of Wobblies, Communists, Socialists, and Milk Drivers' Union radicals to meet me. During the strike threat, Brother Boyd had planned to poison all the stool pigeons. He chuckled and shook his fists exclaiming that he was going to put the stool pigeons in such a fix they couldn't get on the cars.

When Benny and myself got to Canada we found Blanchette who had the figures on the Canadian officials and labor law. He demanded that everybody be required to toe the mark, Canadian official and delinquent porter alike.

We found another crusader in Canada, Brother Jones, who never faltered.

MENACE OF GOVERNOR GEORGE WALLACE

The Presidential election of 1968 is assuming increasingly alarming orientations comparable to the Hayes-Tilden election of 1876 which, since neither the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, or the Democratic candidate, Samuel J. Tilden, received a majority vote in the Electoral College, was thrown into the House of Representatives in which each state, regardless of size, had only one vote. As a result of political manipulations, the Republican candidate, Hayes, though he received a minority popular vote, was declared President. In compliance with a deal which gave him the election, he promptly withdrew the Federal troops from the South, leaving the black freedmen at the mercy of their former slave masters. Such a tragedy!

Negroes must be ever vigilant that they fall into no such political trap again.

But if Governor George Wallace receives the electoral votes of the Southern and Border states, and this political eventuality is highly probable in view of his propaganda about crimes in the streets and states' rights, Negroes could become the victims of an arch segregationist and champion of know-nothingism with anti-labor and anti-liberal views. How bravely he stood in the door of Alabama University to bar the entrance of young Negro students.

PRESIDENT LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

While any American has a right in our democratic society to express disagreement with and criticism of President Johnson's policies on Vietnam, funds for foreign aid to help the "have-not" peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, taxation, civil rights, or civil disorders, Negroes should stop and think about what President Johnson has done for them before they join the pack yelping for his blood.

What President in the history of the country has voluntarily refused to stand for renomination for reelection, both of which were possible, if not probable, because of his concern to rebuild the unity of the country which was riven over the war in Vietnam? Besides, although he didn't start the war in Vietnam, and was, and still is, abused as a warmonger, he startled the world when he brought the war into a peace conference.

With respect to the biggest domestic problem; namely, racial conflict, President Johnson has done more to advance the cause of civil rights in securing the Congressional enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Open Occupancy Housing Act of 1968 than any president in the history of the country.

Moreover, he has construed and dealt with racial equality and opportunity in terms of factuality and result, as shown by his appointments of Negroes to public office as American citizens of moral worth and capability, the most significant ever made by any President.

At the top of the list: Thurgood Marshall as a Justice of the Supreme Court; Robert Weaver to a seat in the Cabinet as head of the Housing Department; Andrew Brimmer to a seat on the Federal Banking Reserve Board; Clifford Alexander, chairman of the Fair Employment Opportunity Commission; Constance Baker Motley as a Federal District Court judge, and Patricia Roberts Harris as Ambassador to Luxembourg.

He will go down in history as the President of the war on poverty, the war on white racism, and the father of the broadest and most far-reaching program of education, health and housing ever proposed in the United States or any other country in the world.

For these and other good reasons, the black and white poor, trade unionists, and the illiterate, cannot in good conscience affort to turn their backs on President Johnson.

And, may I add that although I am not a pacifist, I went to jail for opposition to the first World War as imperialist, and because of the hypocrisy of the slogan "fighting to make the world safe for democracy" while Negroes were being lynched and disfranchised.

I do not now believe that the United States can or should attempt to become the policemen of the world. We should stop the bombing of Hanoi and seek to disengage our involvement in the war in Vietnam at the earliest possible date, which I think is the objective of the President. I supported the Allied Forces in the second World War because of the Hitler-Nazi overtones of master white racism, imperialism and anti-Semitism.

GEORGE MEANY

And now permit me to hail and salute my good friend and co-worker, George Meany, distinguished, able and resourceful president of the AFL-CIO, a great labor statesman, a great American, and a great human being.

While the battle for the elimination of racial discrimination in the House of Labor is not yet over, definite and positive progress is being made. Be it said to the great credit of Brother Meany that the AFL-CIO fought side by side with the NAACP and other civil rights organizations in the memorable struggle for the enactment of federal legislation against racial discrimination in public accommodations, voting rights, jobs and housing.

George Meany is wholly committed to the policy that racial bias in labor unions is unsound, indefensible and morally wrong, and must go. The time will come, and soon, when not a single labor union bars a worker from membership or a seat in its policy-making bodies because he is black, and for this we must ever fight. And the time will come, and soon, when no job will be denied a worker because of the color of his skin, and for this we must ever fight.

THE PORTER

And now let me hail and salute the porters on Pullman and railroads in the U. S. and Canada. Let me hail and salute the distinguished gallant, though fallen, warriors and dauntless leaders of the long, hard, desperate years of the Twenties, Thirties, Forties, Fifties,and onward.

Moneyless, friendless, but not hopeless, the Brotherhood held meetings every day or night in some divisions during the twelve years from its birth to the first day of negotiation with the management of Pullman.

Verily, the handful of porters who weathered the storms of Pullman oppression were the shock troops of Black Labor. They were the first black workers who had openly dared to beard the mighty industrial lion of Pullman in its den.

Yes, Pullman was fierce and cruel. It had brutally battered the railroad workers under the matchless leadership of the great Gene Debs in the celebrated Pullman strike of 1894.

During the bitter, grey and hapless days there was not a single Negro organization which the Brotherhood could call its friend, and only one or two black papers, and not a single nationally known leader. The Brotherhood porters and leaders were the black untouchables. But the small band of militant, weatherbeaten black proletarian brothers of the ghetto never faltered. With heads erect and souls uncurbed, porters who had been fired on account of membership in the union were stirred by the spirit of the labor hymn, Solidarity Forever:

> In our hands is placed a power greater than
> their hoarded gold
>
> Greater than the might of armies magnified a
> thousand fold
>
> We can bring to birth a new world from the
> ashes of the old
>
> For the Union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions that they never
toiled to earn

But without our brain and muscle not a single
wheel could turn

We can break their mighty power, gain our
freedom when we learn

That the Union makes us strong.

The Brotherhood preached this philosophy to the black worker in particular, and the Negro communities in general. The Brotherhood gave the porter, and incidentally the Negro workers as a whole, a sense of racial and class identity and pride. While the Brotherhood fought to break down racial barriers in labor unions, it also fought against Negro workers permitting themselves to be used as scabs against their white brothers on strike.

F.E.P.C.

The Brotherhood is supremely proud of the fact that its ceaseless struggle against race bias in the labor movement brought about the establishment of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO; the placing of two Negro trade unionists on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO; the placement of an increasing number of Negro workers on policy-making committees of national, international and local unions, and a continuous increase in the number of black representatives in national, international and local unions.

The concept of fair employment practice was the gift of the Brotherhood to the Negro, union labor, and the country, as a result of a proposed March on Washington of a hundred thousand Negroes for jobs in munitions plants and the government in 1941. Following the issuance of Executive Order 8802 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, FEPC commissions and agencies were established in numerous states and cities, placing Negroes in jobs before unheard of.

It was Brother Milton P. Webster, strongman of the Brotherhood, who put the steam behind the federal FEPC set up by President Roosevelt's executive order. In California, Brother C. L. Dellums, International Vice-President, served as chairman of the Fair Employment Practice Commission, and in the legislature of Missouri, Brother T. D. McNeal wrote and secured the enactment of fair employment practice legislation. In Canada, Brother A. R. Blanchette, International Representative, piloted the movement for the enactment of civil rights legislation.

ABOLITION OF JIM-CROW IN ARMED SERVICES

Today, Negroes have become high-ranking officers in practically all of the departments of the Armed Service because the Brotherhood led the fight which caused President Harry S. Truman to issue an executive order banning discrimination based upon race or color, religion or national origin in 1949.

William H. Bowe, International Secretary-Treasurer, is the Treasurer of the New York City Central Labor Council, the largest in the country with over a million members.

B. F. McLaurin, Eastern Zone Supervisor, is a member of the Board of Higher Education of New York City, and recently was responsible for the appointment of a Negro educator as President of Bronx Community College, the highest post a Negro occupies in the educational system of New York City.

And there is a long host of aggressive, militant, dedicated rank-and-file porters who gave this great Brotherhood life, not only with their dues, taxes, and contributions but by the grandeur of their spirit. They built a labor movement which brought a new dimension of self-relaince, hope, strength, courage, faith and integrity which no other organization can claim.

Black youth can take the deepest pride in the fact that for almost a half century there never has been a breath of scandal involving the mishandling of a single dollar by a leader or member of this Brotherhood.

And as I take my leave I want to thank every Pullman, train and mail porter and attendant, and our devoted and loyal sisters of the Ladies Auxiliary, in the United States and Canada, for having given me the opportunity to play an humble role in building this mighty movement.

And may God give you strength, faith and fortitude that you march on and never falter.

Statement by A. Philip Randolph
September 10, 1968

Throughout most of my career, as you know, I have found much to criticize in the two major political parties. I have contended again and again that neither the Republican Party nor the Democratic Party adequately understood the fundamental and far-reaching changes that were required for our society to achieve social justice and economic democracy.

To those changes I have dedicated the greater part of my life, going back to an early association with Eugene Victor Debs, to the great organizing crusades of the labor movement, and to the civil rights struggles of half a century.

In the course of these efforts, I have declined to endorse either of the political parties or its Presidential candidate. I have departed from this practice only once.

In 1964 I declared my support for President Johnson. For it seemed to me that a clear and solemn choice had been put before the American people, and that the candidacy of Barry Goldwater posed a perilous threat, not only to Negroes, but to all of the social and economic progress that black and white workers had struggled for generations to win.

Today, as I survey the political scene, I find that this threat has not diminished. Indeed, it has assumed proportions that were inconceivable only a few years ago. What is more, the forces of reaction this year, to a much greater extent than in 1964, are almost in reach of victory.

I do not believe that American democracy has faced so critical a test since 1876. The parallels between that fateful election year and the present one are striking and grave.

In 1876 the entire Negro population was pilloried for the alleged corruption of the Reconstruction governments of the South. Today Negroes are being pilloried for the destructive rioting and the violent rhetoric of a few. Then as now it was charged that the Negro had demonstrated that he was not ready for full equality.

In 1876 a white backlash swept the nation. Even Northern liberals who had opposed slavery tired of the Negro and were content to leave his destiny in the hands of Southern states. Today the white backlash fields not one but two Presidential candidates. Then as now some former friends, disillusioned by urban violence, or preoccupied with other issues, have edged away from the black man's cause. And, again, there are demands for a reduction of Federal responsibility and an insistence on various and subtle forms of local control.

In 1876 the electoral process broke down and the Southern Bourbons emerged to dictate the infamous Compromise of 1877, which paved the way for a new era of racial segregation, disfranchisement, and brutality. Today a third party candidate has publicly stated his intention of following the same strategy. And no man with eyes that can see can doubt the consequences should the Wallace strategy succeed.

There is, however, one profound difference between 1876 and 1968. In 1876 the forces of reaction could impose their will on black Americans. We were not yet one generation removed from slavery, we were concentrated in the South, we were corralled on plantations, we were powerless and dependent. Today, thanks to the Civil Rights Revolution, we have come too far to be so easily turned around. We have gained access to, and influence in, institutions hitherto closed to us. We have accumulated political power in many urban centers. And we have produced a new generation of young black people possessed of the spirit and determination to be free. They can never again be suppressed.

Thus, the victory of racism and reaction at the polls in 1968 would not bring peace and tranquility to our nation. It would bring frustration and chaos. It would not bring law and order. It would bring intensified resistance and, I fear, an escalation of violence. This is a prescription for national tragedy. Faced with such a prospect, I believe political neutrality is not an option for men of good will in 1968. It is certainly not an option for black Americans. Those who urge black Americans to "go fishing" on election day are merely exercising their demagogic faculties at the expense of our hard-won struggle, including the deaths of many noble citizens, black and white, for the right to vote. And, in the process, they are aiding and abetting the re-emergence of white supremacy.

I am confident that this defeatist advice will be overwhelmingly rejected by black Americans. We have sacrificed too much for too long to allow ourselves to be led down the blind alley of dead-end politics.

I, therefore, urge all black men and women of voting age to register now and to vote in November. I urge young people below voting age to become active in educating their elders to the basic issues involved in the campaign.

I believe that in 1968 we have something else that we did not have in 1876 - a candidate who is equal to the great challenges facing America.

He is a candidate around whom the Negro people can rally with enthusiasm, for he has been a champion of racial equality for many years. He was in the forefront of the civil rights fight when that fight was still a lonely, unpopular, isolated struggle.

He is a candidate around whom working people can rally with enthusiasm, for he has been a friend of labor in its most difficult hours. He is a candidate who understands that the fate of the black people, the vast majority of whom are workers, is inextricably tied to the fate of the labor movement. He has understood, certainly better than any other candidate, that economic justice, elimination of poverty, and the welfare of the nation depend upon a free, fully open, strong and growing trade union movement.

He is a candidate around whom all Americans who yearn for a world of peace can rally with enthusiasm, for he was working for peace and disarmament long before these became popular slogans. And he has understood that real peace depends upon the strengthening of democratic institutions throughout the world and the development of international peace-keeping machinery.

Finally, he is a man whom I have known and admired for many years, and with whom I have worked in many facets of the fight for human dignity. Of his dedication to this fight I have an intimate appreciation and profound respect.

I therefore, with great satisfaction, endorse and vigorously recommend the candidacy of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey.

FARMER

JAMES FARMER FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE
12th Congressional District
572 Nostrand Avenue
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11216
857-3802 Press Contact: James Booker, 755-0842

FOR RELEASE IN AM's
OCTOBER 30, 1968

A PHILIP RANDOLPH ENDORSES FARMER IN CONGRESS RACE

A Philip Randolph, the dean of the nation's civil rights leaders, today threw his full support behind the candidacy of James Farmer, Liberal-Republican candidate for Congress in Brooklyn's 12th Congressional District.

In one of his rare statements of political support, Mr. Randolph praised Mr. Farmer as a "strong and positive voice" that is needed in Congress "in the defense of poor blacks and poor whites."

The full text of Mr. Randolph's statement follows:

"James Farmer has always been a stalwart in the continuing struggle to attain justice for the Black Man in America. In the early days of the fight he displayed a leadership ability that enabled him to mobilize millions and direct their voices against many of the wrongs that had shackled the Black man, both North and South.

"In sending him to Congress, my people living in Bedford Stuyvesant couldn't be better represented. Strong, not weak, voices are needed in the halls of Congress to combat the southern bigots who hold the majority of chairmanships of committees that make our laws. If strong and positive voices are raised in defense of the rights of millions of poor blacks and whites, then these Congressional dictators will not budge in their desire to hold down, thru laws, that one third of our nation listed as poor.

(more)

"James Farmer knows their tactics. He's fought with them, exposed their pettiness, and above all put the plight of America's poor in the spotlight. Many of the laws passed in the last decade have been due in large measure to men like the late Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Medgar Evers, and James Farmer--pioneers, who relentlessly waged a vocal battle that made Congressmen, Senators and Presidents sit up and take notice and do something about the situation.

"To send James Farmer to Congress, Bedford Stuyvesant voters will have a man who will stand up for them, and I urge their full support behind him."

-30-

Mr. Randolph's Response
at 80th Birthday Celebration

May 6, 1969

Our gathering here tonight is an honoring, and for that I am deeply grateful and humbled. But in a more profound sense it is a rededication - to a cause to which I have contributed my energies, and to principles to which I have dedicated my life.

The cause has been the liberation of the Negro in America. I have seen fit in this endeavor to try to establish an alliance between the Negro and the American trade union movement. I have been guided by the belief that Negroes are a working people, and that because of their history on American soil - a history of suffering and tragedy, but also of struggle, endurance, dignity and, ultimately, a history of human triumph - that because of this history they have been a dispossessed people who have often had to migrate thousands of miles in search of the means of subsistence. The labor movement has been the home of the working man, and traditionally it has been the only haven for the dispossessed. And, therefore, I have tried to build an alliance between the Negro and the American labor movement.

I have not been alone in my efforts. In 1925, almost half a century ago, I and my colleagues founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In our struggle to build the union we faced destitution and continual harassment, but we did build it, and our struggle conferred upon us collectively a certain dignity. With this victory, my brothers and I in the union not only improved the conditions under which we lived and worked, but we were enabled to reach beyond ourselves to our brothers and sisters on the plantations and in the ghettos. We were able to reach out and build a movement of the Negro masses struggling to realize, upon this American soil, the freedom and the justice which they had so long been denied.

The Negro masses awakened in 1941. They challenged the President of the United States to integrate the defense industries and all other places of public employment. And they were victorious. The Negro masses were in motion. They were removing the mark of oppression from their brows and the burden of economic misery from their bodies. This struggle has continued down to the present day. Like a mountain stream that grows in size and momentum as it rushes downward, the struggle of the Negro masses for social and economic equality has become irrepressible. From Memphis, Tennessee to Charleston, South Carolina, they cannot now be satisfied with anything less than total liberation.

Our ceremony of rededication tonight is to the cause of freedom, but it is also to the principles governing the means by which freedom must be achieved. In my life I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and integration, but there are some today, particularly among our black youth, who would question the validity of these principles in our on-going struggle. I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles. We must reject confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest. We must reject violence, and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence. And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to be divided within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration. We cannot reject these principles without also denying ourselves the possibility of freedom.

Salvation for the Negro masses must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted. But in our struggle we must draw for strength upon something that far transcends the boundaries of race. We must draw upon the capacity of human beings to act with humanity towards one another. We must draw upon the human potential for kindness and decency. And we must have faith that this society, divided by race and by class, and subject to profound social pressures, can one day become a nation of equals, ~~at peace with each-other and with themselves.~~ AND BANISH WHITE RACISM AND BLACK RACISM AND ANTISEMITISM TO THE LIMBO OF OBLIVION FROM WHICH they SHALL NEVER EMERGE.

Statement by A. Philip Randolph
at Testimonial Dinner for Albert Shanker
Hilton Hotel, New York, N.Y., December 15, 1969

It has been a great pleasure for me to serve as Honorary Chairman of the committee that is paying tribute to Albert Shanker, for as we honor this man we are also rededicating ourselves to the two most vital social movements in America - the struggle for union justice and the struggle for racial equality.

Albert Shanker is a union leader - a young, vibrant, and militant union leader who understands what the labor movement must do for its members today and who has a vision of what it must do for all Americans tomorrow. With men like Albert Shanker at the helm, the ship of unionism will not only remain afloat, but it shall ultimately come to port in the haven of a just society.

The man we honor tonight is also a militant activist for racial equality, and I say this unhesitatingly in the face of all the slurs that have been cast upon him by some seriously misguided black brothers and sisters, and by some of the leading spokesmen for the corporate and intellectual establishments. At a time when some people have come to the conclusion that integration is passe and that full employment is less desirable as a social goal than a full head of hair, Albert Shanker has been uncompromising in his opposition to separatism and in his support for an economic solution to our racial crisis. For this alone he deserves the tribute we pay him tonight.

But he has done something else. He has shown us, and hundreds of thousands of teachers, that far from there being any inherent contradiction between unionism and professionalism, there is in reality a profound interdependence. Because teachers are now paid higher salaries and work under better conditions than ever before, and because they have struggled to achieve a security of employment which guarantees that they will be judged only by the competence of their performance and not by the color of their skin, there is today a surplus of teachers in this city. For the first time we can now think seriously about quality teaching and quality education.

When the emotionalism of the moment subsides and when the instant remedies proposed out of frustration are seen as the deluding nostrums they really are, then Albert Shanker will stand before both his critics and admirers as a man of dedication and social vision who has stood up for the oppressed regardless of their color, and who has made this city a better place in which to live.

January 8, 1970

Statement by A. Philip Randolph

While I do not subscribe to the tactics and methods employed by the Black Panthers to realize their objectives, I strongly contend and insist that they have the right to exist and to carry on their propaganda, free from the "search and destroy" tactics of the police against them.

This is nothing more than their constitutional right. Neither Negroes ,or any other American citizens, can afford to permit the Black Panthers to be deprived of their basic constitutional rights.

While it is a function of the police to uphold the law, it is not their function to invade the home or offices of the Black Panthers and subject them to violence and death, such as occured recently in Chicago. In fact, unless the Black Panthers are secure in the exercise of their constitutional rights, no citizen in this country, black or white, is secure in the exercise of his constitutional rights.

Sent to Leroy Crayton - 792 Columbus Ave
NYC
Dept of Welfare
for inclusion in magazine
of Negro workers in Dept -

Working Paper for Conference of Black Trade Unionists

March 21, 1970 - Nashville, Tennessee

A CIVIL RIGHTS STRATEGY FOR THE SEVENTIES

by: A. Philip Randolph
Bayard Rustin
Norman Hill

A. The Past Decade: Some Progress Achieved, Many Problems Remain

We have just lived through a tumultuous decade in which some important gains were made in the area of civil rights for black Americans. We have witnessed the dismantling of Jim Crow laws and the enfranchisement of the majority of Negro citizens in the South. And throughout the country, in New York, Memphis, Charleston and elsewhere, we have seen the expansion of the economic power of black workers in good part as a result of their vigorous participation in trade union activities.

Needless to say, however, grievous problems remain. The unemployment rate among blacks is high and it is growing, the housing situation is bad and getting worse, medical costs have skyrocketed so that most blacks (and whites) cannot afford to pay for decent health care, and schools are over-crowded, understaffed, and largely unintegrated, even though it is 16 years since the Supreme Court outlawed segregation. And finally there is the ghetto and the problems it produces--the utter demoralization of so many of its inhabitants, the population density, the crime, the poverty, the feeling that there is no way out. Some have escaped, of course, mostly middle and some working class Negroes. But their place has been taken by impoverished immigrants from the South, thus leaving the ghetto as crowded as before but more poverty-stricken, more demoralizing.

B. The Political and Economic Situation Today

If this situation continues to get worse rather than better, the predictions of the Kerner and Eisenhower Commissions will indeed come true--America will become two societies, one white and the other black, one affluent and the other impoverished. If Apartheid becomes the reality in this country, America will cease to exist as a free and democratic society. White fear and black rage, state violence and guerilla terrorism, martial law and the contempt for law--all of these will replace the democratic procedures which have taken so many years to build and whose preservation is essential to our future progress.

Compounding this problem is the pervasive feeling among youth, white as well as black, that the democratic process no longer works. Many have come to the conclusion that social change can only come about through intimidation and violence. Some weak-willed, breast-beating liberals have confirmed this attitude by giving in to all threats. This has added to the confusion of the young for it has given the appearance that social change can come about only through violence when, in fact, the ultimate result of violence will be social repression and regression. In addition, the persistence of gross injustices make it possible for demagogues to say that democracy has failed, that the lack of progress is inherent to our political system rather than the result of our failure to sufficiently mobilize the liberal forces which exist within that system. In light of this growing disaffection among the young today, the policies of the Nixon Administration become not only shockingly inadequate, but dangerously inflammatory.

In some areas there is no progress at all. In many others we are actually moving backwards. The limited advances of the past decade are being undermined at a time when the problems of our society are growing more severe.

The economic gains of the sixties, for example, were in good part the result of a booming economy. The unemployment rate decreased substantially, and with labor in short supply, training programs were established for the hard-core unemployed. These developments helped blacks most of all because they were the ones who suffered most from unemployment. Today, however, the Nixon Administration is deliberately creating a recession. Real growth in the economy has ceased, unemployment is rising , training programs for the jobless are being discontinued. Mr. Nixon tells us that these are necessary sacrifices in the fight against inflation, but aside from the fact that inflation has not abated (it was actually a good deal higher in 1969 than in 1968), his policy is fundamentally inequitable since almost all of the sacrifices are exacted from the poor or near-poor. There is no talk of controlling corporation profits which have risen almost three times more rapidly than wages.

Then there are Mr. Nixon's budget cuts which he also claims are justified by the need to combat inflation. At a time when many school systems are closing down because they cannot meet their expenses, Mr. Nixon has used the veto on one occasion and has threatened to use it on others to reduce congressional appropriations for education by several hundred million dollars. At a time when the housing shortage has become catastrophic, he has raised interest rates and has thereby kept home-building at its lowest level in over twenty years. The inflation argument is made once again, yet it is difficult to take Mr. Nixon seriously when he talks of controlling prices since he has just extended and, in the case of Canadian imports, increased oil import quotas which annually add $5-billion to the bills of consumers.

While these policies have undermined the economic gains made during the past decade, his Southern stategy threatens to erode the modest advances made in the areas of school integration and voting rights. And his Supreme Court nominations give clear proof that he intends to make the judicial branch of the Federal government both more politically conservative and less judicially respectable.

Some liberals and Negroes who have been distressed by Nixon's policies have praised his Philadelphia Plan as a forward-looking, if somewhat unexpected, exception to the rule. In one respect the plan is progressive in that it calls for more integration of blacks into the building trades. But upon closer examination, it appears entirely consistent with the rest of his policies.

In the first place the Philadelphia Plan does nothing for integration. It only requires contractors to make a commitment to hire a certain quota of black workers on a job where over $500,000 of federal funds are involved. In order to meet this commitment, a contractor could shift the required number of black workers in an area onto a particular job. He would thus satisfy federal requirements for that job, but no new jobs would be created for blacks and no Negroes would be brought into the building trades. In fact, the contractor can even achieve compliance simply by making an effort of good faith, such as contacting certain people in an area who are concerned about black participation in the building trades. If those people do not produce any workers, the contractor has done his job and can get the federal money.

Thus the Philadelphia Plan which some have hailed as the salvation of the black worker does nothing to bring minority group workers into the building trades. But the controversy over the plan has aggravated the relationship between black and white workers. This result is not surprising, given the general thrust of the Nixon Administration's policies. It will be remembered that on almost the very day he proposed the plan, Mr. Nixon also ordered a 75% reduction in federal construction. A cut in construction would reduce the number of jobs available in the industry.

This naturally increases competition for jobs since the number of workers has not changed and it also exerts a deflationary pressure on wages. And when the competition is between black and white workers, one can reasonably expect a racial explosion. Thus, the Philadelphia Plan provides the Nixon Administration not only with a liberal cover for its other anti-Negro policies. It also divides the Republican opposition which is largely made up of black and white workers.

As blacks and as trade unionists, we must be firm in our demands for more integration in the building trades, for this would help black workers and also strengthen the trade union movement. But we must not permit ourselves to be used as pawns by a Republican Administration that is interested only in hurting the labor movement, dividing black and white workers, and in the process deflating wages. The Outreach programs which already exist, and the Chicago Plan which represents a local solution to a local problem and which would train and provide jobs for many minority group workers, are the best ways to achieve integration without doing harm to ourselves and to the entire trade union movement. But we cannot expect even these programs to be fully successful if there is not an expansion of construction (something we cannot expect under Nixon) which would provide jobs for everybody.

C. Coalition Politics--A Strategy to Counter the Conservatives

The conservatives are in the White House today because the coalition of the labor movement, the civil rights movement, and liberals broke down in 1968. Some liberals supported Nixon while a good many others sat out the election. A minority of workers voted for Nixon or Wallace. There were also blacks who did not vote, some because they did not want to,many others because they failed to register, If all of these people had remained within the liberal coalition, the Democrats would have won a substantial victory in '68. Consequently, if we are to be successful against the conservatives in the future, we must rebuild the coalition so that it can become a vehicle for solving the fundamental social problems of this nation.

There are many opponents of this strategy, both on the right and on the left. Some of them tell us that Negroes should not enter into a coalition with the labor movement since the labor movement is our greatest enemy. The best answer to these people was provided by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in his 1961 address before the AFL-CIO convention. What Dr. King said to the delegates then must be said to black people troughout America today:

> Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs--decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community.
>
> That is why Negroes support labor's demands and fight laws which curb labor.
>
> That is why the labor-hater and labor-baiter is virtually always a twin-headed creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth...
>
> ...The two most dynamic and cohesive liberal forces in the country are the labor movement and the Negro freedom movement.

Dr. King's words were true in 1961, and they are just as true in 1970.

Then there are people in the black community who preach racial separatism and tell us not to enter into coalition with any white people. To them, trade unionists and liberals are as much to be shunned as racists and labor-baiters. This warped view is being put forth today by, among others, the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), and the result is that CORE has come up with some strange positions. Its Western regional branch, for example, has cooperated with the National Right-To-Work Committee in setting up the Black Workers' Alliance which is a separatist dual union. The National Right-To-Work Committee, we should remember, is composed of some of the most reactionary and racist elements in America.

CORE's reactionary activities have not been limited to unions. Its National Director Roy Innis and two associates recently made a tour of the South where they met with Southern governors, including Lester Maddox of Georgia, whom they tried to win over to the CORE program for school segregation. In addition, CORE's Northeast region has supported the nomination of G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court. CORE has also urged Negroes not to vote in some important elections, including the recent mayoralty election in New York City.

Incredible as these things may seem, they are logical extensions of CORE's separatist philosophy. Their tragic example proves some important points. However "militant" a black nationalist may appear, he is on the side of the white segregationists because of his belief in racial separatism. He is on their side no matter how much he professes to be for the welfare of all blacks. It is equally true that those "black enemies" of the labor movement are making common cause, as did CORE, with white enemies of the labor movement who are invariabley anti-black. And to the degree that they urge black people not to vote, they are assisting the opponents of black people who can be defeated only through the ballot box.

These points can be summed up in a fundamental principle: If you play with anything but a coalition of progressive forces, you are making common cause with the right-wing coalition of reactionary forces. If you are not for a coalition based upon mutual interest, then you are for a coalition of opposites. Those who urge blacks to go it alone are contributing to right-wing efforts to isolate Negroes from their closest allies--the labor movement and the liberal community.

D. The 1970 Elections

The welfare of the black community depends heavily on the success of liberal candidates in the 1970 Congressional elections. These elections are extraordinarily important. The conservatives have taken over the executive branch of the federal government, and through the power of appointment, are also trying to take over the judicial branch. If we permit the legislative branch to fall to them as well, they will be able to wreak havoc without any resistance at all from progressive elements in the society. During the past year, Congress has been an important buffer against the conservative advance, and we must keep it that way by retaining control of both the Senate and the House. This will not be easy since 25 of the 34 Senate seats that will be contested are today Democratic. If Democrats and Republicans split these seats evenly between themselves in 1970, the Republicans will control the Senate for the first time in almost two decades.

We must mobilize our fellow black trade unionists to vote in the coming elections, and we must also mobilze them to get out the vote in the entire black community. We must organize now so that the poor and the oppressed will be a part of the electoral process in 1970. They must be convinced of the importance of their votes. They must see that their ballots can be decisive, particularly in close elections.

They can, thus, play an important part in determining the composition of Congress in the coming years. And since Congress appropriates funds in such areas as education, housing ,employment, and health care, all of which are vital to the well-being of the poor, it is essential that the poor have a voice in Congress. But they will not have that voice if they are not registered.

So let us forsake those who urge separatism and oppose coalition. Let us defeat the reactionaries and the conservatives in 1970. We have the manpower to do this. We have the organization to do it. We must have the will to do it. Let us rebuild the coalition now and in the process begin the longer task of rebuilding America.

Remarks by A. Philip Randolph
at AFL-CIO Murray-Green Award Dinner
Washington, D.C., April 13, 1972

Brother Meany, members of the dais, and friends:

I am greatly honored and happy to receive the Murray-Green Award. It has been my great honor and pleasure to have been associated with these two men whose lives were committed to the great creative forces of organized labor, social justice and world peace.

It is immensely fitting and proper, in these times of storm and stress, that the lives and work of the mighty men of labor should be recalled and honored. Without the struggles of the leaders of labor, with a fighting faith against the forces of organized capitalism, not only would millions of workers suffer from the ruthless exploitation of economic oppression, but the social forces of justice and humanity would long have been halted.

Happily, the workers of America and their families have been blessed with one of the able and dauntless champions of the working class, our brother and leader, George Meany. And by his side stand millions of workers committed to the cause of economic and social justice.

There has never been a time when the vision, sound judgement and unquestioned integrity of Brother Meany were needed by the great hosts of working men, black and white, employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled, as they are today.

One of the great empires of industry, the railways, virtually lie in ruins. We have only to glance the press and note that the railways are gasping for economic breath. Countless thousands of railway workers are restless for job opportunity.

Probably some thought needs to be given to a plan for a national conference for the jobless, under the dedicated leadership of George Meany whose wisdom and honesty are unquestioned. The coming national election will be meaningless unless the countless jobless have bread and hope.

A. Philip Randolph Greetings to the Congressional Black Caucus-June 16, 1972

I am deeply honored to have been selected by the Congressional Black Caucus as the first recipient of the Adam Clayton Powell Award. My only regret is that, because of my doctor's orders, I am unable to attend the award ceremonies.

The essential struggle of the past half century has been to enable black Americans to participate in and benefit from the mainstream of American society and to enjoy those rights - be they political, social or economic - which all Americans enjoy. We have advanced many steps since the days of the Grandfather Clause, the white primary, and the poll tax. The road to these achievements was long and often discouraging, and disappointments await those who contine along that road in the future. Those with the strength and vision to overcome the disappointments and reject the abyss of despair will lead us to our future triumphs. The personal experiences of those of you in the Black Caucus will attest to this for you have all overcome severe obstacles to become the elected representatives of your constituents.

Black people have begun to realize their long-stifled dream of political participation and influence. Our numbers are growing in the halls of Congress, in state legislatures, in city halls across the country. Yet we must never lose sight of the fact that politics is only a means to the ultimate objective of economic equality. To achieve this great goal we must build a truly mass movement embracing all progressive allies and committed to the transformation of the total society.

A. Philip Randolph Greetings to the Congressional Black Caucus-June 16, 1972

I am deeply honored to have been selected by the Congressional Black Caucus as the first recipient of the Adam Clayton Powell Award. My only regret is that, because of my doctor's orders, I am unable to attend the award ceremonies.

The essential struggle of the past half century has been to enable black Americans to participate in and benefit from the mainstream of American society and to enjoy those rights - be they political, social or economic - which all Americans enjoy. We have advanced many steps since the days of the Grandfather Clause, the white primary, and the poll tax. The road to these achievements was long and often discouraging, and disappointments await those who contine along that road in the future. Those with the strength and vision to overcome the disappointments and reject the abyss of despair will lead us to our future triumphs. The personal experiences of those of you in the Black Caucus will attest to this for you have all overcome severe obstacles to become the elected representatives of your constituents.

Black people have begun to realize their long-stifled dream of political participation and influence. Our numbers are growing in the halls of Congress, in state legislatures, in city halls across the country. Yet we must never lose sight of the fact that politics is only a means to the ultimate objective of economic equality. To achieve this great goal we must build a truly mass movement embracing all progressive allies and committed to the transformation of the total society.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH SPEECHES & WRITINGS FILE Speeches 1975

Statement by APR at 50th Anniversary Luncheon of BSCP - 6/25/75 Commodore Hotel, NYC

I am deeply honored to speak here on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The Brotherhood has achieved a proud and distinctive record of accomplishment, both as a trade union and as a force for progressive racial change. It has been part of the vanguard of dedicated black and white workers who worked and sacrificed for the right to basic human dignity.

As a representative of working people, the Brotherhood advanced the principle that no man has the right to exploit the toil of his fellow man, no matter how menial that toil may be. The victory over the Pullman Company was not simply a triumph for the Union, or for black people, but for all working people who have been oppressed by the capitalist economic order.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters can also be proud of its role in the most significant social struggle of our day - the struggle to free black people from the bonds of discrimination which had been their lot for centuries.

It was the Brotherhood which was the driving force behind the first March on Washington, a movement which in fact ignited the spark that was to become the civil rights struggle. As a result of that march, the federal government took action to assure for black Americans a measure of participation in the economic system of this country.

The good that has followed - the great victories of the NAACP and Dr. Martin Luther King, the achievement of laws which broke the back of legal segregation and the entrance of black people as participants in the political arena - has come about because of your commitment and your refusal to compromise on the basic issues of fairness and justice, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

Statement by A. Philip Randolph
at NAACP Convention, Washington, D.C.
July 1, 1975

MR. WILKINS,

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

THROUGHOUT MY ADULT LIFE, I HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT THE NAACP HAS BEEN THE PRIME FORCE IN THE MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE MOST OPPRESSED IN THIS GREAT NATION.

YOU HAVE STEADFASTLY STOOD NOT ONLY FOR THE SOCIAL, LEGAL AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM FOR BLACKS, BUT ALSO FOR THE SPIRITUAL REDEMPTION OF WHITES NO MATTER HOW CONFUSED OR BRUTALLY THEY HAVE BEHAVED.

I HAVE DEPENDED, IN MY FEEBLE EFFORTS, UPON YOUR INSIGHT, YOUR INSPIRATION AND YOUR VAST COURAGE IN TIMES OF TRIAL AND IN MOMENTS OF PERIL.

WITHOUT YOUR SUPPORT, FINANCIAL AND MORAL, I COULD HAVE MADE NO CONTRIBUTION TO OUR MAGNIFICANT STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

ALSO, I HAVE KNOWN, FROM MY EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, THAT THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IS AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT IN OUR STRUGGLE.

II

FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT BLACK MEN AND WOMEN AND OUR NOBLE YOUTH ARE PRIMARILY WORKERS WITH AIMS AND GOALS COMMON TO THE BASIC ASPIRATIONS OF ALL OTHERS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

TODAY, IN THIS PERIOD OF ECONOMIC DISASTER, THE FORCES THAT WOULD OPPRESS ALL WORKERS SEEK TO PIT US ONE AGAINST ANOTHER:

- WOMEN AGAINST MEN
- YOUTH AGAINST THE AGED
- POOR AGAINST THE RICH
- WHITE AGAINST BLACK

THIS EVIL EFFORT TO DIVIDE US, AND THUS TO RULE US, MUST BE VIGOROUSLY RESISTED.

THE NAACP IS THE MOST VITAL FORCE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY THAT POSSESSES THE EXPERIENCE, THE INSIGHT, THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, THE MORAL COURAGE AND THE POWER TO COMBAT REACTION - THAT ELEMENT THAT WOULD ROB BLACK AND WHITE ALIKE OF LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE ~~PERSUITE~~ PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

III ③

NOW, IN THE TWILIGHT OF MY LIFE, AT THE AGE OF ~~87~~ 86 YEARS, I AM NO LONGER ABLE TO MAKE ANY BASIC CONTRIBUTION, BUT I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE NAACP WILL MOVE ONWARD AND UPWARD To VICTORY IN THE LIBERATION OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN REGARDLESS OF THEIR COLOR OR RACE OR CREED.

BEYOND THIS, I AM CONFIDENT THAT THIS GREAT ORGANIZATION, UNDER THE ABLE DIRECTION OF MY FRIEND, ROY WILKINS, WILL CONTINUE TO HOLD HIGH THE BANNER THAT YOU HAVE NOT LET SLIP SINCE YOUR FOUNDING IN 1909.

MAY YOU CONTINUE OUR STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN WITH RENEWED COURAGE AND WISDOM - WITH STRENGTH AND PURPOSE - AND ABOVE ALL WITH THAT ABIDING LOVE THAT ULTIMATELY MAKES ALL GOD'S CREATURES MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY WE CALL HUMANITY.

GOD'S SPEED TO YOU.

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2345

Randolph

R.T.O
232-4563

Otto Whitaker
500 Atlantic Ave

Award Speech

DECEMBER 1, 1975

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I AM GREATLY HONORED TO BE HERE TONIGHT. I DO NOT ACCEPT THIS HONOR FOR MYSELF, BUT FOR THE YOUNG PEOPLE THIS GREAT INSTITUTION WILL SERVE.

WE LIVE IN A PERIOD OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE INVOLVING AUTOMATION AND CYBERNATION, WHEN YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN ARE BECOMING ECONOMIC UNTOUCHABLES IF THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO OBTAIN SKILLS.

GENERATION AFTER GENERATION OF IMMIGRANTS CAME TO THESE SHORES IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY. THEY COULD BECOME UPWARDLY ECONOMICLY MOBILE THROUGH THE USE OF THEIR MUSCLE POWER. THIS IS INCREASINGLY LESS POSSIBLE WITH THE PASSING OF EVERY DAY.

I AM PLEASED THAT THE PHILADELPHIA BOARD OF EDUCATION HAS MOVED TO FACE THIS SERIOUS PROBLEM.

ON BEHALF OF THOSE WHO WILL BENEFIT, I THANK YOU FROM THE BOTTOM OF MY HEART.

Statement by

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Honorary Chairman,

Labor Committee for Moynihan

I am delighted to be here today and to serve as Honorary Chairman of the Labor Committee for Daniel P. Moynihan. I have a great deal of respect for Mr. Moynihan's abilities. He has demonstrated a real commitment to equality and justice. He is also a man of deep intellectual and political integrity.

Much of Mr. Moynihan's activities as a scholar and in government has been in the service of advancing the lives of black Americans. He was the author of the report on the Negro family which called for broad measures of economic change to end the poverty and misery of the ghetto; he wrote Lyndon Johnson's Howard Univeristy speech in which the President called for a national commitment to achieve "equality of results" in race relations; and he was the author of the family assistance plan. If that plan had been enacted, America would have gone a long way towards wiping out the most pernicious poverty.

I want to wish Mr. Moynihan all good fortune in this election, for I am convinced that he will make a vital contribution to the cause of social progress as a member of the U.S. Senate.

July 21, 1976

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1976

Labor Leaders Form a Group to Elect Moynihan

15 Unions Are Represented Among 70 Officals Aiding Senate Nomination Bid

By THOMAS P. RONAN

Raymond R. Corbett, president of the New York State A.F.L.-C.I.O., yesterday announced the formation of a committee of labor leaders from New York City, the suburbs and upstate to support Daniel P. Moynihan for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator.

Mr. Corbett is chairman, Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, is secretary, and Sol C. Chaikin, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, is treasurer. A. Philip Randolph, international president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car [illegible] is honorary chairman.

Mr. Corbett and Mr. chaikin said at a news conference in the Biltmore Hotel that they believed Mr. Moynihan was the only Democrat in the Sept. 14 primary contest for the nomination who could defeat Senator James L. Buckley, the Conservative-Republican incumbent, in the general election.

70 People Involved

Mr. Corbett said the committee, "still in formation," included 70 officials from 15 unions with nearly a million members. His endorsement was a personal one since the State A.F.L.-C.I.O. does not take a stand in primaries, and the same was true of most of the other [illegible]

The state labor official said he had known Mr. Moynihan for nearly 20 years and found him "a down-to-earth, common-sense, straightforward sort and one who is deeply concerned with the problems of the ordinary citizen and worker."

Mr. Randolph praised Mr. Moynihan, former United States representative at the United Nations, as one who had demonstrated "a rare commitment to equality and justice" and said much of his activities had been devoted to "advancing the lives of black Americans."

Mr. Moynihan is involved in a hectic battle for the nomination with four other Democrats Representative Bella S. Abzug, City Council President Paul O'Dwyer, Ramsey Clark, the former United States Attorney General, and Abraham Hirschfeld, a wealthy businessman.

Day-Care Cuts Scored

Mr. Abzug spent most of yesterday in Congress and then flew to the West Coast for fund-raising parties sponsored by stage and screen celebrities in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

She criticized as "heartless and senseless" New York City's action in cutting off public funds for 49 day-care centers. She urged the city to restore the funds pending action by Congress on a bill to supply federal funds for the city's day care.

Mr. O'Dwyer, who was campaigning upstate, noted that Mr. Moynihan had served under Presidential Richard M. Nixon and said his credentials for Senator was "dubious." Mr. O'Dwyer also accused Mr. Buckley of showing little interest in New York until this election year.

Mr. Moynihan and Mr. Hirschfeld said they would make similar financial statements to the one made by Mr. Clark. A representative of Mr. O'Dwyer said he had already done so, and a spokesman for Mrs. Abzug said she had always filed financial statements in Congress and would again.

Mr. Hirschfeld campaigned in Brooklyn yesterday and said he would do the same on Long Island today.

DAILY NEWS, THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1976

News photos by Frank Giorandino

Daniel P. Moynihan with A. Philip Randolph, honorary chairman of labor committee working for senate candidate's nomination.

State Labor Gives Nod to Moynihan

By GENE SPAGNOLI

State AFL-CIO President Raymond Corbett hailed Daniel P. Moynihan yesterday as the "best equipped" Democrat to beat Sen. James Buckley (R-C) in November and announced formation of a 70-member labor committee to work for Moynihan's nomination in the September Democratic primary.

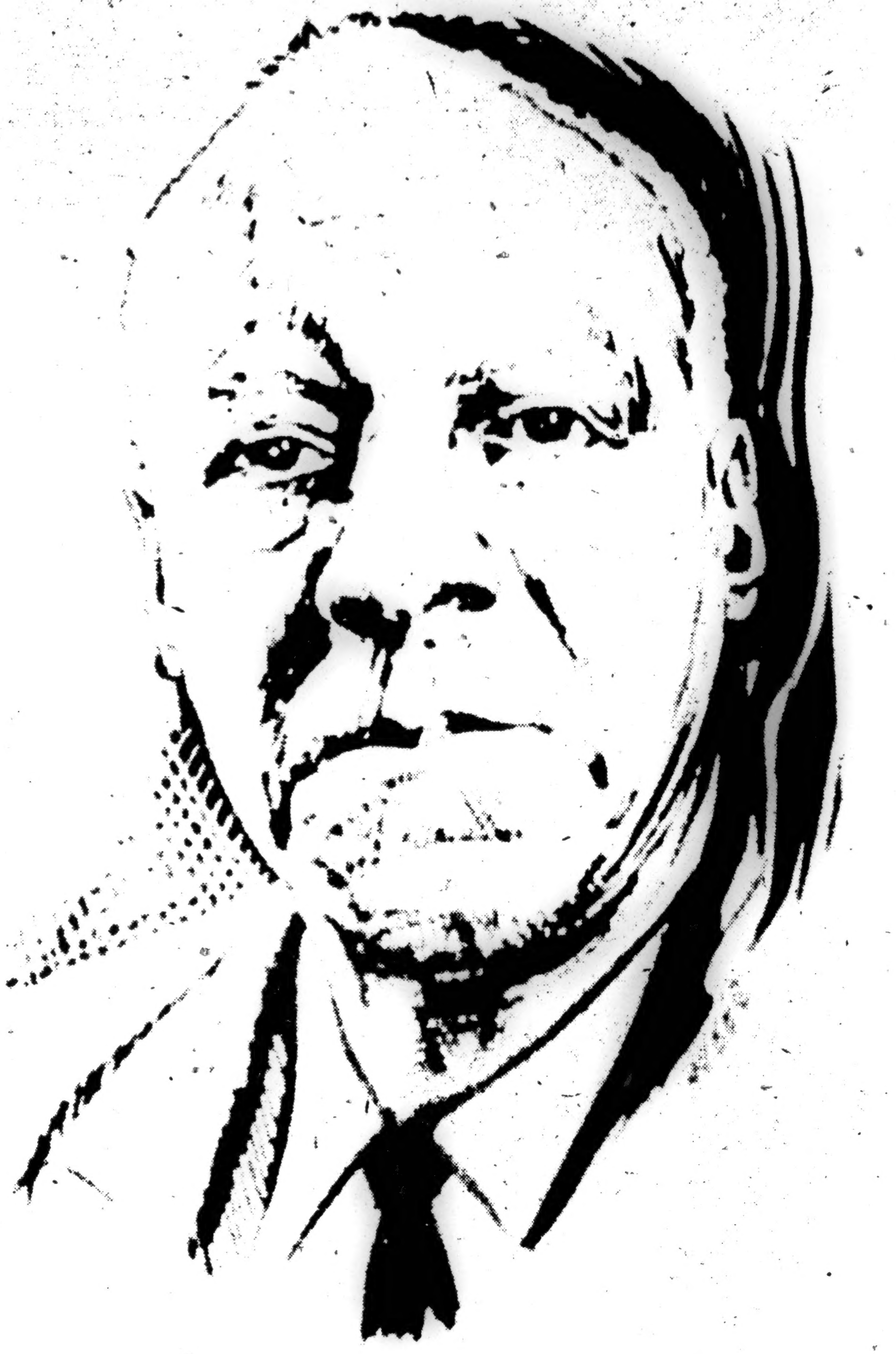
"There is minimal support in the labor movement for the other candidates," said Corbett, "but I sense a great deal of support for Moynihan. He's a fellow who has come up from the streets and been working all his life."

Corbett said City Council President Paul O'Dwyer and Rep. Bella Abzug have "some support but it's local. "He shrugged off the other contenders, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and millionaire businessman Abraham Hirschfeld, as having little labor backing.

Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, is secretary of the labor committee for Moynihan. Sol Chaikin, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, is treasurer and A. Philip Randolph, president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Workers, is honorary chairman.

Randolph praised Moynihan as a man who "has demonstrated a rare commitment to equality and justice."

NY AMSTERDAM NEWS 9/2/78



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

A Labor Day Message

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Labor Day, more than any other national holiday, has special significance for Black Americans. For on this day, we proclaim our steadfast solidarity with millions of other workers who share our deep commitment to racial equality, economic justice and democracy.

These values, we insist, are the sturdy and time-tested bonds which unite all workers — both Black and white — in a common struggle against common adversaries.

This unity, we believe, has acquired even greater importance today as we confront unprecedented attacks on the labor movement. Throughout the land, the forces opposed to labor — the same forces which opposed every advance of the civil rights movement — are on the offensive.

They share the same objectives so vigorously pursued by the business leaders of earlier times; they seek the destruction of the labor movement.

This intensified assault on trade unions and collective bargaining, if successful, will have a devastating effect on Black people. As history has shown, it is only through trade unions that the great masses of Black workers can expect economic justice and the transcendence of poverty and indignity.

In concert with their fellow workers, Black people can take decisive control of their own destinies; with a union, they can approach their employers as proud and upright equals, not as trembling and bowing slaves. Indeed, a solid union contract is, in a very real sense, another Emancipation Proclamation.

The New Right

On the political front as well, Black people must strengthen and nourish their alliance with the labor movement. At a time when business and its New Right allies have emerged as powerful forces for privilege, inequality, and neglect of the poor and unemployed, the labor movement — almost alone among Americans institutions — has convincingly challenged the myths of the new aristocrats, those who would return us to the days of laissez-faire capitalism and all its brutality.

Because of its commitment to justice, the labor movement has become a champion of full employment. It has advanced programs which encompass all workers — not just union members. It has defended the minimum wage from those who call for poverty level wages.

And it has become the leading force for a comprehensive national health insurance program, a program which would benefit all Americans, especially low and middle-income workers.

While domestic concerns occupy much of our attention, we must constantly remember that the movement for freedom and democracy has an international dimension as well. Just as we oppose oppression and intolerance in America, we must also speak out in a loud voice on behalf of all threatened minorities, individuals and trade unionists throughout the world.

Unfortunately, the violation of human rights seems to be escalating everywhere. In the Soviet Union, a newly formed trade union is being strangled before it can utter its first words. Soviet dissidents like Shcharansky and Ginzburg are treated like common criminals and confined to the Gulag.

And throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America, free trade unions and political dissenters are bludgeoned into abject submission by dictatorial regimes of both the right and left.

True liberation

For us, then, every assault on the workers and dissenters of other countries must be viewed as an assault on the freedom and security of American workers. Thus, our concern for universal human rights must be regarded as an integral component of our overall philosophy and strategy.

Freedom and democracy are not mere luxuries, they are absolute necessities for those who desire the true liberation of humanity.

The values I have discussed here should not be regarded as treasures to be stored away and ignored. Rather, they must motivate our daily lives, and direct our every action; they demand our personal involvement and commitment.

As a first step toward living these values, Black Americans must boldly seize their birthright — the ballot. By registering and voting, Black people proudly proclaim their independence, their power, and their claim to full and equal citizenship.

And by joining forces with their brothers and sisters in the labor movement, Black people become an indispensable element in the grand alliance for social progress in America.

A. Philip Randolph, the "grand old man" of the civil rights movement, (he is 83), is President Emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and founder of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.